

ARCHAEOLOGIA :  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.





ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY,  
PUBLISHED BY THE  
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,  
VOLUME L.



LONDON :  
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.  
SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

---

M.DCCC.LXXXVII.

DA 20  
A65  
V.50 ✓

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>Masons' Marks at Westminster Hall.</i> By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P. - - - - -	1—4
II.— <i>A Note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster.</i> By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A. - - - - -	5—8
III.— <i>The west side of Westminster Hall.</i> By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A. -	9—16
IV.— <i>Some Remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the City of London.</i> By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P. - - - - -	17—57
V.— <i>Notes on recent excavations on the supposed site of the Artemisium, near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John Savile Lumley, G.C.B.</i> By R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A. - - - - -	58—65
VI.— <i>On a Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.</i> By JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A. - - - - -	66—71
VII.— <i>Remarks on the fifteenth-century Diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tercueren, in Brabant.</i> By EVERARD GREEN, F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Spalding Society - -	72—80
VIII.— <i>The Manor of Aylesbury.</i> By JOHN PARKER, F.S.A. -	81—103
IX.— <i>Some further Notice of the Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.; of the King's Diamond; and of the Sapphire Signet believed to be that of Mary Queen of William III.</i> By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, V.P.S.A. - - - - -	104—117
X.— <i>The Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia, and to Cellini.</i> By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A. -	118—128
XI.— <i>On the English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers.</i> By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A. - - - - -	129—193

	PAGE
XII.— <i>On Archaic conceptions of property in relation to the Laws of Succession; and their survival in England.</i> By G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. - - - - -	195—214
XIII.— <i>Documents relating to the death and burial of king Edward II.</i> By STUART ARCHIBALD MOORE, F.S.A. - - - - -	215—226
XIV.— <i>Some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini.</i> By F. M. NICHOLS, F.S.A.	227—250

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE	PAGE
† I*. Masons' Marks. Westminster Hall, west side - - facing	2
† II*. Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
† III*. Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
† IV*. Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
I. Longitudinal section of Westminster Hall - between	6-7
II. Elevation and Ground Plan of the West Side of Westminster Hall - - - - - facing	9
† III. Plan of the West Side of Westminster Hall (first-floor) between	10-11
† IV. Plan of part of the West side of Westminster Hall between	10-11
† V. Plan of the First-floor of the West Side of Westminster Hall between	14-15
† VI. General Plan showing the Buildings round Westminster Hall in 1716 - - - - - between	14-15
VII. Plan of Excavations at Lago di Nemi, on the site of the Artemisium - - - - - facing	60
VIII. Ex Votos, from the Artemisium, near Lake Nemi - facing	62
IX. 1. Portion of a Terra-Cotta Frieze - - - - -	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle; line-height: 1;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;">                     From the Artemisium, near Lake Nemi                 </div> </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle; line-height: 1;">}</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">facing</div> </div>
2. Inscription and a portion of a White Marble	
Cornice - - - - -	

† Presented by Edwin Freshfield, LL.D., V.P.

PLATE		PAGE
X.	Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst - - - - facing	68
	Inscribed Slab in Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire -	69
	General View of Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire -	71
XI.	Dexter Panel of the Diptych of Philip Hinckaert - facing	76
	Badge or Rebus of Philip Hinckaert - - - -	80
	Gold Signet Ring of Mary, Queen of William III. - - -	111
	Diamond Signet of Charles I. - - - -	112
XII.	Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle. 1517 } - - facing	119
	Seal of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, 1517 }	
XIII.	Examples of Mazer Prints - - - - facing	136
	Print of a Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent - -	138
	Early fourteenth-century Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent	139
	Print of a Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent - -	140
	Print of a Mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury - -	144
	Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - -	144
	Part of band of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge -	145
	Sectional elevation of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	145
	Plan of top of pillar inside a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	146
	Print of a Mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury - -	146
	Mazer, and ring of its cover, at All Souls College, Oxford -	151
	Print from a Mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, with arms and initials of Thomas Ballard - - - -	151
	Standing Mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge - -	152
	Print of a Mazer (with section) at Fairford Church, Gloucester- shire - - - - -	156
	Print of a Mazer at Holy Trinity Church, Colchester - -	156
	Print of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge -	157
	Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford - - - -	159
	Mazer in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Iron- mongers - - - - -	160
	Standing Mazer at All Souls College, Oxford - - -	166
	Merchant's mark on print of a Mazer at St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, London - - - - -	167

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

ix

PLATE		PAGE
	Mazer, with inverted tazza for a foot, in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. - - - -	169
	Portion of the band (with section) of a Mazer in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. - - - -	170
	Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John -	173
	Print of a Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John - - - - -	174
	Plan of Ruins between the Temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way - - - - -	229
XIV.	Fragment of Marble Wall and Tufo substructure of Marble Buildings - - - - - facing	230
	Marble Wall of the Stanza dei Fasti - - - - -	237
	Restored plan and south elevation of part of the Regia -	247
	Plan and architecture of the <i>Summus Janus</i> , as designed by Ligorio - - - - -	249





ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,  
&c.

---

I.—*Masons' Marks at Westminster Hall.* By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.

---

Read December 13, 1883.

---

WHEN, in the spring of 1882, the First Commissioner of Works announced his intention of proceeding to destroy the old law courts at Westminster, it seemed to me that it became necessary for every person interested in antiquities—and particularly in the antiquities of London—to watch with interest the result of this destruction, and in consequence I obtained permission from the Chief Commissioner to visit the place myself, and also to take with me two friends—Fellows of the Society. I selected for this purpose my friends Mr. Micklethwaite and Mr. Somers Clarke. I should like to say something personal to myself, however, to explain why I thought I was for many reasons a proper person to watch these buildings. My grandfathers upon both my father's and mother's side, my father and myself, have

been attorneys of the Court of King's and Queen's Bench at Westminster for a period stretching over very nearly one hundred years, and as the law courts at Westminster were built somewhere about the year 1812, we have collectively seen them built and destroyed.

As soon as the buildings were cleared away it became apparent that a considerable portion of the old construction of the hall would be visible, and of this I obtained permission to have photographs taken. The series of photographs exhibited represents the result of this; and they form a continuous series, showing the different bays of the hall from one end to the other, and also views of some of the details.

As the ground was cleared away it also became apparent that a great portion of the Norman building still remained; that the Norman buttresses had been cut into on either side, and an arcade introduced. It was easy to see from the colour of the stone which was Norman and which was the work of Richard the Second; the Norman work being chiefly in a yellow stone—I suppose Caen, and the work of Richard the Second being for the most part in the bluish fire-stone from Reigate.

But beyond this the Norman work was covered with the marks of the masons, and by the assistance of my friend Mr. Somers Clarke I obtained complete rubbings of all that were worth rubbing.

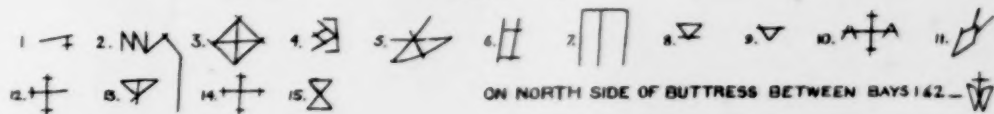
The subject of these masons' marks has been already slightly considered by the Society, and in the thirtieth volume of *Archaeologia*<sup>a</sup> there will be found a paper upon it.

I have not yet formed any very complete opinion upon the subject. Some of the marks are of an altogether fanciful nature, and it has been surmised that they have more to do with the individual mason than with any particular gild; but some are common apparently to all countries, and among these is one particular mark—the arrow-head; several instances of this will be found among the marks at Westminster Hall. This mark seems to me to be one of great antiquity and of universal use.

Some five years ago I went from the mouth to the source of the Ebro, and upon the outside of all the buildings of a period corresponding approximately with the Norman part of the hall, viz. the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I found the arrow-head was used with other marks. I found the same mark upon the stones

<sup>a</sup> Vol. xxx. p. 113.

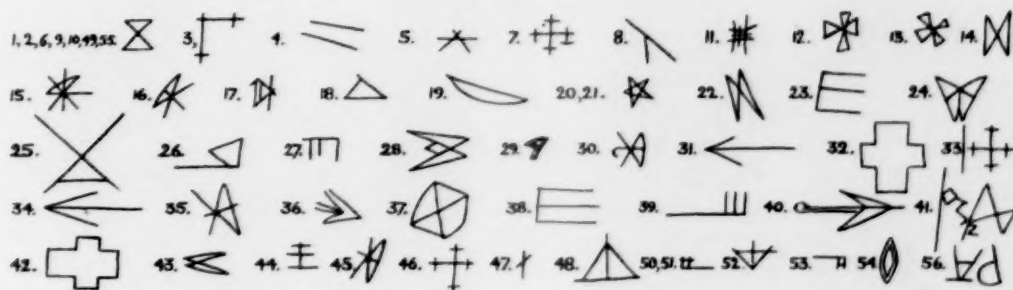
BAY 1.



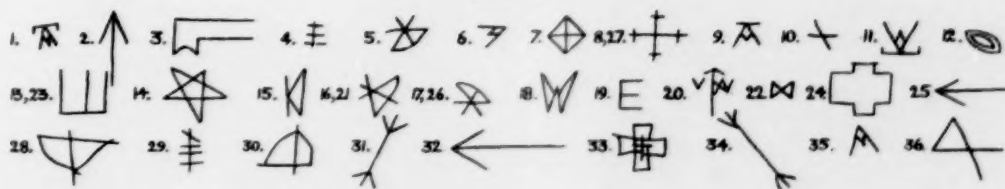
BAY 2.



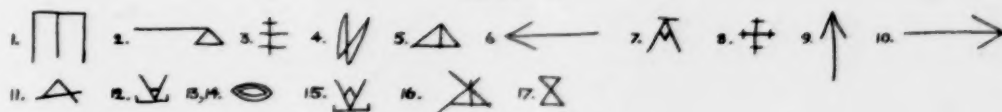
BAY 3.



BAY 4.



BAY 5.

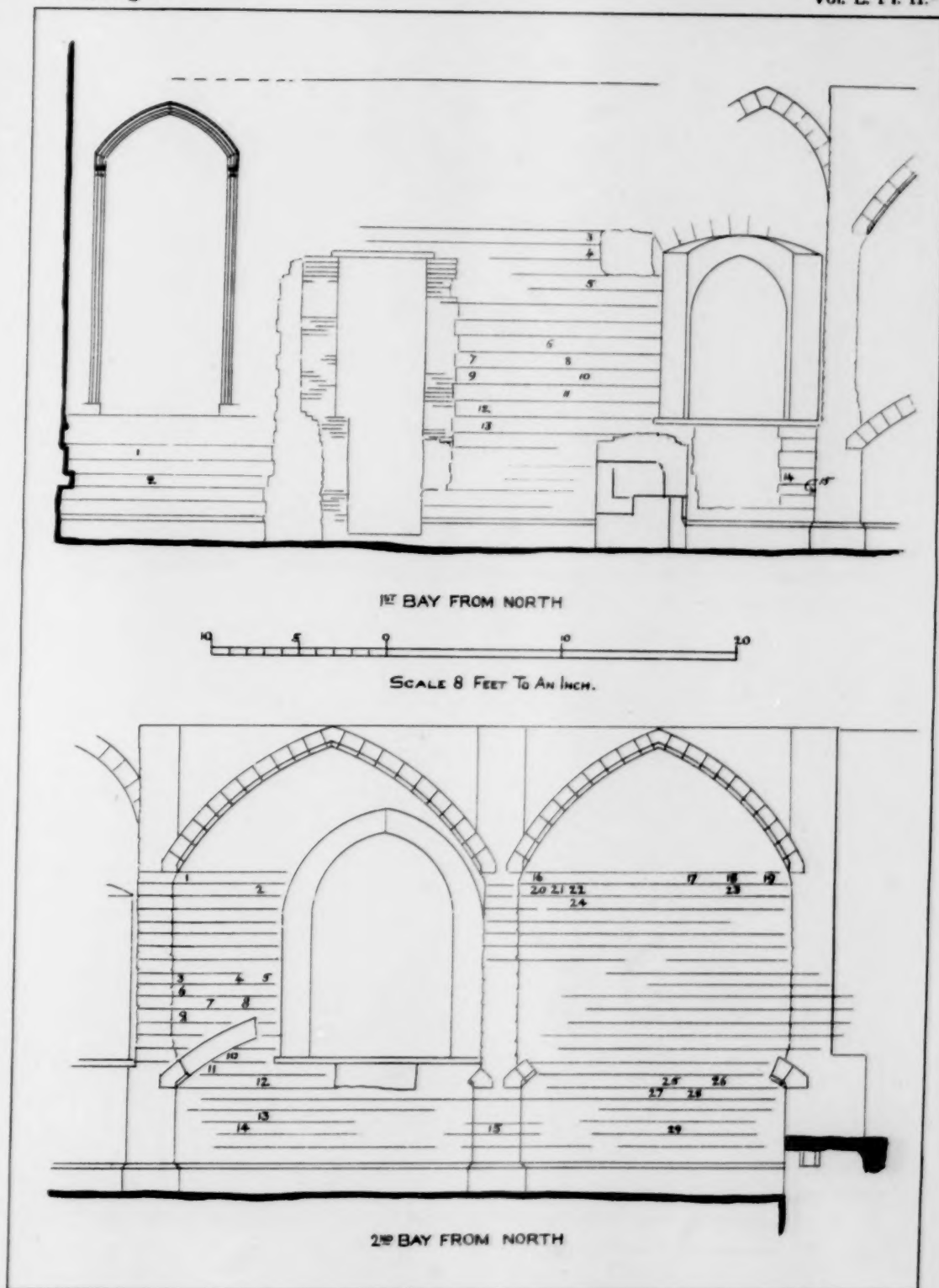


SCALE OF 0 3 6 9 12 INCHES.

MASONS' MARKS--WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.

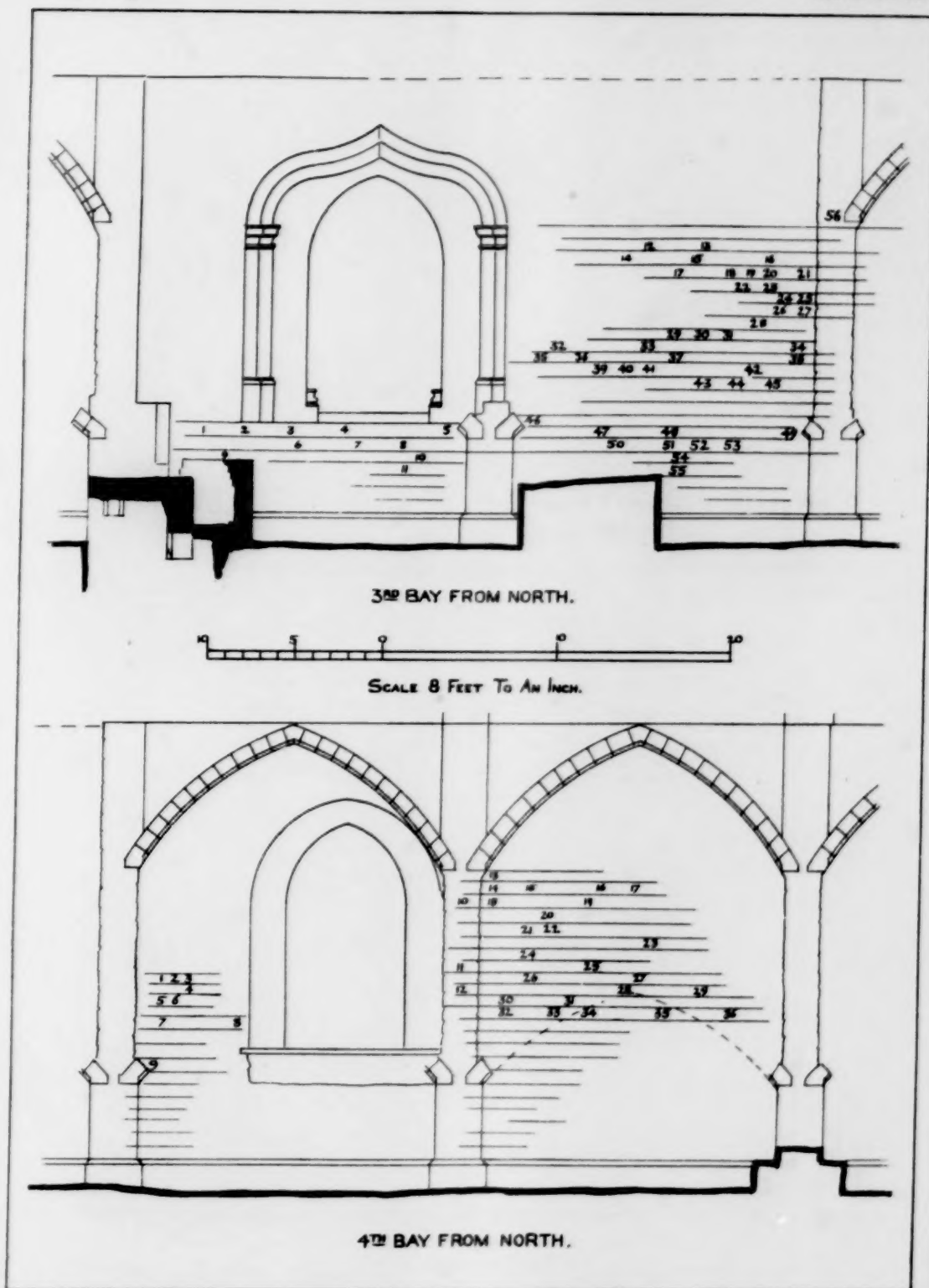
$\frac{1}{16}$  FULL SIZE. THE FIGURES REFER TO DIAGRAMS.





WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.  
POSITIONS OF THE MASONS' MARKS.

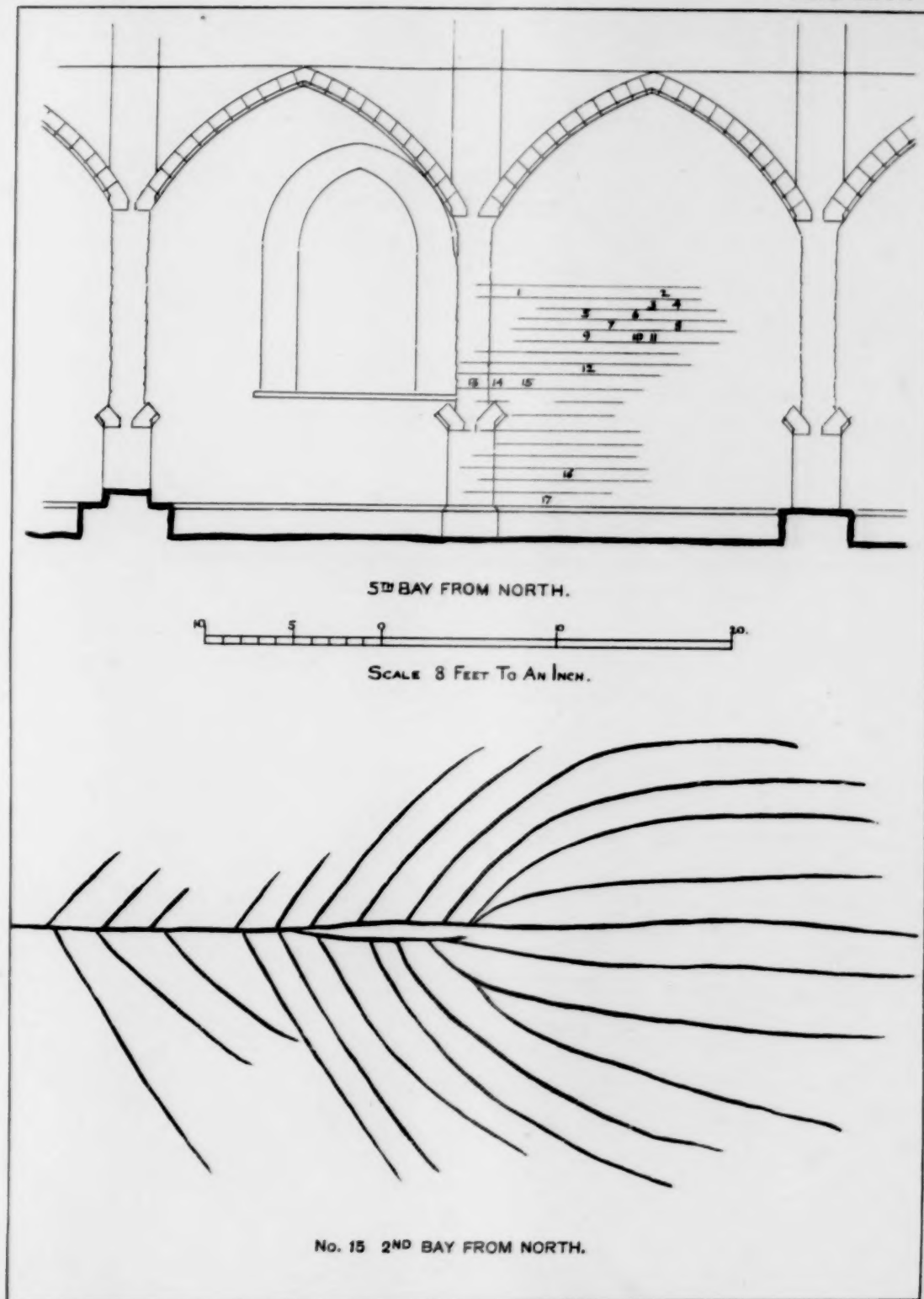




WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.  
POSITIONS OF THE MASONS' MARKS.







WESTMINSTER HALL, WEST SIDE.  
POSITIONS OF THE MASONS' MARKS AND DRAWINGS  
OF No. 15 2<sup>ND</sup> BAY.



in the cathedral churches of Winchester and Ely. I found the same mark on the early portions of the St. Sibold's church at Nuremberg, and upon the cathedral church of St. Stephen at Vienna; and, last autumn, happening to be present when they were uncovering a portion of the wall of Servius Tullius at Rome, I found the same mark there. I have also seen it at Constantinople and in Asia Minor. It was explained to me by a gentleman who had some knowledge upon the subject, that the frequency of the use of the arrow-head was due to the ease with which it could be made, but I cannot say that this explanation approves itself to me; on the contrary, upon examining the marks here it will be observed that they must have been works of considerable care.

On the other hand, I have examined many buildings in Normandy of the same date as English Norman with but poor success. The hall of the Exchequer of Normandy in the castle at Caen bears on a small scale a great likeness to what must have been the Westminster Hall of William Rufus; but I cannot say with certainty that I traced any mark upon it, though I think I detected on one stone the arrow-head. In a desecrated church in a farmyard at Taon, near Caen, I found a double-headed arrow had been cut upon the inner face of a stone which would have been invisible had the church been perfect; and it may be that this was the practice of the French Norman masons, as it certainly was a method occasionally adopted by the English masons in the thirteenth century. The church of Taon, although Norman, is not a very early specimen.

Mr. Street, who has illustrated his book upon Spain<sup>a</sup> with pictures of the various cathedral and other churches he visited, has taken notice of the marks there, and observes, that he has been unable to trace any connection between the marks and particular builders; but I cannot say that I altogether agree with him.

I think I traced the same marks upon all the buildings of the same date up the valley of the Ebro; and I certainly came to the conclusion that the buildings had been built by gangs of workmen that followed from one place to another, using their marks as they went. These marks may be found in many of our parish churches, and it is much to be regretted that one of the first acts of a modern church restorer is to neatly dress the stone, and so obliterate them.

I propose to place at the disposal of the Society the negatives of the photographs exhibited, for the purpose of preserving a representation of the state of the hall at present. Mr. Somers Clarke has also prepared a plan showing where

<sup>a</sup> *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain.* London: John Murray. 1869.

the masons' marks were situated; and he has given me the rubbings of the masons' marks, which also I hope to be allowed to place at the disposal of the Society.

I would draw particular attention to one mark, which looks like a tree or birch rod. If this is, as I believe it is, a genuine mark, there is only one that I know of at all like it, and that is at Sta. Maria Benevente. It is figured in Mr. Street's work before mentioned.

II.—*A Note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster.* By J. T. MICKLE-  
THWAITE, F.S.A.

---

Read December 13, 1883.

---

THE demolition of the law courts on the west side of Westminster Hall, and the consequent exposure of all that is left of the ancient work there, are my excuse for bringing forward now a matter which by itself would scarcely deserve to be made the subject of a communication to the Society. For I have not to tell of any great discovery, but to comment upon evidence which exists for the most part only in the shape of drawings of work now destroyed.

The plan of the palace before the great fire shows two principal apartments besides the hall and St. Stephen's chapel, which two were known in late times as the Painted Chamber and the Court of Requests. The Painted Chamber was connected by tradition with the name of Edward the Confessor, and, although itself a work of the thirteenth century, it stood over a vault of the same type as those which still remain at Westminster abbey, and which are attributed to the Confessor's time. We may, therefore, accept the tradition which makes this room part of his palace, and its size, 82 feet by 28 feet, was enough for it to have been the hall. But it may be, as some have thought, that the Court of Requests represented the original hall, the Painted Chamber being the withdrawing room or *thalamus* belonging to it. If it were so, the Confessor's hall was probably of wood, which is not unlikely in itself: for the remains exposed by the fire showed this room to have been later than his time, but still too near to it for us to suppose it to be a rebuilding of any stone hall erected by him. I should rather suppose it to have been part of the work of William Rufus, and intended to be the withdrawing room to his great hall, although it did not communicate with it directly.

However this may be, the great hall, certainly his work, changed the front of the palace and became itself the centre of future works. To this day we are reminded of the change by the names of Old Palace Yard to the south, and New Palace Yard to the north.

The complete transformation of the hall in the fourteenth century, and its "restoration" in the nineteenth, have not left anything now to be seen of William's work, except some plain walling on the west side lately exposed, and probably destined not to remain so long. But in 1836 and 1837 our then Fellow, Mr. Sidney Smirke, communicated to the Society several papers of careful observations made by himself during the "restoration" then going on under the direction of his brother, Sir Robert Smirke. These papers are printed in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh volumes of *Archaeologia*, and are illustrated by some excellent engravings from Mr. Smirke's drawings, which themselves still remain in our library. It appeared that when the hall was altered in the fourteenth century the old walls were left standing, but they were everywhere cased with new work, and the positions of the windows changed. In the "restoration" this casing was stripped off, and the anatomy of the walls laid bare and dissected. Mr. Smirke was thus able to make an elevation of the east side of the hall as it was in the twelfth century. The drawing, which we have, is an excellent one,<sup>a</sup> and shows exactly how much of the work was found actually in position, and that is enough to satisfy us as to the general correctness of the restoration. And Mr. Smirke tells us that the west side was the same, and supplied evidence where it was wanting on the east. The irregularity of the design makes this correspondence of the opposite sides rather remarkable, but it is not without parallel in other buildings of the Norman period.

Mr. Smirke says of his restoration: "The remarkable irregularity in the position of the smaller arches would scarcely be supposed possible, if the evidence of it were not decisive and indisputable; but I must own myself at a loss to account for such apparently gratuitous deviations from uniformity; although it is possible that the situation of adjacent pre-existing buildings, or perhaps indeed some internal arrangements of the hall, of which we have now no knowledge, may have caused the anomaly."<sup>b</sup> It is difficult to understand how external buildings,

<sup>a</sup> It is engraved in *Archaeologia*, vol. XXVII. plate xii. and the only fault to be found with the engraving is that no scale is given with it, a defect which is the more inconvenient because the engraver has drawn it to no recognised scale, thinking only of fitting his plate. Three quarters of an inch were in length, for which there is room, would have made it one-sixteenth of an inch to a foot.

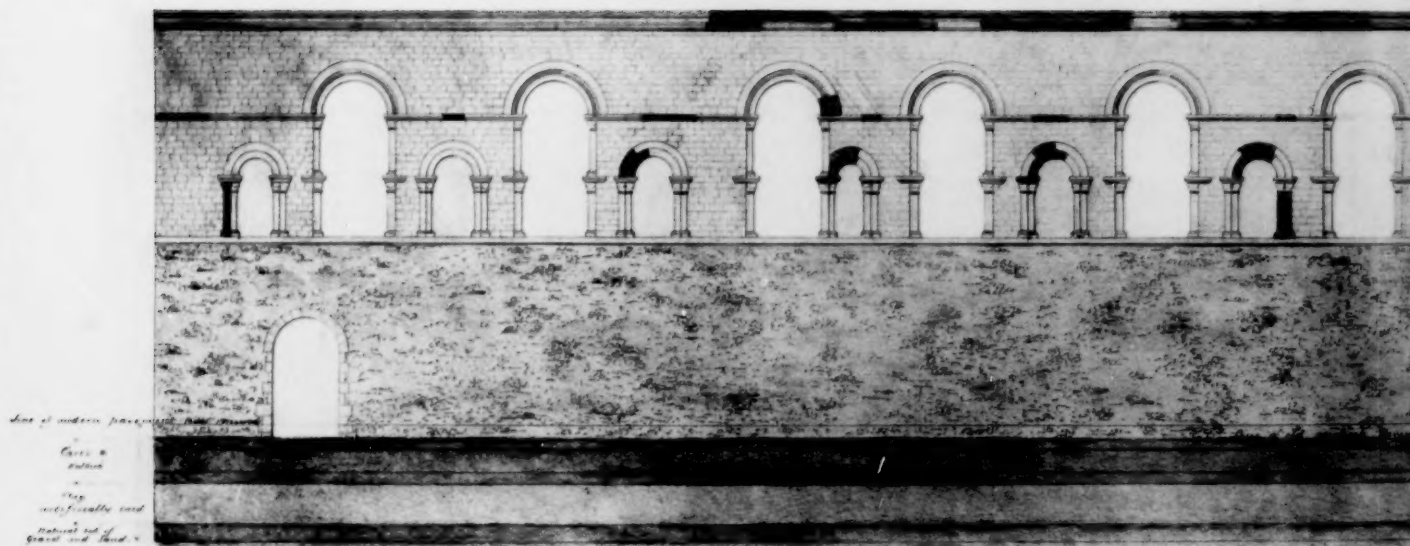
<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXVII. pp. 185-6.





LONGITUDINAL SECTION

Shewing a conjectural restoration  
previous to the alteration



The portions of stone-work distinguished by a darker tint, are those which were found *in situ*, and which suggested the restoration of the remaining parts. Additional evidence was afforded by similar portions of the opposite side.

Scale—0



A black and white photograph of the exterior wall of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The upper portion of the wall features a series of seven large, arched niches, each containing a statue. Below these are smaller, similar arches. The lower section of the wall is constructed from rough, irregular masonry. The image is a high-contrast black and white photograph, showing the texture of the stone and the architectural details of the arches.

*From a Drawing by Mr. SYDNEY SMIRKE.*



or even the internal arrangements of the hall, could have caused irregularity in merely decorative arches high up on the inside as these are. But the fact is, and it is curious it should have escaped Mr. Smirke's notice when he put his restoration on paper, that these smaller arches are not irregular. Beginning at the north end, the first nine of the small arches are spaced at as nearly equal distances from centre to centre as we should expect to find in work of the time. The next two are placed conjecturally, no old stones remaining to mark their position; but if we continue the same spacing as before across them, we reach the centre of the southernmost, which remained almost perfect. The spacing of these arches agrees with that of the buttresses lately uncovered on the west side, but the centres are not opposite to one another; and this, whilst it confirms Mr. Smirke's statement as to the correspondence of the two sides, shows that it must not be interpreted too strictly.

The larger arches alternated with the smaller, but without order in their spacing, which gives to the elevation that appearance of arbitrary irregularity which Mr. Smirke remarked; and I am no more able to explain it than he was. As these arches marked windows, their positions were most likely ruled by causes outside the building. But, as they were found to be spaced irregularly, whilst the smaller and comparatively insignificant arches between them were regular, it appears to be almost certain that the two are not parts of the same design. An architect of the eleventh or twelfth century would not have hesitated to put his windows at unequal distances if the circumstances of his building seemed to call for it; but if he wished to add decorative arches between them he would have put them in the middle of the piers. It is incredible that he should have taken the trouble to space them equally amongst themselves with the result of giving confusion to the whole design. And further, the windows did not agree in their spacing with the original buttresses as they have been found to be on the west side of the hall, and they must in some cases have encroached upon them. We are then driven to the conclusion that, either during the building or soon after it was finished, the design was changed and the large windows introduced, the walls being raised to receive them. It looks as if the walls had at first been about as high as the upper string shown in Mr. Smirke's drawing, and that then the windows were either in the small arches which he found, or, what is more likely, in similar but rather taller and wider arches placed between them and destroyed when the larger windows were inserted. I think we may see the cause of the change in the small size of the first windows, which would have made the hall very

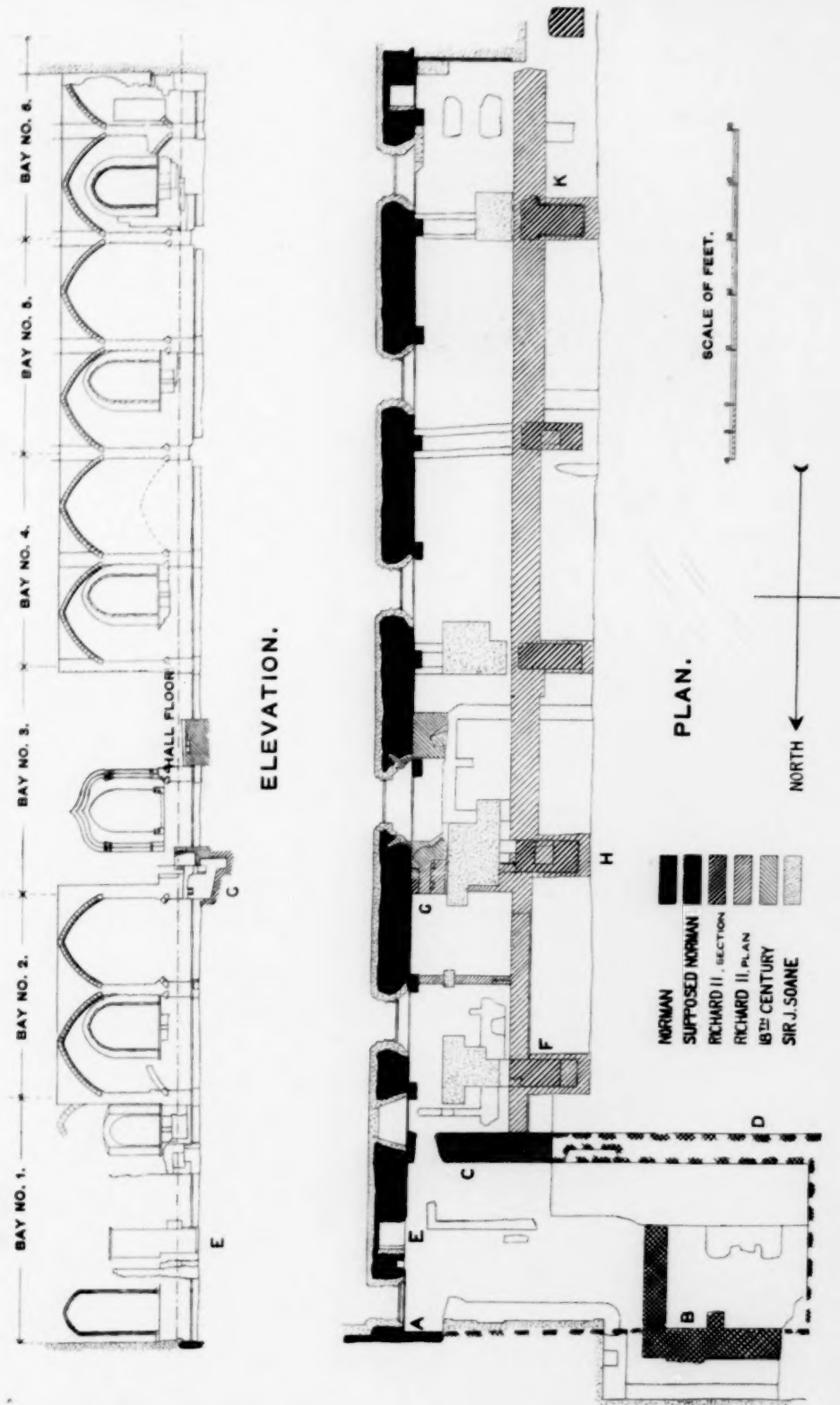
dark unless helped by a clerestory, for the existence of which there is no evidence, but rather the contrary.

We learn from Matthew Paris that the hall was used for the first time in 1099, and that when some one criticised it as being too large the king made his boast that it was not half big enough, and was a mere *thalamus* to the *palatium* which he would build. Now there is no real evidence that he ever began any such larger hall, and his death in the following year would prevent him from doing more than begin it. But the information which Mr. Smirke has preserved for us seems rather to show that he may have contented himself with raising the walls and roof of the hall already built. The change with the insertion of the larger windows would be a very great one. The hall would then be one not easily matched. It was the same size on plan as now. It has indeed been said, and I have seen it repeated lately, that the hall was lengthened in the fourteenth century; but Mr. Smirke's papers prove the existence of the original Norman work at both sides and at both ends.

---

The accompanying plate has been reduced from Mr. Smirke's original drawing in the possession of the Society.





ELEVATION.

PLAN.

ELEVATION AND GROUND PLAN  
OF THE WEST SIDE OF WESTMINSTER HALL

III.—*The west side of Westminster Hall.* By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.

---

Read December 13, 1883.

---

IN this paper I hardly venture to go beyond the statement of notes made upon the site by the permission of the Chief Commissioner of Works; and a comparison therewith of such plans, drawings, or other sources of information as I could obtain access to. The information I have been able to get together has made it clear that there is yet more to be got; indeed, the evidence to be afforded by the building itself and the ground to be excavated about it has not yet been exhausted.

It is to Mr. Freshfield's ever ready interest that we are indebted for photographs of the west side of the Hall. These were taken at his instance, and are of great value, showing as they do in a most accurate manner the condition of each bay and the general appearance of the building after the side was laid bare. The photographs, copies of which are in our library, are referred to hereafter, and numbered to agree with the numberings of the bays of the hall, shown on plate II.

In vol. iii. of the collection of Sir C. Wren's drawings in the library at All Souls college, Oxford, may be found drawings relating to Westminster Hall of much value. The drawings relating to St. Paul's cathedral church are well known, but in addition to these are sundry others, showing works, projected or carried out, at Hampton Court, Windsor Castle, St. James' and Kensington Palaces, the Houses of Lords and Commons, and other public buildings. The plans nos. 10 and 11 in vol. iii. are described as of "Old Record Room, at Westminster." These plans are of considerable size and drawn to scale; the walls of Westminster Hall itself, the abutments of the buttresses, and the walls joining them, are tinted yellow to distinguish them from the more recent additions. There can be no doubt that



they both represent the first-floor level of the range of rooms abutting against the west wall of the Hall. The differences between them are slight.<sup>a</sup> By the permission of the college exact copies of these have been made, and presented by Mr. Freshfield to our library. In addition to these drawings are others, numbered 17 and 21. These are, in fact, of greater interest than the foregoing, having on them many original notes and measurements. They are clearly the originals from which nos. 10 and 11 were drawn out. They show more completely the position of the windows, etc. in the west wall of the building attached to the west of the hall, the foundations of which are revealed by the recent excavations.

Although drawings nos. 10 and 11 are not dated, in the corner of no. 17, that forming Plate III., will be found, "Sept. 14<sup>th</sup> 1711." On this is shown the first-floor plan of the range of rooms under the buttresses, many of them lit by skylights. A note, "dore below next Mr. King's shop," gives us further evidence that we are dealing with an upper floor.

Drawing no. 16 (Plate IV.), which is to a larger scale than the preceding, bears the date "1712," and shows the ground-floor of certain rooms on the south side of the Fish Yard, and of the western end of the range of rooms before referred to. This drawing is covered with notes.

Drawing no. 21 (Plate V.), to a small scale, shows the first-floor plan of all this range of rooms; and is, in fact, so much like drawings 10 and 11, that it has not been thought requisite to reproduce them here. It bears numerous notes of considerable interest, especially with regard to the windows. Plans 10 and 11 may upon the evidence of these drawings be dated *circa* 1712. For some reason most of the windows in this range of rooms under the buttresses seem to have been closed, and numbers of skylights inserted in the roof.

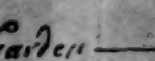
Another source of information is a plan in our library. It is drawn in pencil, and on the back is written a reference to Mr. Capon's engraved plan, vol. v. *Vetusta Monumenta*. It seems that this plan is, in some respects at least, an original, from which the engraved plan is compiled. The engraved plan bears on its face a statement that it was measured and drawn between 1793 and 1823. There are also three or four pages of notes and remarks accompanying it.

<sup>a</sup> These plans have been reproduced to a smaller scale in the "Report, Westminster Hall Restoration. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 27th April, 1885," and are numbered 18. The date of *circa* 1680, which is assigned to these plans, must be incorrect, as will be seen by the dates actually written on the fac-similes of drawings nos. 17, 21, vol. iii. Wren collection, which accompany this paper. (Plates III. and V.)

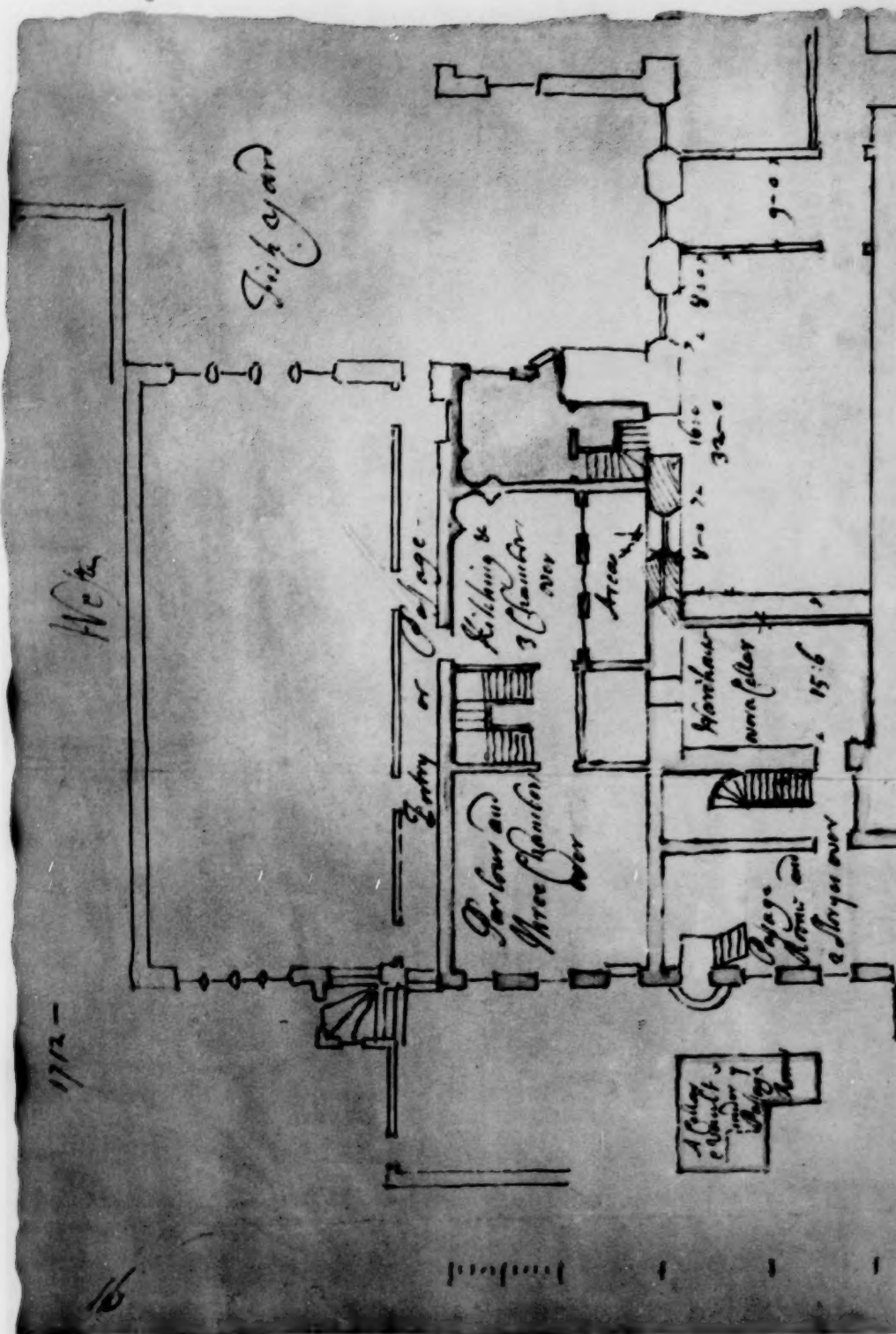


51  
12





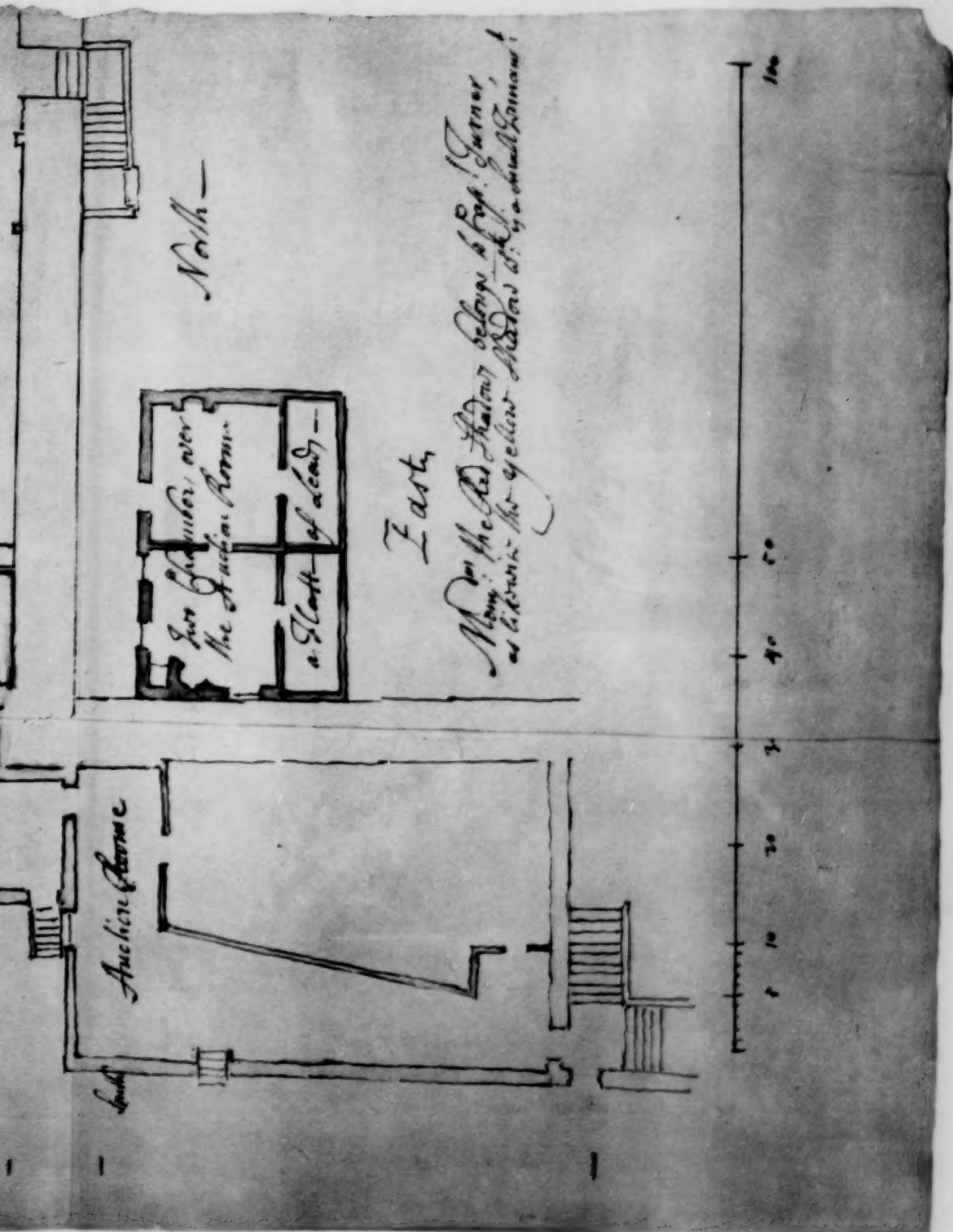
Wren Collection, All Souls College, Oxford.)



PLAN OF PART OF THE V

(Wren 16.—From the W





THE WEST SIDE OF WESTMINSTER HALL.

(The Wren Collection, All Souls College, Oxford.)



A comparison of the plans at All Souls college with that in our library shows some variations of considerable interest.

In the Crace collection at the British Museum, amongst the plans, portfolio xi. is a drawing of value, as it is dated and bears the following : "Apl. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1795. Copy of Mr. Soane's plan del<sup>d</sup> to Mr. Harrison at the land revenue office this day by Tho<sup>s</sup> Chawner."

This plan is in many respects the same as that in pencil in our library ; but being, as it is, partly tinted and "written to," it becomes a more valuable document.

A general plan of the buildings lying around Westminster abbey, and between it and Westminster Hall, is reproduced in fac-simile on Plate VI. from a drawing in the Wren collection, vol. iii. no. 42. This plan is dated June 8, 1716, and is drawn to scale. With the exception of the plan in Sandford's *History of the Coronation of James II.*<sup>a</sup> it is probably the earliest-dated plan of the neighbourhood. It shows the gates leading into New Palace yard and St. Margaret's Lane, and the complete state of inclosure of the west side of Westminster hall.

There are other maps and plans which show the arrangement of the west side before the recently-demolished law courts were built, and some of Soane's, published in the most handy form in Brayley and Britton's *Westminster*.<sup>b</sup>

There are many engravings extant which have been consulted, chiefly of the front of Westminster Hall, but I have not found any to throw much light on the part under consideration. It is clear that for a vast length of time this side has been more or less enclosed in a series of courts and back yards. Indeed there can be little doubt that it was so from the first. It seems that we are going quite away from the original intention of the builders in throwing open the whole side of the hall. Its very office as a hall, judging by the way in which we know that portion of a residence to have been used, would suggest that it was always more or less surrounded by buildings.

A good plan to a small scale is shown in Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, facing p. 125. It shows the general disposition of the adjacent buildings previous to the construction of the law courts recently removed.

From documentary evidence we must now pass to that afforded by the remains as they show themselves at the present moment. These remains as they stand are the more interesting, from the fact that whilst teeming with evidence of many

<sup>a</sup> *History of the Coronation of James II.* by Francis Sandford, 1687.

<sup>b</sup> The Parliamentary Blue Book before referred to contains many of these plans.

changes in the course of their existence, even the repairs necessary to maintain them in a state of reasonable stability must probably efface some pages of history. Any attempt at a restoration in the ordinarily accepted sense of the word must result in wholesale destruction and falsification.

The remains consist of a vast wall, forming the western side of Westminster Hall, and certain huge buttresses with their abutments, which help to sustain the great roof. Traces of foundations between these abutments have recently been found, and the plans to which I have referred make it evident that a long range of buildings existed against the west side of the great hall. At the north end there are evidences of walls running westward, and these doubtless formed the substructure of important buildings.<sup>a</sup> Mr. Micklethwaite has already stated his views as to the setting out of William Rufus's great hall.

The wall now laid bare is, by its masonry and material, clearly marked as of early Norman date (Plate II.) It is built of wide-jointed masonry, and shows an intermixture of two sorts of stone. The builders seem to have valued the effect so produced, making an imperfect chequer work on their wall. A little above the original external ground-line, and some five feet below the present surface, is a plain chamfered plinth, which returns round a series of slightly projecting pilaster buttress, which are set at an average distance apart of about 17 ft.

In his alteration of the hall Richard II. did not make his great roof trusses quite to accord with this system of subdivision. He erected a series of vast flying buttress and massive abutments to resist the thrust of each alternate truss. Each division thus formed I have called a bay. The whole length of the hall as we now see it is, therefore, beginning from the north, divided into six bays.

To return to the Norman work and pilaster buttresses. It is to be noted that in the first or northernmost bay one does not appear. There is no indication that it ever was there; the plinth runs on as though the wall were intended to have an external face all along.

On the other hand, the wall at the extreme north corner is clearly Norman and returns westward. It looks on the south and only visible face like internal work. Following this wall along to the west, from A to B (Plate II.), we meet with a broad foundation, and once more a chamfered plinth appears on the north face. This plinth is 11 inches below that on the hall. The masonry does not seem to

<sup>a</sup> Foundations of an early date have been laid bare at the southern end since this paper was written.



me to be altogether Norman. It may be Norman repaired, or later work built in part with some Norman stones.

South of the last-described wall and with the Norman plinth returning on it lies a foundation of a parallel wall, C D. We know by old prints and plans that a range of buildings stood along here. Hollar's view and plates in Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, etc., show us the appearance of the north front—a three-storied building with Tudor windows. It ended westward in an octagonal turret,<sup>a</sup> the parent of that now, alas, gone. The plan in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v. and that of 1795 in the Crace collection, bears the name of "Court of Exchequer" in this part. The court extended northward beyond the line of wall, and a row of pillars are shown as having the wall for their foundation. It is to the presence of a building against this first bay in Norman times that the absence of a pilaster buttress may be attributed.

In *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. Mr. Sidney Smirke's longitudinal internal elevation of the hall shows a round-headed doorway at the extreme north-east end of the wall. He implies that there was a similar one opposite. The palace undoubtedly lay chiefly on the east and south of the hall, but with screens covering the doors, as was usual. The kitchen would possibly lie to the west. These walls may mask the site of the kitchen.

In the remaining five external bays of the hall no evidence remains of Norman foundations of buildings touching its walls.

We must now examine the later work.

The letters patent of king Richard II. January 21, 1394, are extant, and direct John Godmerstone to repair the hall. The walls were to be heightened two feet. Directions are also given in connection with the internal work and roof, but our present concern being with the exterior of the building we are only interested with the roof so far as it became necessary to resist its thrust by the construction of flying buttresses and abutments.

These fortifications of the fabric were not, however, considered sufficient, but, as the side elevation of the hall shows, a curious system of arches two stories in height were set up, springing from the Norman pilaster buttresses and forming a species of thickening over the whole lower face of the wall.

The arches are in parts roughly bonded into the Norman wall-face. They

<sup>a</sup> See plates 20, 21, 23 in the *Blue Book*. It should be noted that on my plan the foundations are presumed to lie at right angles with the hall. The plan No. 3 in the *Blue Book* shows their actual deflection.

have in some cases sunk away, to a slight extent, from the Norman work; and where the lower range has been removed the evidence of their previous existence is shown by little else than the presence of the springing stones. They bear a hollow chamfer on the angle. It may be doubted whether this skeleton was ever of much value, but a species of engineering in stone and most wonderfully ingenious was not unfrequently resorted to to strengthen already existing work. The interior of the centre tower at Lichfield, below the spire, and the lantern tower of Lincoln, are notable examples.

Whether the pilaster buttresses were originally carried upwards or whether they were raised by Richard II. is not now easy to tell. The modern recasings have obliterated this part of the history most effectually.

We now find ourselves in front of the hall with its walls two feet higher than before, its new roof, windows, wall thickening, and great buttresses.<sup>a</sup> This, however, was not all. The abutments of the great buttresses were joined together by a continuous wall.

As soon as the abutments were exposed by the recent demolition it became clear by the marks on them that a lead roof had extended back to the wall of the great hall. The returns of the parapet were clearly to be traced, especially on the most southern abutment.

Whether the line of building parallel with the hall was in one or two stories may be questioned.

In the north bay is the jamb of a doorway, E, Plate II., at a very low level, below that of the present hall floor. It is of Norman masonry and at the original floor-level. The lower part of the first abutment, F, has some points not to be explained. The plinth seems, in part, to disappear under it. At its north-east angle is a portion of a window-jamb which appears as though it may be of earlier work than the abutment into which it is now incorporated, and this jamb seems to have undergone a much later alteration.

The doorway already mentioned and this window-jamb would lead us fairly to suppose that there was here at least a lower room, as indeed I think there was all along. A doorway also exists in the Norman foundation-wall.

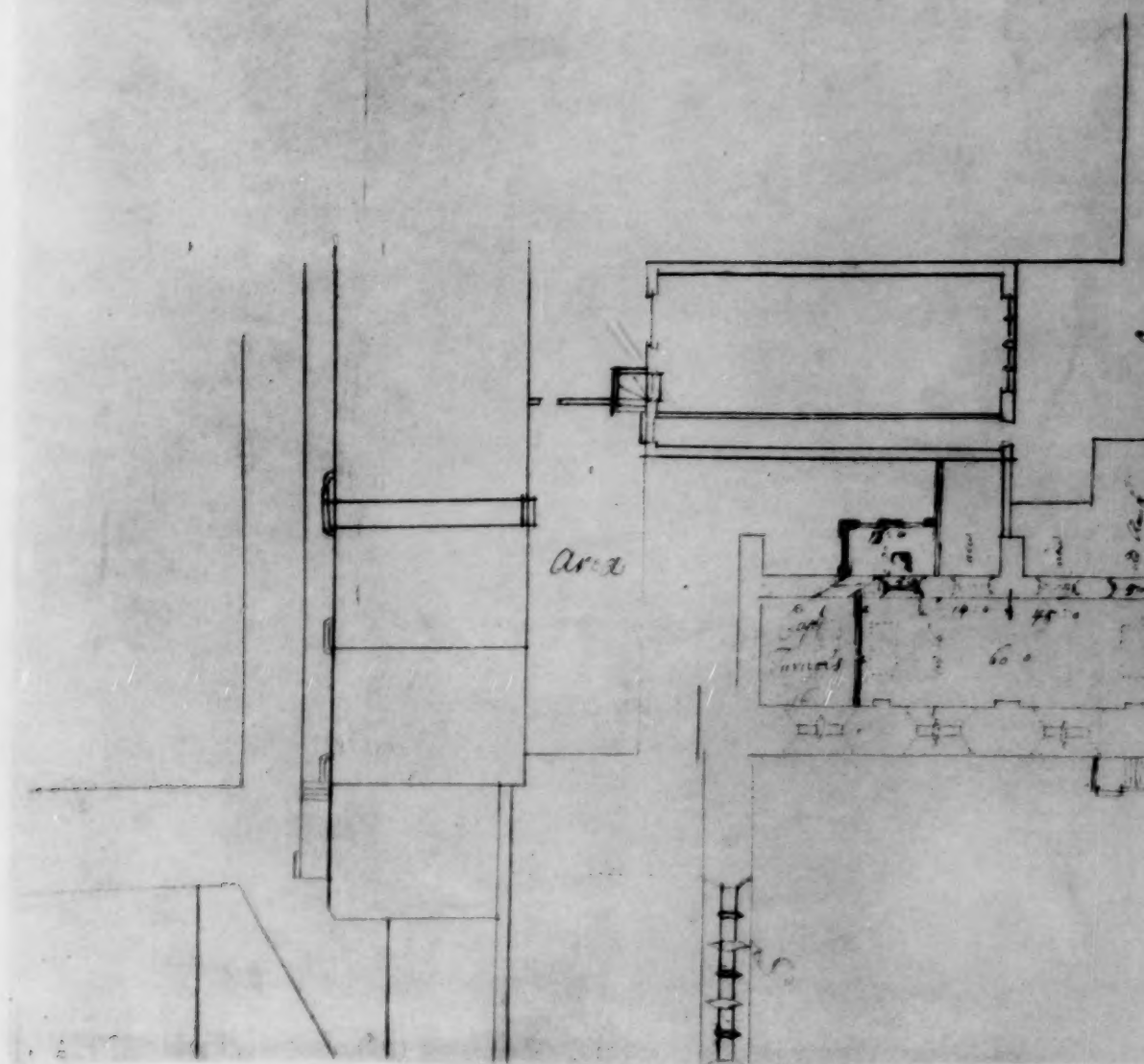
We now come to bay 2.<sup>b</sup> Here, between the abutment of the next buttress and the wall of the hall, there is indication of a descent.<sup>c</sup> Sir C. Wren's plan shows that the wall in the foundation or lower courses of which this opening

<sup>a</sup> See elevation, Plate II.

<sup>b</sup> See photograph no. iv.

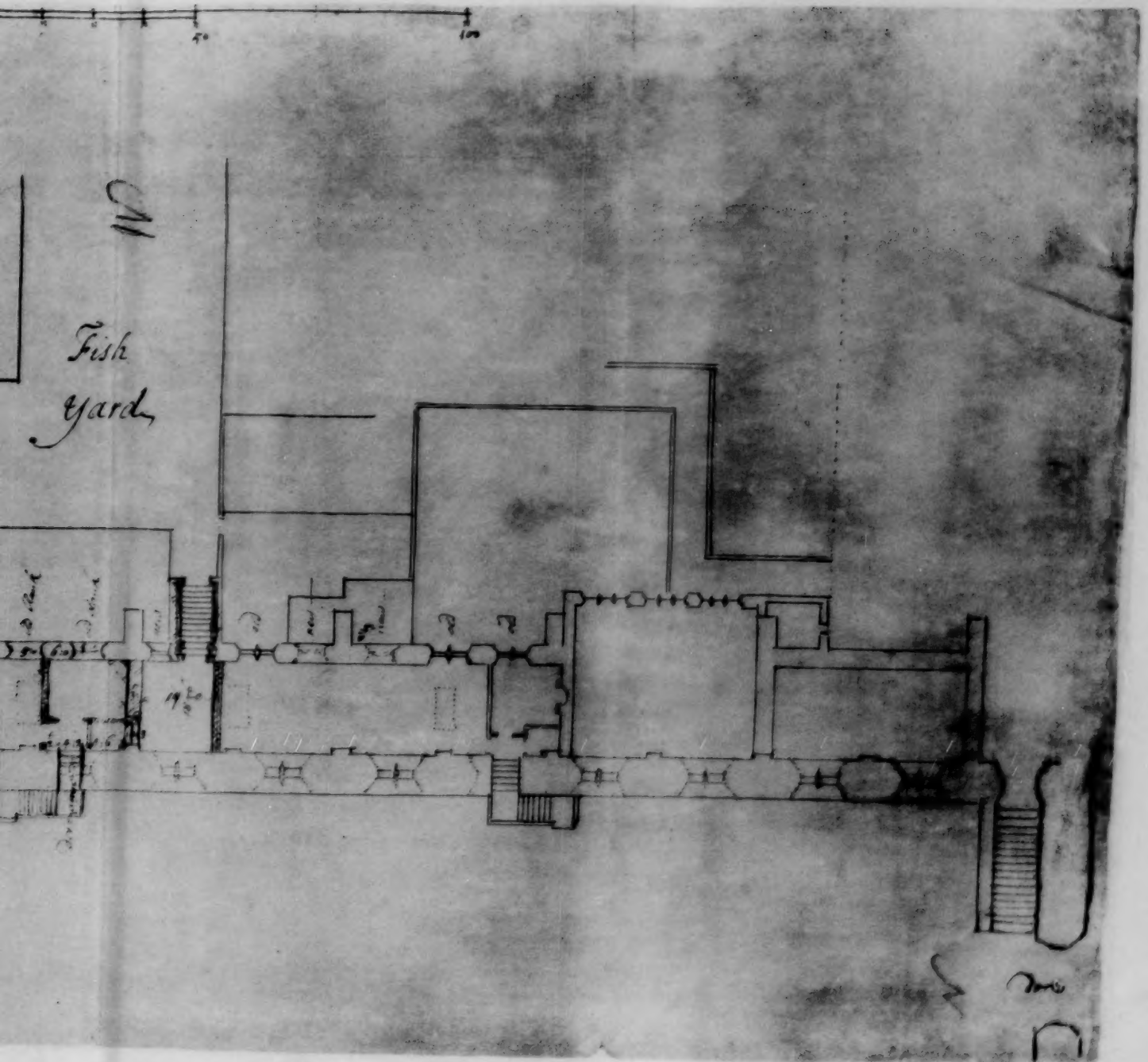
<sup>c</sup> See photograph no. ix.





PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR

(Wren 21.—From t

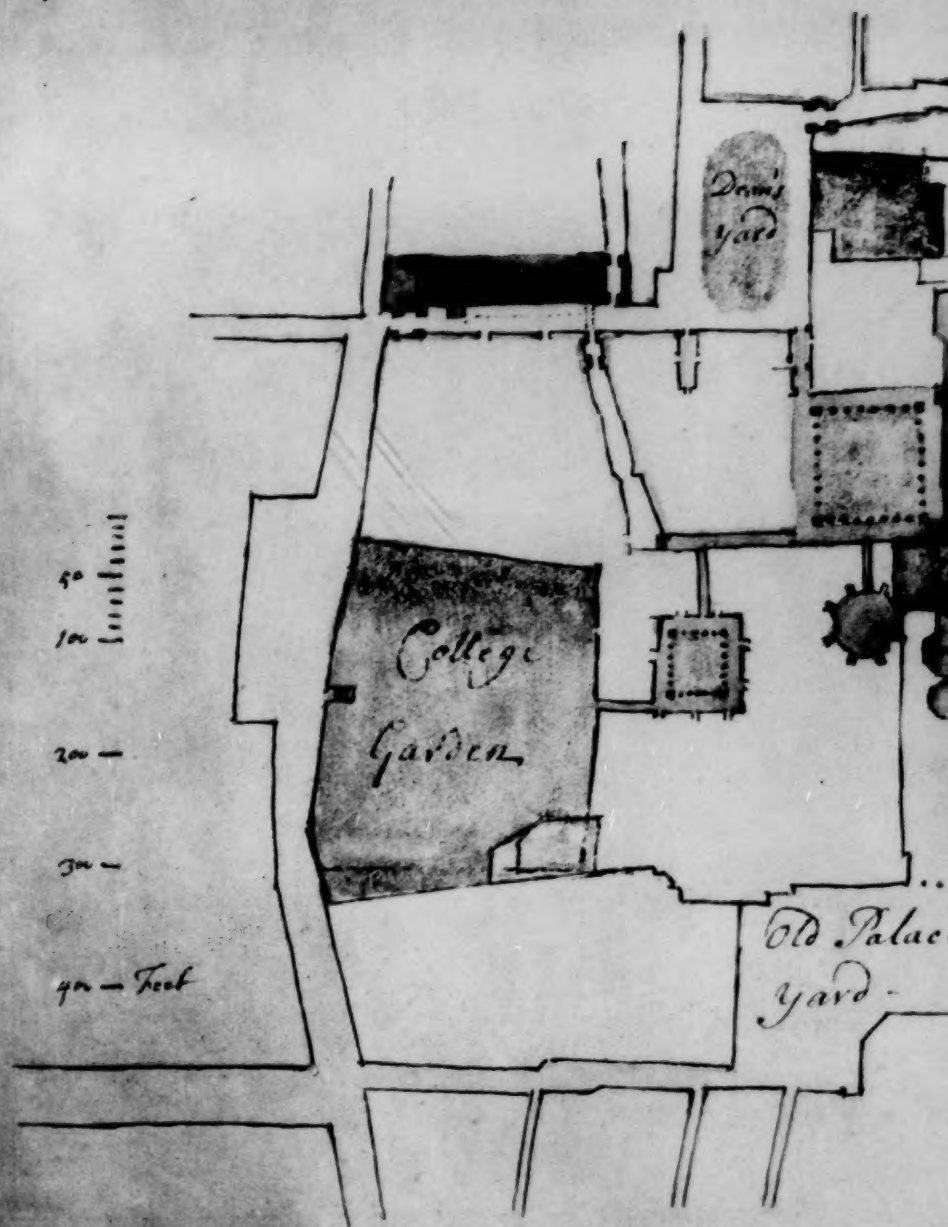


OR OF THE WEST SIDE OF WESTMINSTER HALL.

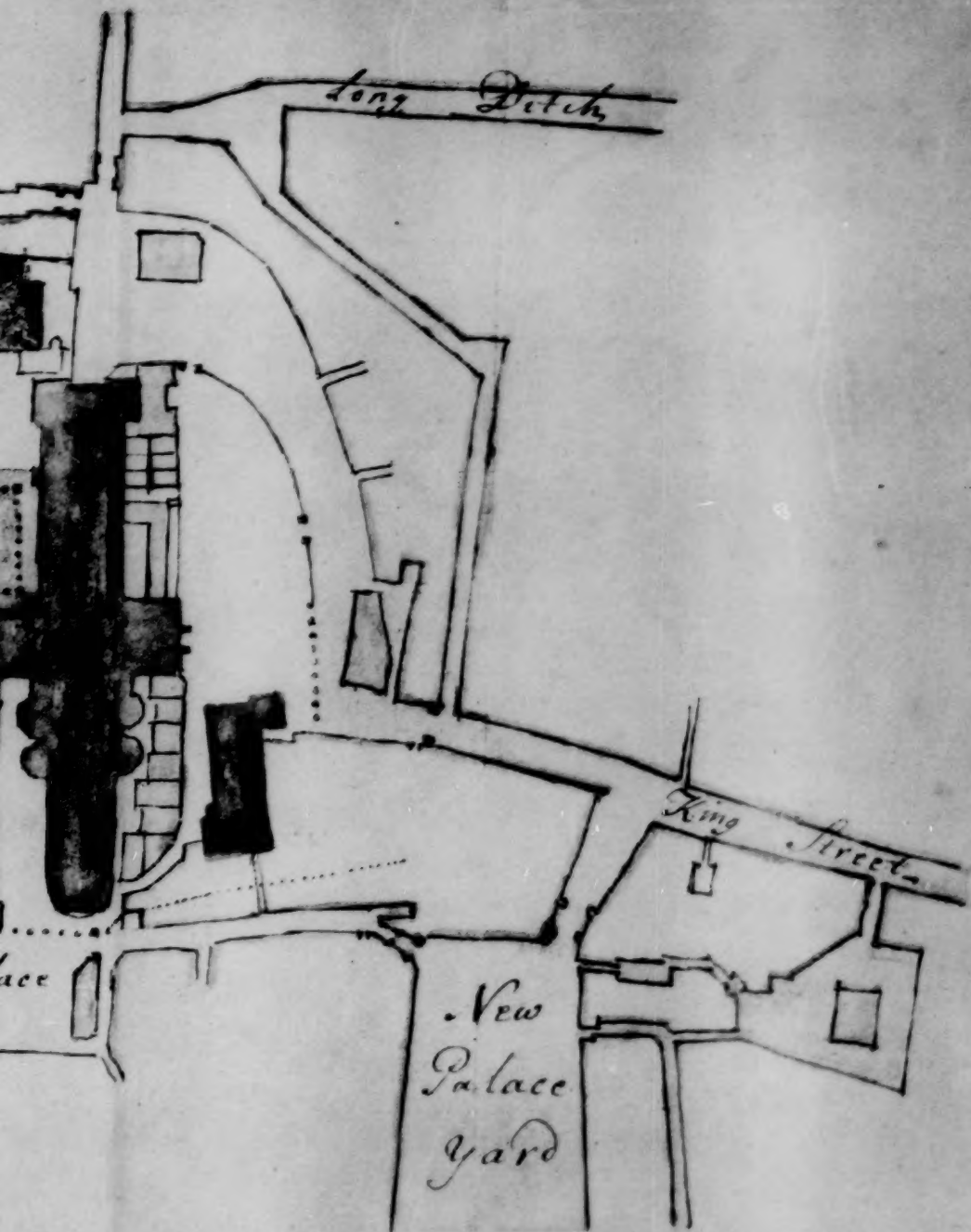
from the Wren Collection, All Souls College, Oxford.)



June 5<sup>th</sup> 1716



42.



BUILDINGS ROUND WESTMINSTER HALL IN 1716.

(From the Wren Collection, All Souls College, Oxford.)





occurs was standing in his time. It does not come in a line with the abutment, but somewhat to the north. The chamfer of the plinth runs under the buttress. This may, however, be only careless work. The interior of the abutment<sup>a</sup> is hollow. A small round-topped hole gives admission at the bottom. The hollow place extends up to some height, and shows signs of a door. It was doubtless a *garderobe*. The buttress seems to have been so constructed from the first. The structure is, in consequence, terribly shattered in every direction.

Sir C. Wren's plans, nos. 10 and 11, show the west wall of the hall, as also the parallel wall to it, all coloured yellow. It would seem that these plans were prepared so that a scheme could be made out for joining some new work to the old, coloured yellow, the new being tinted in Indian ink. In this second bay from the north the line of west wall is broken, and a large room is shown with three mullioned windows. On drawing no. 17, Wren collection (Plate III.), this is called, "Ye Chief Justices Room." Elsewhere it appears as "Queen Elizabeth's Bedchamber." No access is shown to it.

Bays 3 and 4 are, on Wren's plans, occupied by a long room. It is called, "Ye Treasury Record Room." A large external staircase is shown, leading apparently from what is known as "The old Fish Yard." A small stair leads from the hall. The Norman masonry in bay 3 is much cut about.

In bay 5 a similar stair rises from the hall. A solid wall is shown in Wren's plans (the foundations remain), separating bays 4 and 5, except in no. 17. The extreme south end of the attached building, bay 6, is marked as "Cap. Turner's," and on no. 16 (Plate IV.) is called, "Warehouse over cellar." Indications on no. 17 (Plate III.) also show distinctly that when it was made the building was in two stories. The lower part of the hall wall in the sixth bay is much cut about by insertions of various dates. A splayed jamb runs in to some distance, but to what it may belong is hard to say. The large ogee-headed doorway in the third bay<sup>b</sup> is not shown on Wren's plans.

In a plan made by Thos. Lediard in 1740 the doorway is shown, and gives access to a large room, breaking the general wall line. It is the only doorway shown in the side of the hall. In Fourdrinier's plan, dated 1761, this building is called the New Court.

In Mr. Soane's plan already referred to, dated 1795, this room is called "Court of Common Pleas," and a circular staircase (the remains are now exposed<sup>c</sup>) is shown right and left of the large doorway before mentioned.

<sup>a</sup> On plate II.

<sup>b</sup> See elevation, plate II., and photograph no. 5.

<sup>c</sup> See photograph no. ix.

These staircases also are shown on the pencil plan in our library, but not upon Capon's plan in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v. The doorway is of a strange style. The section of the jambs and mouldings is a travestie of classical work. In the apex of the ogee arch is a large Tudor rose, but, to use a favourite modern phrase, very freely treated.

As in the abutment between the second and third, so in that between the fourth and fifth bays, is, as may be assumed, a *garderobe*, evidently a part of the original construction.

The abutment between the fifth and sixth bay shows part of a door jamb (κ, Plate II.), but the ashlar immediately above overhangs it.

A small part of the sixth abutment has lately been revealed. This, with its flying buttress, was pulled down when Sir Charles Barry constructed the present beautiful gable which faces Henry VII.'s chapel. The plan in Britton and Brayley shows the abutment as complete.

At the time the lately-demolished law courts were built the side of the hall was very roughly treated. No less than four large doorways were pierced through the massive wall. The ogee-headed doorway was filled in and masked by fresh stonework, and a doorway was also made at the extreme north end of the wall. Mr. Smirke's plate, in *Archæologia*, vol. XXVII. would, however, lead us to suppose that a Norman door had been here, as it also was in the east wall.

I would suggest the following as the result of the examination of the building. That at the time the hall was brought to its present form, not only were the flying buttresses and their great abutments built, but a wall, rising as high as the sills of the great hall side-windows, was also built at a distance of about 18 feet to the west, and joining these abutments. This wall enclosed a building, probably two stories high, *i.e.* a cellar or low story, and a more important one above. There is no evidence whatever to show what the wall was like.

Sir C. Wren's plans, nos. 16, 17, and 21 (Plates III., IV., and V.), show imperfectly the position of sundry windows, but give no real indication as to their antiquity. We must however fear, that by laying bare what was never intended to have been completely thrown open, a ghost has been raised which can be properly laid only by following the advice of Sir Charles Barry, and completing his beautiful building as an inclosure to the mighty skeleton revealed.

IV.—*Some Remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the City of London.* By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.

---

Read February 21st, 1884.

---

THE original object of the present communication was to present to the Fellows some account of a remarkable Book of Records preserved in the parish church of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, containing, among other interesting particulars, the original constitution under which the parish was governed.

As, however, some other of the parish books presented features of exceptional historical interest, I have taken leave to add, by way of illustration to the paper, some particulars relating to the parish and its inhabitants, gathered from its books.

The parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, is one of the most interesting of the peculiar parishes in the city of London. It lies due north of Lothbury, and between it and London Wall. Speaking generally, it is bounded on the west by Coleman Street, on the east by the Drapers' Gardens, on the south by Lothbury, and on the north by London Wall. Until Moorgate Street was driven through it, it was a crowded parish, inhabited principally by poor. The church of St. Stephen's is situated at the south-western end of the parish, and originally there were two graveyards pertaining to it; one near the church, and the other adjoining London Wall. Coleman Street formed, more or less, the western, and the alley running along the outskirts of Drapers' Gardens the eastern, boundary; and from Coleman Street to this alley there was a series of cross alleys—Great Bell Alley, Little Bell Alley, Swan Alley, and several others—each so narrow that a horse and cart could not pass through it. The parish was, until the end of the reign of King

Henry VI., a portion of the parish of St. Olave's Jewry, and St. Stephen's church was a chapel for that parish. It remained in this condition until quite the end of that reign, when the district was made a vicarage and the chapel a parish church. It is impossible to tell accurately the number of the population, but I should say that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was about 4,000.

The vicarage was, together with the rectory of St. Olave's, in the gift of the priors of Butley, in Suffolk. It passed to the Crown upon the suppression of the monastery, and is now in the gift of the parishioners, having been granted to them by Queen Elizabeth in the thirty-second year of her reign.

The first vicar was William Pawle, who was appointed in 1457, and he continued until the 14th October, 1459, when William Leeke was appointed. The Record Book, the foundation of this communication, was commenced in Mr. Leeke's time; and, therefore, just after the parish had been created. The account books commence within a few years of the same time, and to this extent the books are unique. Unfortunately, they are not continuous.

The Parish Registers commence in King Henry VIII.'s reign, and are written in the same handwriting as certain additions to the Record Book, which were made in that reign. They are beautifully kept; the oldest being a paper book.

The earliest Vestry Minute Book now in existence dates from the early part of the seventeenth century.

Among the vicars of the parish was Sir Richard Kettell, who was vicar in the latter part of King Henry VIII.'s reign, and continued throughout the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and died in the year 1563, the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth. He must, in some respects, have exceeded in versatility the Vicar of Bray. During his time the registers were kept, as it seems to me, in his handwriting. The penmanship is most excellent, and forms a striking contrast to some of the later productions.

Mr. John Davenport, who was vicar from 1624 to 1633, was also a remarkable person. The following is a condensed account of him, taken from Newcourt. "Mr. Davenport was educated at Oxford. He left that university without a degree, retired to London, became a noted preacher among the Puritans, and vicar of St. Stephen's parish. He returned to Oxford in 1625, and took his degree, and then returned to London, and remained at St. Stephen's until 1633, when he resigned the vicarage under pretence of opposition from the prelates, because he scrupled at certain ceremonies. From London he went to Amsterdam, where he quarrelled with one of the resident clergy there upon the subject of baptism. In the beginning of the Rebellion he returned to England, and had a

cure bestowed on him; but, finding matters not to go current with his humour, he, by the persuasive letters of Mr. J. Cotton, of New England, went to that country, and became pastor of New Haven there, where he continued in great esteem, till the time almost of his death, with those of his persuasion. He died at Boston, in New England, March 13th, 1669."

I have given this history at length, because it accounts for the fact that many Americans visit St. Stephen's by reason of Mr. Davenport's connection with the parish.

I shall have occasion to mention another vicar, Mr. John Goodwin, who succeeded Mr. Davenport.

The Book of Records commences with a calendar. In addition to the usual saints' days, it specifies some days of interest to the parish. The word "Pope" has been struck out in those places in which it occurred, in the time of Henry VIII., and the commemoration of St. Thomas of Canterbury has been carefully erased.

In one instance, St. Silvester's day, the word "Pope" has been reinserted over the erasure made when it was taken out. This was done in Queen Mary's reign, and was probably occasioned by the obit kept on that day. There were several other obits kept in the church, and the days of two of them are specified in the calendar.

On the page following the calendar there is this heading:

"The inventory of the goods of the church of St. Stephen's, in Coleman Street, of London, written the year of Our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-six."

This inventory, which will be found in the appendix, is divided into different headings, descriptive of the different articles; thus: jewels, latten, pewter, missals, vestments, altar-cloths, cloths of work, towels of work, hangings for the altar, &c.

At the end of the inventory is written:

"This book, written by Thomas FitzJohn, some time clerk of this parish, in the month of August, in the year of Our Lord one thousand four hundred and sixty-six; then being vicar Mr. William Leeke, John Flacher and John Bacon, churchwardens."

Next follows, in a different handwriting, "The inventory of the goods, jewels, and ornaments of the parish church of St. Stephen's, in Coleman Street, of London, hereafter specified, named, and written, the twenty-fifth day of the month of June, in the year of Our Lord God a thousand five hundred and forty-two, and in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King



Henry VIII.; then being vicar Sir Richard Kettvill, Bachelor-of-Law; Robert Smith (mercier), and William Bradford (tallow-chandler), churchwardens: to the intent that the two parish clerks of the same church shall have charge and keeping of them at all times hereafter; shall be ready and deliver again, or do to be delivered to the said vicar and churchwardens, or to their successors, all the same goods, jewels, and ornaments, when they or either of them shall be thereto required."

This inventory, which will also be found in the appendix, is divided into similar heads to the earlier inventory.

In the earlier list I observe, among the books, an entry in the margin, "Nota sold"; and on looking at the books that are sold it appears that they were all those "not Salisbury." The "Nota sold" is in the handwriting of the period of King Henry VIII. This appears in two places, and points to the time, in the latter part of the reign of King Henry VIII., when a first attempt was made to establish a uniformity by restricting the use, as far as possible, to the Salisbury use.

There is nothing particular in the list of the goods in the time of King Henry VIII. save the fact that the number, as will be seen, is extremely diminished; the former list extended over fourteen leaves of parchment, the latter only over four.

The book has been kept without any regard to continuity. The entries were made as room was found, and some of the earliest entries are found mixed with much later documents. Some of them are such as are common to all city parishes: The assessment made after the great fire; Particulars of the boundaries of the parish; Queen Elizabeth's grant of the right of presentation; Various opinions of counsel; and several wills. In addition however to these there are some ordinances of interest and a copy of the award made when the parishes were divided.

This paper does not pretend to do more than draw attention to these documents, but I have selected the most interesting and have placed them in the appendix.

The first entry of interest consists of "the constitution and ordinances of choosing the churchwardens." This occupies half a page, and states that which is now well known as the custom of London with regard to the election of churchwardens. The ordinance was set forth "because of variance and division that hath been of long continuance among the parishioners." The churchwardens and the parishioners were to be summoned together annually on the Sunday before

the feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th), after matins, and they were to choose one churchwarden to him that had been last chosen the year before. This entry, which is set out in the appendix, was I believe written in the reign of King Edward IV.

The next entry relates to the sexton's duty, and is in a handwriting which can easily be identified as that of a scribe in the latter part of the reign of King Henry VIII.

Then follow the duties of the two clerks.

After this there is an interesting sanitary minute of the date of King Edward IV., which will be found in the appendix, but from its quaintness I refer to it here. "Ofte tymys it is seene that a syngler pfette hyrtyth and harmyth a comyn wele. And for cause myche of the pepyll be sette so nowgh a dayes wenyng hem selfe that they do well when they hyrte hēselfe and alle ther neyghburse semyng they do a werke of mercye or pitye and it is not soo but her singler avayl or else they wolde not do hitte that they will receyve men and women and children yonge and olde of other pissches than ther owne infect in pestilence the which sekenes evry man escheweth. Therefore we beyng rewlars and gou'nerse of the pissch of Seynt Stephan in Colman Strete, M. William Leeke, vicar ppetuall, Robert Ewell and Robert Barly, churchwardens of the same chirch, commande and forbede by comyn assent of alle the pissch. That no man ne woman ne childe receyve no suche pepull after this monyschyng made under the payn of lesyng to the church of Seynt Stephan iij solid iiijd as ofte as he or they ben founde fawty ther inne."

The statement of the clerks' duty, written in the reign of King Edward IV. is extremely minute as to the times of service and the behaviour of the clerks there. The whole is set out in the appendix, and I only here refer to one particular.

"They shall make no contention, nor bate, nor heaviness, between the curate and the parishioners, nor of no other priest, and if they hear any confederate or imagination or slander of malice against the curate or of any other priest that longs to the said church, in all haste they shall in confession tell it to the curate, and the names of the persons that so imagine. Item. They shall be obedient in all lawful things to all the parishioners, and courteous in bearing and behaving themselves, in answer to high and to low as servants and members of the Church of God, asking their quarterage, their casuals, and other things that belong to them by right, amiably, and if any man or woman contrary, and will not pay

their duty, to inform the curate and the churchwardens, and they shall set remedy with grace of God, and if any person be breaker of this good and goodly ordinance, the indignation of Almighty God fall he in. Amen."

Then follows a list of the obits kept in the church, one being on the anniversary of the battle of Wakefield, and five wills affecting the parish. As I have said, I have not thought it worth while to encumber this paper with the wills, but what I have said will I think justify my statement that this book is in many respects the most important, both in date and contents, in the city of London.

The earliest account book begins in 1486 and extends to 1507. The accounts show, in some respects certainly, an advance as it seems to me upon the civilization of the present day; for instance, there was a common privy in the parish, which was periodically cleaned, the cleansing for the year cost 3s., which was a large sum in those days. It is worthy of remark that there were two of these over the Walbrook, in St. Margaret's parish, so that the temporal as well as the spiritual wants of the parishioners were attended to. Bread and ale seem to have been in requisition on the Church festivals, and the singers from Powles upon St. Stephen's day had drink given to them as well as payment in money. The church seems to have been pewed from the commencement of its being a parish church; in the year 1486-7 there is a heading of "repacion of the pewes in ye church." "It. for xxiiij iron clampes for the same pewes, iijd." There are also charges for "nailes and planks for the werke." They were also repaired again in 1502 and 1503. I should fancy, if it were worth tracing the fact, that the antiquity of pews in London was very great.

The first vestry book commences in 1622, and contains many very interesting items. It would seem that the income of the vicar was only 11*l.* a year, but the parish made up the amount to 50*l.*, in addition to the casualties, by agreement made with each vicar as he was elected, with a special declaration on the part of the vicar that he accepted the increase as a gift and not as a right.

In 1622 Mr. Samuel German was vicar; he, it seems, displeased the parish, and they refused to pay him anything beyond 11*l.* Upon this he complained to Dr. George Mountain, then Bishop of London, and the Lord Keeper, the Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop requested the parish to continue their usual payment to Mr. German, and the letters which passed are substantially entered in the minute-book, but the parish refused to do so upon the ground of the "dislike which they conceive of the conversation and negligence in his ministry, charging of his parishioners with continual calymies in pulpitt and out, and otherwise of the said Samuel German doth think not worthy of the said liberal allowance." This



minute is dated 1623. This seems to have been a usual complaint against the city clergy, and perhaps with some variation might in some instances be repeated now, if the churchwardens kept as conscientious minutes as they did in the seventeenth century.

However, the quarrel appears to have been shortly patched up, for about a fortnight later Mr. German entered into a fresh arrangement with them at the suggestion of the Lord Keeper, from which it would seem that the parish were not wholly in the right, as they appear to have previously withheld the casualties from the vicar. A few months later he again quarrelled with the parish upon the same subject—money. This time he was clearly wrong, and had to admit it. In the next year, 1624, he left, and was succeeded by Mr. Davenport.

I have given an outline of this latter gentleman's history from Newcourt, but the parish books give some ground for thinking that the reason for his leaving was ill-health. The last entry in his time is of a present of 20*l.* given to him by the parish to pay for his going to and returning from the Bath.

Mr. Davenport was succeeded in 1633 by Mr. John Goodwin. The latter was a very remarkable man. He was in some respects a High Churchman, or rather he held some of the tenets which were then considered as indicative of High Church views; but politically he was an advanced Republican. At a later period he was a supporter of Oliver Cromwell, and advocated the death of the king. In his views upon Church government he ultimately threw in his lot with the Independents.

In 1641, before it was compulsory, he and the parish subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant; and in 1643, when it was prescribed by an ordinance of Parliament, he and the whole parish again subscribed to it. These two covenants, with the signatures, are written in the vestry minute-book, and bear the original signatures of Mr. Goodwin and the parishioners. Mr. John Watts, the last signatory of the Solemn League, specially saves his allegiance to the king and his supremacy, and takes exception to holding arms against him.

At this time the principal laymen in the parish were Mr. Alderman Pennington, Mr. Alderman Hildesley, and Mr. Owen Rowe, deputy. Mr. Alderman Pennington is an important figure in the early days of the Great Rebellion. The first notice of him as a public man was when, during the prosecution of Lord Strafford, in 1641, he, with some hundreds following him, attended at the House of Commons and presented a petition signed by fifteen thousand citizens against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church. It is safe to say that this was a made-up petition, and put forward to serve as a pretext for what imme-

diately followed upon it, viz., the impeachment of Archbishop Laud, against whom it was levelled.

The Parliament had found a useful ally, and when, after the battle of Edgehill in the following year, the city was disposed for peace, Parliament quashed the election of the next alderman in rotation as Lord Mayor, who happened to be against the war, and appointed Alderman Pennington. The whole of his influence was thrown into the scale with the war party, and it is not saying too much to attribute to him entirely the part that the city took at this juncture; nor was this unimportant, the sinews of war were to be found there, and Lord Mayor Pennington drew upon them unsparingly. This fact was well known to the royalists, for there is scarcely a dispatch from the king at this period in which his name is not mentioned as that of a traitor. In religion he was, I should say, a Presbyterian, ending by becoming an Independent, although at first he was certainly Presbyterian. A most bitter opponent both of Church and State, he seems to have spent a considerable portion of his time in bullying the orthodox clergy. He was colonel of the Second City of London regiment.

Mr. Owen Rowe, another parishioner, was of the same way of thinking. He was serjeant-major and afterwards colonel of the Fifth City regiment. I shall presently show that the parish seems to have been the centre of the plots hatched against the King and the government generally.

In 1644 and 1645, though it is not stated in the parish books upon what ground, Mr. Goodwin came to a dispute with the parish. It was in fact upon a question of Church government. Several committees were appointed from time to time to consider the differences between him and the parish, and the last appears to have been on May 12<sup>th</sup>, 1645, when "It was agreed by general consent of the parishioners that Mr. Goodwin shall nominate six persons of this parish, and the parish shall nominate six persons of the parish, to consider and compose the present difference between Mr. Goodwin and the people within the space of a month if it may."

Whatever may have been the result of these questions, he was very shortly after turned out of the living by the committee for plundered ministers. The reason given was that he refused to baptize the children of the parishioners promiscuously, and to administer the sacrament to the whole parish. This would point to his being then an Independent, and the fact of his removal from the parish is a curious instance of the hold which the parochial institutions had upon the citizens. It was the parochial feeling which preserved the Church of England.

In the month of August there is a Minute to this effect: "It was then thought good to make choice of a Minister, and then this Vestry with free consent made choice of M<sup>r</sup> William Tayler, of Stratford-by-Bow, to be Vicar of this parish, with their whole consent."

At this time an ordinance had recently been passed abolishing the Book of Common Prayer and ordering the use of the Directory. The parishioners of St. Stephen's—instigated by Mr. Alderman Pennington—proceeded to lay down rules for their own guidance, as may be seen in the following Minute: "At a Generall Vestrey held in the parish church of Stephens in Coleman Street, the twenty-fifth of January, 1645, being the Lord's Daie, It was generallie agreed by the lifting upp of hands that the Sacram<sup>t</sup> of the Lord's Supper shall with all convenient speede be administered. And secondly, it was agreed that all p̃sons were not to be admitted to the Sacrament. And thirdly, it was agreed generallie that usuall swearers, drunckards, whoremongers, Raylers, ignorant p̃sons, open Sabboth breakers, lyers, and such as ordinarily neglect the duties of God's service and worshipp in their families, and such like, to any of theis who shall give no testimonie of their repentance after admonicion shall be suspended from the Sacrament. Fourthly, it was generallie agreed M<sup>r</sup> Aldr<sup>an</sup> Pennington, M<sup>r</sup> Aldr<sup>an</sup> Avery, M<sup>r</sup> Owen Rowe, M<sup>r</sup> James Russell, M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Kenrick, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Barnerdiston, M<sup>r</sup> Richard Ashurst, M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Cater, M<sup>r</sup> Caldwell ffarrington, M<sup>r</sup> Jeremy Sambrooke, M<sup>r</sup> Edward Lucas, Thomas Fitzwilliams, and M<sup>r</sup> George Merryman, shal be joyned with M<sup>r</sup> Tayler, the minister, and that they, or anie foure or more of them, shall have power to judge of p̃sons whether they are such as may be admitted to the Sacram<sup>t</sup> or no. Fifthly, that all such as shall intend to come to Sacrament shall come to the said thirteene p̃sons, or any foure or more of them, together with M<sup>r</sup> Taylor, at such time and place as shall be appointed, and receave from them a token whereby they may be admitted to the Sacrament, and subscribe their names in a Booke in that behalf to be kept. Sixthly, that the foresaid XIII. persons, or any four or more of them, with M<sup>r</sup> Tayler, shall meete on Tuesdayes and Thursdaies, betweene the hours of two and five in the after-noone, at the parish Church, to consider, amongst those that repaire unto them, who are fitt to be admitted to the Sacram<sup>t</sup>. Seventhly, it was also generallie agreed that the whole parish shal be assisting to the said XIII. p̃sons and M<sup>r</sup> Tayler, by way of informacion, and also to hinder all such as shall be judged unfitt by the said XIII. p̃sons, or any foure or more of them, with M<sup>r</sup> Tayler, to be kept from intruding to the Lord's table."

This memorandum is signed by a large number of the parishioners, headed by Isaac Pennington and Mr. William Tayler. Mr. Owen Rowe did not sign it.

He is described in the minute book in some places as Mr. Deputy Rowe, and therefore I suppose was deputy alderman of the ward.

The parish of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, was, using the orthography of the order, with the following parishes in the seventh classis of the City, "Allhallows on the Wall, Bartholomew Exchange, Bennet Fynck, Buttolph Bishopsgate, Christophers, Margaret Lothbury, Michael Bassinshaw, and Peter Poore," and this Vestry Minute is no doubt a fair sample of the manner in which the Presbyterian order was carried out. In my paper upon the Parish Books of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, and the parishes united with it, published in vol. XLV. *Archaeologia*, page 93, a reference is made to the dislike with which this order was received in the parish of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange.

I have said that the parish of St. Stephen's was the centre of the Cromwellian faction. Both Alderman Isaac Pennington and Colonel Owen Rowe sat amongst the King's judges, and the latter joined in signing the warrant for his execution, to his great inconvenience at a later period. I shall presently show that other proceedings took place in the parish, and also that its turbulence was not confined to opposition to the King.

The execution of King Charles was not viewed by the City Presbyterian clergy with satisfaction. They addressed a representation against it to the General and his Council of War, dated 17 January, 1649, and subsequently they vindicated themselves from the accusation of having promoted the bringing of the King to capital punishment, in a formal document. Both documents were signed by a great number of the city clergy, including Mr. Tayler, who signs himself in each—Pastor of Stephens, Coleman Street.

Mr. Love, of St. Anne and St. Agnes, and Mr. Cawton, of St. Bartholomew's by the Royal Exchange—both parishes near to St. Stephen's—suffered for their expression of abhorrence of the act; Mr. Love being executed, and Mr. Cawton being imprisoned in the Gatehouse. But Mr. Goodwin appears to have been delighted: he both preached and wrote in defence of the deed, and it was no doubt in consequence of the part he thus took that when Cromwell's party became masters of the situation he found himself back again in St. Stephen's parish.

It is probable, therefore, that Mr. Goodwin had many friends in the parish, and his arrival is mentioned in a most interesting minute, dated 11th November, 1649.



“Forasmuch as it hath pleased the All-wise God, by the hand of the Present Supreame Authoritie of this Nation, to reinstate His faithful Srvant, Mr. John Goodwin, into his place in Coleman Street, where he is willing to bestowe his labours, soe it may be without prejudice to that Church of Christ to whome he is united, and with whome he hath walked hitherto in annother place : Wherefore it is desired one the behalfe of that Church, That they may have the same libertie and accommodation in the publicke meeteinge place of Coleman Streete as with readyness was granted to them by the people in Abchurch Lane Parish, and which they have quietly enjoyed ever since in their publicke place. The particulars are as follow :—

(1) That the said Church of Christ may have the use of the meeteing-place to receive the Lord's Supper soe oft as they see cause, after the sermon ended, and to make collections among themselves at such times for their own poore.

(2) That at such times of their communion with Christ at His Supper, they may be intire of themselves, and none wthout their admission and fre consent may put themselves among them or offer to communicate with them.

(3) That they may have the like libertie of the said meeteing-place after sermon ended, to consult and determine their other affaires for the well ordering their body, and bee therein intire of themselves.

(4) That when public collections are made for the poore one fast-daies or thanksgiveing daies the collections may be divided equally, one halfe to the officers of the parishes for the use of their poore, and the other half to the officers of the above named church for the use of their poore.

(5) That the parishioners will bee pleased to afford what accommadacion they can in the spare roome of their pewes to the members of the said Church and others who shall come to heare there; Nevertheless the proprietie of each one to his pewe and freedome to accommadate whome hee pleaseth is understood to bee reserved to him.

This order was agreed and assented and consented by us whose names are heereunder subscribed.” Here follow the names including those of Mr. Alderman Pennington, Colonel Rowe, Mr. Hildesley, and others. Mr. Hildesley is in various places at this time also called Mr. Alderman Hildesley.

The draft of the original proposal of which this minute seems to be the outcome is also in the minute book, and is, I think, in Isaac Pennington's handwriting, though I am not certain of this.

I shall follow the fortunes of Mr. Alderman Pennington and Colonel Owen Rowe, and refer to Mr. Hildesley presently; but I wish now to make a few remarks upon this minute. It is not very clear, but I think that the meeting

house referred to in it must mean the church, otherwise there are references in it which would be inexplicable. It seems a strange perversion of names to find the church called by this name; but this seems to be the case. There was a meeting house in the parish which was frequented by Major-General Harrison and others, fifth monarchy men; these gentlemen,<sup>a</sup> "the truly faithful friends to the cause of Christ, and irreconcilable enemies to the government and tyranny of a single person, were putting up their prayers to the Lord, witnessing and prophesying against Oliver Cromwell and the beast-like foundation he stood upon, for which cause" (I am quoting from their own account of themselves) "and no other they were by letters and orders from himself and his council cast into prison and banished."

It seems from the same source that "the Lord Mayor Chiverton and Sheriff Robinson the City Marshal and his men and other commanded persons for the Devil's work upon a verbal message or order from Oliver Protector came to the meeting place in Coleman Street and in the time of prayer and speaking the marshall and his men and the rest violently broke in upon them and disturbed the people in their meeting and haled certain (naming them) and put them in the Counter for no other cause than witnessing against the apostacy tyranny and oppression then lying upon us and not yet taken away." Oliver Protector was not a person to be called an apostate, a tyrant, and an oppressor, with impunity. But there were others also not to escape with impunity.

The last public appearance of Alderman Pennington during the Commonwealth is thus detailed in a contemporary publication:<sup>b</sup> "The officers, on 7th May, 1659, sent to some of their old hackney drudges of the Long Parliament then in London, who they knew would do anything so they might be suffered to sit to make a Parliament," and among these to Alderman Pennington.

The pamphlet describes the various members, by epithets, generally the reverse of complimentary. Alderman Pennington is simply described as "Rich Alderman Pennington." I believe this epithet is sarcastic, as he was at this time poor. He thus became a Member of the Parliament which eventually, after the admission of the secluded members, brought back the King. As the return of the

<sup>a</sup> "A true Catalogue, or account of the several places, &c., by whom Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector." There is no date, place, or name of printer. At the foot of the first page there is this description: "Printed in the first year of the 'English Armies' small or scarce beginning to return from their almost six years great apostacy." It was apparently printed in London 1659 (pp. 12 and 13).

<sup>b</sup> "England's Confusion, written by one of the few Englishmen that are left in England." London, 1659 (p. 9).

King had a considerable effect upon his next public appearance, I will pass on to this period, and we shall see Mr. Alderman Pennington and his friend Colonel Owen Rowe again, but this time in another public place.

We will take the Alderman first. We are now in the year 1660, and in the Session House, Old Bailey, where he, then an old man, is upon his trial upon an indictment purporting\* "That he, together with others, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and being instigated by the Devil, did maliciously, treasonably, and feloniously, contrary to his true allegiance and bounden duty, sit upon and condemn our late Sovereign Lord King Charles I. of ever blessed memory, and also did upon the thirtieth day of January, one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, sign a warrant for the execution of his late Sacred and Serene Majesty, of ever blessed memory, where he also," &c.

To this Isaac Pennington pleaded "Not guilty." He was asked by the Clerk: "How will you be tried?" Isaac Pennington: "By God and the country." The Clerk: "God send you a good deliverance."

Upon October 16th he was called to the bar, and he made this speech: "I am unwilling to be troublesome to the Court: this I shall take the boldness to say, which shall be nothing but truth. I never had a hand in plotting or contriving malicious practices against His Majesty, demonstrated by my utterly refusing to sign the warrant for his execution, though often solicited thereunto. I cannot deny but I sat amongst them that did sentence, but I cannot say I was there when the sentence passed. I sat amongst them out of ignorance. I knew not what I did; therefore I hope you will believe there was nothing of malice in anything I did—I was misled to it." The Lord Chief Baron: "I cannot hear you" (he not speaking loud). Isaac Pennington: "It was ignorance, not malice, that led me; if I had known what I had done, I would not have done it. I humbly pray that there will be a favourable construction made of it. I humbly leave it with you. I did my best to pray for the King. I had no malice to act willingly against him."

Upon this he was found guilty by the jury, together with three or four other prisoners, "all which prisoners finding the place where they stood to be cold and unwholesome, prayed the court that they might have leave to return to the prison 'till the court shall be pleased to command their attendance, which was granted." When Isaac Pennington was brought in again he was told to hold up his hand—a very different holding up of hands to that which we have read of in the

\* "An exact and impartial account of the Indictment Trial of the 29 Regicides." London, 1660.

minute of the vestry, and he was then told that he was in the same condition as the former prisoner, who had been found guilty—"What canst thou say for thyself why judgment should not be passed?"—Isaac Pennington: "My lord, I have said all I have to say, and shall not trouble your lordship any further." The particulars of Mr. Rowe's trial are similar—he first pleaded not guilty, but afterwards withdrew his plea. His own confession was as follows, when called upon to give an account of himself:—

"I have not much to say, I never had any ability, therefore, my lord, it was never my intent upon my plea, as was said before, to deny anything I have done, for I was clearly convinced that I ought to confess it before, and I do confess against myself that I did sit there (upon the trial of the King) several times, and to the best of my remembrance I did sign and seal the warrant for his execution, and truly, my lord, it was never in my heart to conceive a plot of this nature; how I came there I do not know. I was very unfit for such a business, and I confess I did it ignorantly, not understanding the law, so was carried away, hidden in the business, not understanding what I did, therefore, my lord, I humbly intreat this honorable court that you will consider of it and look upon me as one that out of ignorance did it, and if I had known of my act I would rather have been torn in pieces with a thousand horses. When I heard of the declaration and gracious pardon of his Majesty, I confess I went to my Lord Mayor's and layed hold of it, and I thought my life as secure as it is now in my own hands. But I do wholly cast myself upon the king's mercy, and as I have heard he is a gracious king, full of lenity and mercy, so I hope I shall find it. I never was against government, it is a blessed thing we have it. I hope all the nations will be happy under it; I shall submit to his Majesty and government. I can say no more, I was not brought up a scholar, but was a tradesman, and was meetly ignorant when I went on that business. I do humbly intreat your lordships that you would, as tenderly as may be, present my case to the king, whom I rest upon, and leave all to your lordships' wisdom and discretion to do what you will concerning me."

They were both sentenced to death; but, in accordance with the terms of the Act, this was respited, and they were imprisoned in the Tower, where however they died within a few days of each other.

In Mr. Smith's Obituary the following notice of the death occurs:—"1661, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 17, Isaac Pennington, late Alderman, prisoner in y<sup>e</sup> Tower, convict of high treason, died."

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 25, Owen Row, prisoner in y<sup>e</sup> Tower for y<sup>e</sup> same died.



There are one or two observations in Colonel Owen Rowe's confession which are worthy of remark. At the commencement of it he says,—“How I came there I do not know, I was very unfit for such a business;” and towards the close he says, “I was not brought up a scholar, but was a tradesman and meetly ignorant when I went on that business.”

Among the orders of the House of Parliament upon the occasion of the King's trial, there is one under date the 12th January appointing that “Titchbourn, Rowe, with others, all citizens, were to prepare for the solemnity of the tryal, and to appoint workmen,” &c. It seems pretty clear therefore how he came there. I dare say it was all in the way of trade.

In the trial of Mr. Hugh Peters upon the same charge, there are some particulars given of the parish in connection with the plot to bring the King to trial and execution.

One of the witnesses, Wybert Gunter, being sworn, was asked—“Mr. Gunter, what can you say concerning a meeting and consultation at the Star in Coleman Street?”

“*Gunter.*—My lord, I was a servant at the Star, in Coleman Street, with one Mr. Hildesley” (whose name occurs as one of the signatures to the vestry meeting of 11th November, 1649). “That house was a house where Oliver Cromwell and several of that party did use to meet in consultation. They had several meetings. I do remember very well one among the rest in particular, that Master Peters was there, he came in in the afternoon about four o'clock, and was there till ten or eleven at night. I being but a drawer could not hear much of the discourse, but the subject was tending towards the King after he was a prisoner, for they called him by the name of Charles Stuart. I heard not much of the discourse, they were writing, but what I know not, but I guessed it to be something drawn up against the King. I perceived that Mr. Peters was privie to it and pleasant in the Company.”

“*Court.*—How old were you at that time?”

“*Gunter.*—I am now thirty years the last Bartolomew Day, and this was in 1648.”

“*Court.*—How long before the king was put to death?”

“*Gunter.*—A good while; it was suddenly as I remember, three dayes before Oliver Cromwell went out of town.”

“*Peters.*—I was never there but once with Mr. Nathaniel Fines.”

“*Council.*—Was Cromwell there?”

“*Gunter.*—Yes.”

*“ Council.—Was Mr. Peters there any oftener than once ? ”*

*“ Gunter.—I know not, but once I am certain of it ; this is the gentleman, for then he wore a great sword.”*

*“ Peters.—I never wore a great sword in my life.”*

In his summing up, the Lord Chief Baron (Sir Orlando Bridgman) refers to this evidence only, as showing that Mr. Peters was one of the cabal, and I am only referring to it as showing that such a cabal was held in Mr. Hildesley's house, the Star, in Coleman Street.

And now as to Mr. Goodwin :

At the Restoration the living was declared vacant, and thus Mr. Tayler was ejected, and Mr. Goodwin would have nominally occupied it but at that time he was invisible, because had he been found he would probably have shared the fate of his associate, Mr. Hugh Peters. As it was, by resolution dated the 24th June, 1660, his books were ordered to be called in and burnt, and on the 25th June he was included among the twenty persons to be excepted out of the general Act of Pardon and Indemnity, to suffer such pains, penalties, and forfeitures not extending to life as should be inflicted on him by an Act thereafter to be made for that purpose.

Now however his High Church tendencies stood him in good stead ; he had many friends among the Church party, and they protected him, so that he was finally included in the Indemnity ; but he never appeared again at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street.

And now as to the fate of the living :—The parishioners considered that, the living being vacant, they could take their own course and reelect Mr. Tayler as their new vicar, which they proceeded to do.

On September 6th, 1660, there is this minute :—“Memorandum. That at this vestry Mr. William Tayler was elected vicar of the parish of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, London, the vicarage being void by Act of Parliament.”

Shortly afterwards the Bishop of London introduced to the notice of the parish Mr. Theophilus Alford, with a view to his becoming their new vicar. Mr. Alford was a churchman, but the vestry apparently still retained a hope of continuing the service of the Directory. This appears from the following minute dated the 15th March, 1661 :—“Ordered at the vestry that all those that are of the opinion to claim the privilege of the King's Majesty's gracious declaration in order to his Church service are to hold up your hands, and they were for it ; and all those that are of the opinion to receive Mr. Theophilus Alford as curate hold up your hands, and they were against it.” The declaration here referred to was that made by King Charles at Breda.

Nevertheless Mr. Theophilus Alford was elected vicar, and the following year Mr. Tayler died, and was buried in the church.

There is another interesting minute a few years afterwards, under date the 26th October, 1665. The plague had been raging in the parish; it began in June, and continued increasing until September. During the last week of this latter month fifty-six persons died of plague in the parish; after that it began to diminish, but before it left 560 persons altogether had died during the year. By the 25th of October rather over 500 had died.

On a previous occasion I observed upon the curious practice of burying in the churches and churchyards, and therefore the following minute will not, I think, be surprising. One benefit, however, resulted from it, that the churchyard was paved:—

“The 26th day of October, 1665. At this general vestry it was ordered that in regard to the visitation, and that a great number of bodies had been buried in the churchyard, insomuch that they began to smell and to annoy the neighbours, it is therefore ordered that no more be buried in neither of the churchyards till time convenient, and that the churchyard be raised with earth, levelled, and new paved.”

The register and account books testify to the severity of the visitation. If, as I estimate, the population at this time did not exceed four thousand, the five hundred and sixty made a not inconsiderable decrease, and page upon page in the account book is taken up with entries of payments to poor visited families.

We are all more or less familiar with Defoe's *History of the Plague*, but some may not have had their attention pointedly drawn to the fact that a considerable part of the story is laid in St. Stephen's Coleman Street. He refers to the numerous alleys by which the parish was intersected, and almost the only laughable story he tells is of honest John Hayward, the under-sexton of the parish, and his dealings with the piper in Coleman Street, who was carried in the dead-cart to the Mountmill plague-pit.

The Appendix contains the documents I have referred to, and I can only plead for this Paper that it may interest others in securing the publication of the records of our city parishes. Singly each is interesting, but I am satisfied that a publication of the whole would furnish such a history of parochial, political, and domestic life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as would be invaluable to the historian and antiquary, and unrivalled in the world.

## APPENDIX.

Fol. 1.

The inuenty of the godis of the chirche of Synt Stephnes in Colmanstrete of london wrytyn the yere of oure lorde m<sup>mo</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> lxxvj<sup>o</sup>.

## JUELIS.

- A. A chalex ougilded in the fote thereof a crusifix and in the patent of the same an ymage of Synt Stephne. B. Itm anothir chalex ougyldid w<sup>t</sup> a scochoñ on the fote ther of w<sup>t</sup> a crose of golde in the ou<sup>i</sup> parte and benethe an R w<sup>t</sup> a crose bar of golde. And in the patent ther of an ymage of the trinite. C. Itm a chalice ou<sup>i</sup> gildid in the fote a crucifix w<sup>t</sup> mary and Johñ. And in the patent of the same an ymage of the trinite. D. Itm a chalice ou<sup>i</sup> gildid w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix in the fote, w<sup>t</sup> this scriptu written hoc est vas dñi. And in the patent p<sup>e</sup> holy lambe. E. Itm a chalice ou<sup>i</sup> gildid in the fote two scochones w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix in the myddis. And in the patent the vernakyll. F. Itm a chalice not gyldid in the fote therof a crucifix gilded w<sup>t</sup> branchis w<sup>t</sup> j patent longyng ther to. G. Itm j mone of sylu to ber the sac<sup>t</sup>.
- a. Itm a crosse of tre plated w<sup>t</sup> silu the fote. Itm ij pipes of Copper silu<sup>d</sup> for the Crosse staffe. B. Itm a send<sup>d</sup> of silu. And a shippe of silu. C. Itm ij crowets of silu w<sup>t</sup> a pax brede of silu. D. Item a Coupe of Capper ou<sup>i</sup> gilded for the sacrament on the hyghe aut<sup>r</sup>. Itm a monstrance of sylu for the sacrament w<sup>t</sup> the hande of oure lady in the vise aboue the hy aut<sup>r</sup>. F. Itm a crismatory of Copper ou<sup>i</sup> gildid. G. Itm a paxbred of tre plated w<sup>t</sup> Copper ou<sup>i</sup> gildid w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix in the mydis olde worne.
- a. Itm the resurrecō of our lorde w<sup>t</sup> the avyse in hys bosu to put p<sup>e</sup> sac<sup>t</sup>ment p<sup>o</sup>in.

## LATON.

- A. Item a peire of stādarts for the hygh aut<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> Couynges of Calues leder made ther for to Cou them w<sup>t</sup>. B. Itm a peire of Candilstikks to set on the hy aut<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> a lasse peire for procession. C. Itm a shipe of latton w<sup>t</sup> ij holywat stoppis of latton and ij sprynglis. D. Itm a branche for synt Stephne w<sup>t</sup> v smale branches ther on. E. Itm anothir grete branche be for the Resurrecō in the w<sup>t</sup> v smale branches ther on. F. Itm a grete branche be for ou<sup>i</sup> lady in the chapell w<sup>t</sup> vij smale branches ther on. G. Itm a branche of latton be for oure lady in the chapell of the yeft of the frñite of saint Georg. H.<sup>a</sup> Thomas Riche m<sup>d</sup>c<sup>o</sup> yaue a Crysmatory of sylu ou<sup>i</sup> gyldyd w<sup>t</sup> a scochoñ of sylu ther on wrytyn Orate p aia thome Riche. Itm A<sup>o</sup> dñi m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> lxx<sup>o</sup>x<sup>mo</sup>. Tho<sup>a</sup>ms

Sic.

A<sup>o</sup> dñi m<sup>o</sup>  
cccc<sup>o</sup> lxx<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This and the next seven lines are written in a different handwriting, the date of it being no doubt 1469.

mower Corryo<sup>r</sup> yaue a Crosse of sylū ōū gyldyd w<sup>t</sup> the crussyfix mary and johā And ōn the fote wryttn Orate p aiab; Ricē mower et helene v<sup>x</sup> eius. Itm A<sup>o</sup> dñi m<sup>mo</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> lx<sup>o</sup>xj<sup>mo</sup> maist willmē leek vic<sup>n</sup> yaue a monstrans of sylū ōū gyldyd And ōn the fote wryttn Orate p aia mri No<sup>a</sup> bñ. withi leek vic<sup>n</sup> et c<sup>a</sup>. Itm A<sup>o</sup> dñi m<sup>o</sup> cccc<sup>mo</sup> lx<sup>o</sup>xij<sup>o</sup> Robart Ewell and Nichūs hynde churche wardyns boughte a send<sup>e</sup> of sylū w<sup>t</sup> iij lyones hedys and the pynacles ōū gyldyd weyng xxx<sup>u</sup> vnce et di vnc<sup>e</sup> et di q<sup>r</sup><sup>u</sup> p<sup>t</sup><sup>e</sup> v li xj<sup>a</sup> iij<sup>a</sup> ob.

Fol. 2. Itm iij disshes in a candilstikke of yroñ be for Synt George in oure lady chapell. Itm j candilstyeke w<sup>t</sup> ij noses. I. Itm ij sencers of latton. K. Itm ij crosses of Copper ōū gildid righte olde w<sup>t</sup> j crosse stafe ptaynyng to ōn of them w<sup>t</sup> j bolle ther ōn of copper ōū gildyd. L. Itm j crosse of latton ryzt olde w<sup>t</sup> v stonis of cristalle ther in. M. Itm ij crosses of tre ōn of them for to be borne in pcession in tyme of lent. N. Itm j candilstike be for the trinite in the body of the churche w<sup>t</sup> iij branches. O. Itm j candylstike w<sup>t</sup> iij branches be for Synt Clement. P. Itm j candilstik be for oure lady of pitte w<sup>t</sup> iij branches in the churche. Q. Itm iij disshes be for Synt Anne in the body of the churche. R. Itm j candilstykke w<sup>t</sup> iij branches be for Synt Sythe in the body of the churche. S. Itm v disshes be for oure lady in the body of the churche. T. Itm iij disshes be for Synt cristofur<sup>o</sup> in the body of the churche. V. Itm j disshe be for Synt mary magdalene. X. Itm j lampe hangyng in the body of the churche. And j nothir basyne of a lampe w<sup>o</sup>ute any Repaylle ther for. Y. Itm x disshes for oure lady lighte in the body of the churche v of them w<sup>t</sup> grete bolles be nethe. Z. Itm j disshe be for synt katine w<sup>t</sup> ij othir disshes be for Synt Nichūs ōn the frame be for oure lady auc<sup>t</sup> in the churche. A. Itm xxvij<sup>u</sup> disshes for the beme lyghte in the rode lofte. And j disshe be for the crucifix of the yefte of Johā Godealle. B. Itm iij smalle disshes not occupied lying in and olde cheste in the rode lofte.

PEVTUR.

A. Itm iij peire Crowets. B. Itm xxij<sup>u</sup> disshes for the sepulch<sup>r</sup> and ij disshes for the pascalle w<sup>t</sup> Cordes p<sup>t</sup> ptainis ther to. C. Itm j disshe of pevter ōn a stokke be for Synt Johā in the churche. D. Itm j candilstike of iron w<sup>t</sup> spikes and j nose be for Synt Stephñe. E. Itm j Irone Branche of iron faste be fore oure lady in the chapell. F. Itm j branche of iron be for Synt George in the chapell. G. Itm j branche fast in the walle be for Synt Johā in the churche. H. Itm j branche faste in the pillar be for Synt Anne. I. Itm j branche faste in the walle be for mary magdalene in the churche. K. Itm j grete branche be for oure lady in the churche. L. Itm ij branches be for Synt cristofur ōn benethe the tothur above. M. Itm j pyne w<sup>t</sup> a whele for to put candill ther ōn and iij othur hopes made faste ōn the pillars of the rode lofte for to put candill ther ōn. N. Itm ij disshes for the send<sup>e</sup> to kepe fire w<sup>t</sup> j newe fire pañe to sett fire. Fol. 3. O. Itm ij Redeff to hong Curtinis ōn atthe hy auc<sup>t</sup>. P. Itm ij Redeff at oure lady auc<sup>t</sup> in the chapel. Q. Itm j long Redeff w<sup>t</sup> ij smalle Redyff atthe tñite auc<sup>t</sup>. R. Itm ij Rowne .xopis for the curtyns be for Synt Sauyoure and Synt Stephñe in the chauncell. S. Itm j Rowne hope for the curtyne of oure lady in the chapell w<sup>t</sup> v othir hopes in the churche be for the tñite. Synt Katine, oure lady, Synt Nichūs, and Synt Anne. T. Itm ij boltys of Iroñ hangyng ōn the Corde of the pascalle and hy in the chaunsell Rofe.



## BOKYS MISSAL.

- An<sup>l</sup>.** A. A nēwe masboke of the yifte of Johā Crowtoñ wryttn in the firste lefe in the secunde Columpe, salutem credencm̄. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe wryttn, dn̄m nr̄m Jh̄m xp̄m. B. Itm̄ j masboke wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, corp̄is et quicquid ex eo tactū. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, tuos et ancillas tuas. C. Itm̄ j masboke wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, isti benedicere et sc̄ificare. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, dos s̄ sine nota. D. Itm̄ j olde masboke wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, cessit dies autem. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, dn̄i rectas facite. E. Itm̄ j antifoner wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, sic fiat semp. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, eiam tuam et veni. F. Itm̄ j an<sup>l</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, Rector cori prosequat<sup>l</sup>. And in the ij lef in the ij Columpe, eius apud te int<sup>l</sup>. G. Itm̄ j an<sup>l</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, si tres fūint a<sup>l</sup>e. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, lam totam ēram. H. Itm̄ j litytt port<sup>l</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, faciet iudiciū et iusticiam. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, benedicam<sup>l</sup> prēm. I. Itm̄ j port<sup>l</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, iustū et regnabit rex. And in the ij lefe, non intellexit. K. Itm̄ j port<sup>l</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, uocabūt eū dn̄s. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, p totū aduentū. L. Itm̄ j an<sup>l</sup> olde not salisbury wryttn in the first lefe ij Columpe, confidenter et hoc est. And in the ij lefe in p<sup>e</sup> ij Columpe, Ecce uenit rex. M. Itm̄ and olde an<sup>l</sup> not salisb<sup>ry</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, pire seculū. And in the ij lefe in the ij Colūpe, potenciam tuam. N. Itm̄ j olde an<sup>l</sup> not salisb<sup>ry</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, luna polar<sup>l</sup>. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe p̄bus et lingue. O. Itm̄ j olde an<sup>l</sup> not salisb<sup>ry</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, ture genealogiam. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, nos virgo. P. Itm̄ j portas chayned in the quere wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, u eur uant<sup>a</sup> oia. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, ramus obuam saluatori. Q. Itm̄ j portas olde wryttn in p<sup>e</sup> firste lefe in p<sup>e</sup> ij colme, redemptor omī, p<sup>e</sup> ij lefe, rex e<sup>r</sup>ator.
- nota solde.**

Fol. 4.

## GRADALIS.

- Sic.** A. A gradalle of the yifte of mayst<sup>l</sup> wyllme leek vic<sup>l</sup> of this chirche, wryttn in the ij lefe, nobis deinde repetat<sup>l</sup>. And in the iij lefe, et ex patre natū. B. Itm̄ j gradalle wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, dn̄m nr̄m Jh̄m. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, inferi. Credo uidere. C. Itm̄ j gradalle wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, uiuit et regnat. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, seruiciū sine aliq<sup>o</sup> seō. D. Itm̄ j gradalle of the yifte of John Crowtoñ wryttn in the ij lefe, Ad te leuauī, and in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, thi et semitas tuas. E<sup>vacat</sup>. Itm̄ j olde gradalle wryttn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, mitas tuas. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, apud deū. F. Itm̄ j manuel wryttn in the ij lefe, Amen. Sub eodm̄. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe p dn̄m nr̄m. G. Itm̄ j manuel of the yfte of m. willme leek vic<sup>l</sup> wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, sac̄doti in suppet<sup>l</sup>. And in the ij lefe in the ij Columpe, pellandos diuine grē. H. Itm̄ j nothir manuall of the seyde vic<sup>l</sup> yifte wryttn in the firste lefe in the ij Columpe, Adiuratus per eū.
- Manuels.**

And in the ij lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe, miseraconū tuarꝝ dele. I. Itm̄ j manuell not salisbry in the firste lef wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe, Exorsimis aque. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Coluþe, las eos de mūdo. K. Itm̄ j nothir olde manueff not salisbry wrytyn in the firste lefe, Ordo qualiter. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe rogam<sup>o</sup> te dñe. L. Itm̄ j nothir olde manueff not salisbry wrytyn in the firste lefe, dñs Johes pp. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, ora p<sup>ma</sup> duct. M. Itm̄ j boke eleped ps oculi in the firste lefe wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe, che et eis iniūgentes. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe diet<sup>a</sup> de facili. N. Itm̄ j Ordinalle wrytyn in the first lefe, A pēpio aduētē dñi. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, clamor meus. O. Itm̄ j pcessionary wrytyn in p<sup>e</sup> ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, valeas cū angelis. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, Aspges me dñe. P. Itm̄ j pcessionary wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, Exorsiso te. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, bñdicitū et aū. Q. Itm̄ j pcessionary wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, sue genitrice. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, erit. R. Itm̄ j pcessionary wrytyn in the firste lefe, in festo corporis xpī. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, salue festa dies. S. Itm̄ j martelage wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, occisus est. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, admirand<sup>o</sup> gloriosissime. T. Itm̄ j lityl boke of vij salmis wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, mei. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, bit ad te. + V. vacat Itm̄ j queyr of corpus xpī wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, nūc dimitte. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, suū in potū. X. Itm̄ j sauū w<sup>t</sup> the in vita tatoriis wrytyn in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, iurauī in ira. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, uite adorem<sup>o</sup>. Y. Itm̄ j sauū chaynet in the quer<sup>o</sup> wrytyn in the firste lefe, de ista orōne. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, gementes recolim<sup>o</sup>. Z. Itm̄ j sauū chained in oure lady chapel wrytyn in the firste lefe, qui noñ abiit. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, ppi cōdant<sup>o</sup>. Itm̄ j lityff sauū chained in the quer<sup>o</sup> wrytyn in p<sup>e</sup> ij<sup>de</sup> lefe, seruīte dño. And in the iij<sup>de</sup> lefe, Verba mea. Itm̄ j grete legent wryt in the firste lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe, ve genti pēatriei. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe, bethphage dom<sup>o</sup> bucce. Itm̄ j nothir legent wrytyn in p<sup>e</sup> firste lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Columpe, et salus eritis. And in the ij<sup>de</sup> lefe in the ij<sup>de</sup> Colūpe, linguam coiberet. <sup>a</sup> Itm̄ j pmer that barly toke p<sup>t</sup> most ly in oure lady chapell which is in maisē shugburghe is keepyng.

Fol. 5.

VESTEMENTIS.

- A. An hole sute of vestments of blewe damaske enbrawdēt w<sup>t</sup> flouris of golde, for prest dekyñ and sudekyñ. And alle p<sup>t</sup> ptainis ther to. B. Itm̄ an hole vestement of Rede baudkyne w<sup>t</sup> lyonis of golde w<sup>t</sup> alle the appett that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute. C. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestments of Rede clothe of golde w<sup>t</sup> whyte branches and lyonis of golde. w<sup>t</sup> alle the appett that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute. D. Itm̄ j hole vestment of grene clothe of sylke w<sup>t</sup> whyte floures. w<sup>t</sup> alle the appett that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of p<sup>e</sup> same sute. E. j hole sute of vestmentē of yollow badkyñ w<sup>t</sup> golde, w<sup>t</sup> alle the appett that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute. F. Itm̄ j hole vestment of rede purpyl silke w<sup>t</sup> hartē of golde w<sup>t</sup> alle the appett that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute excepte an amyse. G. Itm̄ j vestement of Rede sylke olde worne, for p<sup>ste</sup> dekyñ and alle that longē to them. H. Itm̄ j vestment of blake sylke w<sup>t</sup> alle the appett that longē to

<sup>a</sup> This item, though written in the same handwriting as the other entries under this head, was added in a different ink. Barly here mentioned was churchwarden of the parish, his name occurs in other places.



*Sic.*

Fol. 6.

*Sic.*

Nota bñ.

Copys.

Aut clothis of  
werke.

xiiij.

preste dekyne and subdekyñ of the same sute. I. Itm̄ j vestment of blewe chamlet, enbraudet w<sup>t</sup> whyte Roses w<sup>t</sup> stole, fanoñ, aube, amys and alle p<sup>t</sup> longē for a preste. K. Itm̄ j vestment of Rede and grene w<sup>t</sup> Cokke of golde olde worne w<sup>t</sup> an ymage of the trinitie in the bac<sup>2</sup> w<sup>t</sup> stole, fanoñ, aube, amys, and alle p<sup>t</sup> longē to a preste. L.<sup>a</sup> Itm̄ j vestment of blac sateyne w<sup>t</sup> stole, fanoñ, aube, amys and alle p<sup>t</sup> longe to preste. M. Itm̄ j chesebyft of purpyll sylke w<sup>t</sup> j grene orfray and Cokke of golde. N. Itm̄ j nothir purpyft chesebyft for gode fryday. Itm̄ j nothir chesebyl of Rede and yollowe. Itm̄ j nothir chesebyft of yollowe sylke w<sup>t</sup> garters. Itm̄ j chesebyft of Ray w<sup>t</sup> a grene orfray. Itm̄ j chesebyft of blac<sup>2</sup> sylke alto brokyñ. O. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestm<sup>2</sup> of whyte bustyañ for sondayes in tyme of lent of the yifte of Johñ Croutoñ w<sup>t</sup> Rede Roses enbraudet w<sup>t</sup> stoles, fanoñs, aubes, amys of the same sute. P. Itm̄ j vestment of white sylke in tyme of lent w<sup>t</sup> stolle, fanon, aube, amys of the same sute. Q. Itm̄ j vestment of whyte fustyañ for lent w<sup>t</sup> stolle, fanō aube amys of p<sup>e</sup> same s̄. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestmentē of whyte damask w<sup>t</sup> stolys, fonōns, aubz, amys and alle that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute, and also three Capys acordyng to the same sute of the yefte of mais<sup>2</sup> willmē leek sū tyme vi<sup>2</sup> of thys churche oñ whose soule god haue m̄cy. Itm̄ j nother hole sute of vestmentē of whyte damaske inbrauded w<sup>t</sup> floures of golde w<sup>t</sup> stolys fanoñs aubz amysys w<sup>t</sup> atte the appeft that longē to preste dekyñ and subdekyñ of the same sute. And also thre Capys acordyng to the same of the seyde vi<sup>2</sup> yefte. R. Itm̄ j vestement of yollowe sylke w<sup>t</sup> a grene crose for feryalle dayes w<sup>t</sup> stole fanon aube (amys lackyth of p<sup>t</sup> sute). S. Itm̄ a vestement for feryalle dayes olde clothe of golde w<sup>t</sup> lyonis w<sup>t</sup> aube amys fanon lackyth of p<sup>t</sup> sute & p<sup>e</sup> stolle. T. Itm̄ j vestement of grene of the yifte of m. Robarde Rokke w<sup>t</sup> stolle fanon aube amys of p<sup>t</sup> sute. W. Itm̄ j chesebyll and iij tunekyft w<sup>t</sup> ij aubys ij amys for childir<sup>2</sup> at synt Nichūs tyde. X. Itm̄ j vestement of blak sateyne for a preste the orfreys of blewe sylke w<sup>t</sup> whyte flowres and swannys swymyng, w<sup>t</sup> stole fanon aube amys of the same sute. Y. Itm̄ j hole sute of vestment of whyte damaske w<sup>t</sup> alle the appeft of the same sute that longē to p<sup>st</sup> dekeñ and subdekeñ of the yeft of m. Wythme leek vi<sup>2</sup> of whos soule god haue m̄cy aṁ.

A. Itm̄ iij copis of blewe damaske enbraudyt w<sup>t</sup> flouris of golde ij of them of the yifte of John Croutoñ. B. Itm̄ iij Copys of Rede baudkyñ w<sup>t</sup> lyonis of golde of the yifte of John Osyñ. C. Itm̄ iij Copis of Rede clothe of golde w<sup>t</sup> whyte branches and lyonis of golde. D. Itm̄ iij Copys of grene clothe of sylke w<sup>t</sup> whyte floures. E. Itm̄ j Rede cope of velvet olde w<sup>t</sup> crounys enbraudet. F. Itm̄ j olde yollowe cope w<sup>t</sup> grene strypis for sondayes. G. Itm̄ iij olde Copis for chyldir. H. Itm̄ j olde blake Cope of sylke. Itm̄ a cope of whytte bustian w<sup>t</sup> Rede Rossis of p<sup>e</sup> yifte of John Crouton. Itm̄ iij copys of whyte damaske of the yeft of the seyde vi<sup>2</sup>.

A. Itm̄ an au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werkys contenyng v yardē w<sup>t</sup> lrē A. Itm̄ an au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis scarce w<sup>t</sup> lrē B. Itm̄ an au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werke contenyng iij yardis and and halfe w<sup>t</sup> C. Itm̄ j au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werke contenyng v yardis and an halfe w<sup>t</sup> lrē D. Itm̄ j au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werke contenyng iij yardys and a quar<sup>2</sup> w<sup>t</sup> lrē E. Itm̄ j au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werke contenyng v yardis and j quar<sup>2</sup> w<sup>t</sup> lrē F. Itm̄ j au<sup>2</sup> clothe of werke conteyng iij yardē w<sup>t</sup> lrē G. Itm̄ j

<sup>a</sup> The whole of paragraph L is struck through with the pen.

Fol. 7. werke cōtenyng iij yardē scarse w<sup>t</sup> lre K. Itm j au<sup>l</sup> clothe playne Contenyng v. yardis w<sup>t</sup> vij Au<sup>l</sup> clothes  
Rayes at eūy ende. Itm j au<sup>l</sup> clothe playne contenyng iij yardis and an halfe w<sup>t</sup> v. crosses. Itm playne iij.  
j au<sup>l</sup> clothe playne contenyng v. yardis and an halfe w<sup>t</sup> iij Rayes at eūy ende. Itm j au<sup>l</sup> clothe  
playne contenyng iij yardē large not hemyt at the tone ende. Itm ij couyng<sup>r</sup> of fustyañ w<sup>t</sup>  
crosses. Itm j clothe of werke for the fonte at es<sup>e</sup> contenyng iij yardis ⁊ an halfe w<sup>t</sup> lre Q at  
bothe the endis. Itm j fronte<sup>t</sup> for the fonte of blewe lynneñ clothe frenchid w<sup>t</sup> white, grene and  
Rede wryttn w<sup>t</sup> þis sc<sup>p</sup>l nisi quis renat<sup>u</sup> fuerit, &c. Itm au<sup>l</sup> clop<sup>e</sup> of diap of v. yerdē t pt w<sup>t</sup> a  
Rede Crosse . . . . of the gyfte of alson newbande.

Aut clothes  
playne iiij.

Towalis of worke.

Smale weshyng  
touaff be made  
ther of.

Wesshing touaft.

A. Itm̄ j hangyng a boue and benethe of blewe damaske w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix amydis and a seeshōn hanging ffor the at eūy ende of the same w<sup>t</sup> j ton ther in. Itm ij curtyns of blewe sarsenet. And j frontell of damaske acordyng to the same of the yift of John Crouton. B. Itm̄ j hangyng a boue of rede clothe of velvet, and beneth of rede sylke w<sup>t</sup> curtyns a cordyng to the same. C. Itm̄ j hangyng a boue and benethe of rede clothe of golde w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix in the myddis and seeshōnys in the same, the Curtyns of whyte and rede sylke acordyng to the same. D. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes aboue and Fol. 8. benethe of the lyf of Synt Stephñe w<sup>t</sup> Curtyns acordyng to the same of the same sute. E. Itm̄ ij stened clothes of whyte damaske worke for a boue and benethe w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix of mari and Johñ aboue. And benethe the ymage of oure lady w<sup>t</sup> ij Curtyns a cordyng to the same of the yifte of

Johā Chamburlyñ and John Neyre. F. Itm ij hangyngē for a boue and beneth of whyte lynnyñ clothe w<sup>t</sup> Garters w<sup>t</sup> frontell Curtyns of the same sute. G. Itm ij steyned clothes for a boue and beneth w<sup>t</sup> the passiō of oure lorde for tyme of lent. H. Itm ij hangyngē for a boue and beneth of blak bokrame for mortuaris w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix of mary and Johā w<sup>t</sup> Jhūs wrytyn in a wreth w<sup>t</sup> ij curtyns and j frontell of the same sute wrytyn ther vppoñ disce mori of the yefte of Johā croutōñ.

A. Itm j Coulyng of blak bokrame for the criste above the hyghe auē.  
ffor oure lady aut in p<sup>e</sup> chapel hangyng. Itm ij hangyngē for a bove and benethe of rede clothe of golde w<sup>t</sup> j crucifix and scochonis in the same, the Curtyns of whyte and rede sylke acordyg to the same. B. Itm ij hangyngs for a bove and benethe steyned, in the oppyr clothe the transfiguracon of oure lorde. And in the nethir the birthe w<sup>t</sup> curtyns acordyng to the same sute of the yifte of Johā Osyn. C. Itm ij hangyngē for a bove and benethe, in the oppyr clothe the resurreccoñ of o<sup>r</sup> lorde, and in the

nethir the ymage of oure lady w<sup>t</sup> hir chylde and curtyns acordyng to the same. D. Itm ij olde hangyngē ryghte febyft for a bove and benethe, in the oppyr clothe steyned the passiō of oure lorde w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix in the myddis. And in the nethir clothe steyned in the myddis w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of the trinite and oure lady, and curtyns acordyng to the same. E. Itm ij hangyngē for a bove and benethe of whyte lynneñ clothe w<sup>t</sup> garters, w<sup>t</sup> frontell curtyns of the same sute. F. Itm ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe w<sup>t</sup> synynys of the passion in tyme of lent and curtyns a cordyng to the same.

Itm j Coulyng for the cryste of blewe bokrame in oure lady chapel. Itm ij hangyngē for a boue and beneth of blake bokerame w<sup>t</sup> mary and John w<sup>t</sup> Jhūs wrytyn in a wreth w<sup>t</sup> ij curtyns and j frontell wrytyn p<sup>o</sup>on disce mori of p<sup>e</sup> yefte of m. w. leek vic<sup>e</sup> of whose sowle god haue mey Amen.

A. Itm ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe, and in p<sup>e</sup> oppyr clothe the ymage of the fadir, soñ, and holygoste, w<sup>t</sup> a boke be twix them. And in the nethir clothe in the myddis ther

Fol. 9.

They ar solde to John Alleyn.

of the ymage of oure lady w<sup>t</sup> hir chylde w<sup>t</sup> ij curtyns a cordyng to the same. B. Itm ij olde steyned clothes for a bove and benethe, and in the oppyr clothe is the ymage of the vñite in the myddis ther of. And in the nethir clothe is the ymage of the fadir and the son w<sup>t</sup> the holy goste be twix them in the lykenis of a dove, w<sup>t</sup> ij Curtyns a cordyng to the same of the same sute. C. Itm ij olde steyned clothes of blewe bokrame for a bove and benethe. And in the oppyr clothe is the ymag of the vñite brokyne. And in the nethir clothe is the resurreccoñ w<sup>t</sup> ij curteyns of the same sute. D. Itm ij olde clothes blak of clothe of sylke for a bove and beneth and in the oppyr clothe is the crucifix and mary and Johā. And in the nethir is the name of Jhūs wrytyn in golde w<sup>t</sup> curtyns of the same sute. E. Itm ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe w<sup>t</sup> the tokenis of the passyō in tyme of lent w<sup>t</sup> ij curtyns acordyng to p<sup>e</sup> same. Itm j Coulyng for the cryste steyned w<sup>t</sup> the vñite in p<sup>e</sup> myddē and ful of angeft. Itm ij steyned clothis for a boue and beneth. And in the vppyr cloth the ymage of the vñite, w<sup>t</sup> petir, Johā, seynt stephne and seynt Albone. And in the nethir clothe the ymage of our lady seynt katine and seynt dorathy w<sup>t</sup> curtyns acordyng to the same of the yeft of robart Ewell.

- A. Itm ij steyned clothes for a bove and benethe. And in the oppyr clothe is the crucifix ffor synt jamys w<sup>t</sup> mary and Johā, and at eūy ende the ymag of synt Jamys. And in the nethir is synt Jamys aut.  
w<sup>t</sup> synt Anne oñ p<sup>e</sup> toñ syde and oure lady and Elysabethe oñ the tothir syde. B. Itm j olde  
noghte worthe  
steyned clothe for to heng be for the aut in the mydde p<sup>o</sup> of is the ymag of synt Jamys and  
his martirdome at the ende p<sup>o</sup> of w<sup>t</sup> ij curtyns to p<sup>e</sup> same. C. Itm ij staped clothes for a bove  
and benethe w<sup>t</sup> the tokenis of the passyōn for tyme of lent, w<sup>t</sup> ij curtyns a cordyng to the same.
- A. Itm j frontel of rede velved w<sup>t</sup> floures of golde for the hygh aut. ffrontelt.  
Itm j frontel of whyte damaske oñ parte. Anothir pte blake sylke, the thryde pte grene velvet  
enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> branchis of golde and sylū.  
Itm j frontel of rede sylke wyth swannys of golde for the hygh aut.  
Itm j frontel of grene clothe of sylke w<sup>t</sup> whyte branchis ther in.  
Itm j frontel of grene sylke enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> sterrys of golde.  
Itm j frontel of rede sylke enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> sterrys of golde.  
Itm j couyng of rede and grene baudkyñ frengyt w<sup>t</sup> Cokke of golde. A couyng for a  
cors.  
Itm ij couyng of whyte fustyañ, one for p<sup>e</sup> hy aut and j nop<sup>o</sup> for o<sup>o</sup> lady aut.
- A. Itm certeyne relekys in j paxbrede of tre the toñ syde w<sup>t</sup> a plate of sylū oñ gyldyd, w<sup>t</sup> a crystalle Relekys.  
Fol. 10. stone in the myddis and sertayñ relek ther in.  
Itm j lytill purse of yollowe and dyūs relek w<sup>t</sup> in hyt.
- A. Itm j case and j corpase of Rede Satyn w<sup>t</sup> iiij okyñ levys above and iiij be nethe. And in the Corporas w<sup>t</sup>  
mydde iiij peece of blewe velvet enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> floures. B. Itm j Corpase w<sup>t</sup> j case of blewe Cases p<sup>o</sup> to.  
damaske enbraudyd oñ the toñ syde w<sup>t</sup> a floure of golde and spange of golde and sylū of the  
yifte of Johā Croutoñ. C. Itm j corpase w<sup>t</sup> a case of blake sylk w<sup>t</sup> whyte and grene branches  
of the yifte of the seyde Johā Croutoñ. D. Itm j corpase w<sup>t</sup> j case of grene clothe of sylke w<sup>t</sup>  
whyte branchis. E. Itm j corpase w<sup>t</sup> j case of clothe of golde ryghte olde w<sup>t</sup> the martyrdome of  
Synt stephne. F. Itm j corpase w<sup>t</sup> j case of grene and yollowe velvet strypt oñ. G. Itm j  
corpase w<sup>t</sup> j case the toñ syde rede sylke enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> ij branchis and j swañ in the mydys.  
H. Itm j corpase w<sup>t</sup> j case of blak sylke w<sup>t</sup> a garland of whyte and iiij lyonys in them.
- vacat  
Itm j powche of clothe of golde deptyd in tweyne enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> skirett of perle w<sup>t</sup> iij ymachis and A powche.  
iij angeft in them tweyne ther of ys made a Corpas casse. There of ys made  
a Corpas casse.
- A. Itm ij aub; oñ of them w<sup>t</sup> parurs and the tothir not paruryd. Aubz and amyte.  
Itm j amyte of clothe of golde w<sup>t</sup> coronacōn of oure lady, Synt Johā, synt Kañine, Synt Xpofur<sup>o</sup>  
and synt margaret the crownys of them set w<sup>t</sup> perle.  
Itm j amyte of blewe sylke enbraudyd w<sup>t</sup> v. sterrys of golde.  
Itm j amyte of grene velvet w<sup>t</sup> v. hedys and dyūs floures of golde.  
Itm j amyte of blew sylk and iiij swannys of golde swymyg.  
Itm j amyte of grene clothe of syle w<sup>t</sup> a trakyle of golde and p<sup>e</sup> vernakyll.  
Itm j amyte of grene clothe of sylke w<sup>t</sup> traylys and iij seochonys.

The whiche ys  
in a ferialle  
vestment.

Itm j amyte for Synt nychus bysshupe of rede velvet w<sup>t</sup> iiij crownys of golde.  
Itm j amyte w<sup>t</sup> oute lyn clothe of grene velvet w<sup>t</sup> a scoshoñ of Synt Jeorge.  
Itm j amyte w<sup>t</sup> oute lyn clothe of blew and rede sylk w<sup>t</sup> v. birdē and treyfoyll.

Pyllowys.

Itm ij pyllowys of rede clothe of velvet for pñcipalle festē for þ<sup>e</sup> hygh aut.  
Itm j pyllow of rede whyte and yollowe clothe of sylke w<sup>t</sup> ymage and birdē.  
Itm j pyllowe of grene clothe of sylke ryght febyll w<sup>t</sup> a branche oñ þ<sup>e</sup> toñ syde.  
Itm j pyllowe olde of rede sylke, the work of yollowe.

Fol. 11.

Itm j pyllowe of grene sylke olde and brokyñ w<sup>t</sup> iiij scochonys oñ the toñ syde.  
Itm j pyllowe of whyte sylke w<sup>t</sup> blewe stryke oñ twerte and elongē chekerwyse.  
Itm j pyllowe of þpyth sylke w<sup>t</sup> floure of werke ryght olde and febyll.  
Itm j pyllowe of þpyth sylke the tone syde the tothir syde of yollow stryppyd.  
Itm ij Cusshynys of yollowe for the quere of the yifte of Thomas Alyne.

Itm a fote to sete oñ the crosse oñ the hyghe aut Couet w<sup>t</sup> clothe of golde.

Itm j staf for to set oñ the pypys for the crosse w<sup>t</sup> othir ij crosse stavys.

Itm j staf w<sup>t</sup> a croyse for Synt nychus bysshupe.

Bysshupe.

Itm mytir of lynnyñ clothe set w<sup>t</sup> stonys of glasse and ij bosys sylū oñ gyldyd w<sup>t</sup> a lylyl pot in  
eūy of them of sylū not gyldyd.

Canapeys.

Itm j canape steyned w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of the vñite and the iiij ewangelystē frengyt.

Itm j canape steyned w<sup>t</sup> a soñ of golde to hengē oñ the sepulchur<sup>2</sup> at estir<sup>2</sup>.

Itm j Rydyl steyned w<sup>t</sup> a chalix and the fygur<sup>2</sup> of the sacrament oñ hyt and ij angeñ.

Itm ij whyte clothis of sylke w<sup>t</sup> dragonys, eūy of them contenyg<sup>2</sup> ij yardis sears.

ffor the lect<sup>r</sup>  
clothis.

Itm j clothe steyned for the lectur<sup>2</sup> in the quere w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> ymag<sup>2</sup> of Synt stephne oñ eūy syd.

Itm j cloth for the lectur<sup>2</sup> of grene and yollowe sylke olde w<sup>t</sup> lyonys and kokke ther in.

Itm j clothe for the lectur<sup>2</sup> steyned w<sup>t</sup> branchis and a floure of golde in the myddis.

wosted.

Itm ij clothis of blewe wosted oñ of them brokyñ, the tothir ryght febyll.

Itm j clothe to ley be for the hygh aut of blewe ryghte febyl w<sup>t</sup> whyte rosys.

Itm j lytyth clothe for weddyngē pauid w<sup>t</sup> rede and yollowe for to knele þ<sup>2</sup>on.

Itm j cloth of grene bokrame lyned for the presbetory.

Paxbredis of tre  
glasyd.

Itm j paxbred of tre glasyd for the hygh aut w<sup>t</sup> j crucifix mary and Johñ.

Itm j paxbrede of tre glasyd for our lady aut in þ<sup>e</sup> chapell w<sup>t</sup> the fyg<sup>2</sup> of our lord.

Itm a Coffyn to kepe the sacrament peyntyd oñ the hyghe aut.

Itm j grete glasse hangyng be for the resurreceōñ in the chaunseñ.

Itm j offryng box peyntyd to kepe the ofryng ther in.

Baners.

A. Itm j bañ of grene Tartreñ w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of assumeōñ bettyñ w<sup>t</sup> golde in the myddys ther of  
w<sup>t</sup> ymage of Synt stephne and Synt laurens oñ the sydis.



Itm j bañ of yollowe Tartreñ w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of assumecōn bettyñ w<sup>t</sup> golde in þ<sup>e</sup> myddys in a blewe clowde, the iiij ewangelyst<sup>e</sup> at eūy corñ w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> ymage o synt stephñe and Synt laurens.

B. Itm ij bañ clothes w<sup>t</sup> the tokenys of the passioñ.

Itm j bañ of grene Tartreñ and the transfiguracōn of oure lorde ther in betyñ w<sup>t</sup> golde of the yeste of Robart Eweñ.

Fol. 12 Itm j bañ clothe steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the martirdome of synt stephñ.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the birthe of oure lorde.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the annunciacōn of o<sup>r</sup> lady.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the mawndy of oure lord.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the resurreccōn of o<sup>r</sup> lorde.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the ascencōn of o<sup>r</sup> lorde.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the oblacoñ of þ<sup>e</sup> iij kyng<sup>e</sup>.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> cūyng douñ of the holy gost.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Assumpeō of o<sup>r</sup> lady.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of synt John baptyst.

Itm jbañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke, w<sup>t</sup> a lyon and an okyñ tre.

Itm j bañ steyned w<sup>t</sup> whyte damaske worke, w<sup>t</sup> a dragoñ.

A. Itm xij bañ shaft<sup>e</sup> to set oñ bañs in the body of the churche.

Shafts.

Itm viij othir stavys coloured sū rede and sū rede and greñ rōnde atthe end<sup>e</sup>.

Itm j bañ of blake sylke w<sup>t</sup> dyūs raggyd stavys sylū betyñ.

Bañs for the rode  
lofte lytyll worth.

Itm j bañ of sylke w<sup>t</sup> the crosse of Synt George iiij q<sup>r</sup>t bettyñ w<sup>t</sup> sylū.

Itm j anothir bañ of sylke bettyñ w<sup>t</sup> sylū w<sup>t</sup> the crosse of Synt Georg.

Itm and olde bañ brokyñ w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of Synt George.

Itm j bañ of lyn clothe whyte w<sup>t</sup> the crosse of Synt George.

Itm j bañ of sylke paned w<sup>t</sup> whyte and blewe.

Itm dyūs other bañs not worthe but alto brokyñ.

A. Itm j pynoñ of yollowe and blak lynnyn w<sup>t</sup> a lyon and j gote in sylū.

Itm j pynoñ of blake sylke bettyñ w<sup>t</sup> golde and sylū w<sup>t</sup> blak lyonys and foulys in sylū.

Pynonys  
not worth.

Itm j pynoñ of yollowe sylke w<sup>t</sup> a s<sup>c</sup>pture olde bettyñ in sylū.

A. Itm ij Surplix oñ of them brokyñ. Itm iij Rachet<sup>e</sup> oñ of them alto brokyñ not worthe.

Surplix.  
Colyng<sup>e</sup> for  
ymag<sup>e</sup>

A. Itm j w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of Synt Stephñe steyned w<sup>t</sup> damaske worke.

Itm j steyned w<sup>t</sup> damaske for the resurreccōn and h<sup>s</sup> seyð ymage in þ<sup>e</sup> same.

Itm j steyned in the chapell be for o<sup>r</sup> lady w<sup>t</sup> a lylly and oure lady ther in.

Itm j be for the vñite in the churche w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of the vñite steyned.

Itm j be for Synt Anne steyned w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of Synt Anne.

Itm j be for Synt kateryne steyned w<sup>t</sup> the ymage of synt katyne þ<sup>e</sup> in.

Itm j be for oure lady w<sup>t</sup> hir ymage steyned ther in.

Itm j be for Synt nychūs w<sup>t</sup> hys ymage steyned ther in.



Itm̄ iiij lynneñ clothes whyte and blewe to eol̄ ymage w<sup>t</sup> alle.

Itm̄ ij steyned lytyl clothes oñ of them for þ<sup>e</sup> angyl̄ above þ<sup>e</sup> hy aut̄ þ<sup>e</sup> toþ<sup>o</sup> for sū seynt.

Fol. 13. Itm̄ j Ryddyft of blewe bokrame be hynd the vicar<sup>o</sup> in the quere.

Itm̄ j nothir Riddyft be hynde the morne þ̄ste in the quere.

Itm̄ j vayle for lent to be drawne be for the hy aut̄ of lynneñ w<sup>t</sup> blac<sup>o</sup> crossis.

Itm̄ j Rode clothe steyned w<sup>t</sup> the passiō of o<sup>o</sup> lorde of the yifte of Johā Croutō.

Sudary. A. Itm̄ j sudary of sylke and w<sup>t</sup> rays oñ thwerte. B. Itm̄ j nothir<sup>o</sup> ful febyft. C. Itm̄ ij othir sylkyñ Curchys for to ley oñ the crosse when they ar dede and brozto to churche of the yifte of Annys vmfray. Itm̄ j sudary of ppyft sylke w<sup>t</sup> iiij knoppys of sylū oñ gyldyd for þ<sup>e</sup> Coupe.

sic.

Sepulcur<sup>o</sup> Itm̄ j sepulcur<sup>o</sup> oñ gyldyd, w<sup>t</sup> j frame to be set oñ w<sup>t</sup> iiij postē and crystē þ<sup>o</sup> to. Itm̄ iiij trestē to haue the sepul<sup>o</sup> downe w<sup>t</sup> iiij ironys to ber<sup>o</sup> h<sup>t</sup> v<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup>. Itm̄ iiij Angēft for to be set oñ the postē w<sup>t</sup> iiij seneē, ij gyldyd and ij not gyldyt. Itm̄ iiij grete angēft to be set oñ the sepulcur<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup> dyūs smale angēft. Itm̄ ij steyned clothes w<sup>t</sup> the apostol̄ and the pphet̄ bettyn w<sup>t</sup> golde w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> crede. Itm̄ viij bar<sup>es</sup> bettyn w<sup>t</sup> golde to be set abowte the sepulcur<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup> dyūs smale pynōs. Itm̄ iiij knygtē to be set oñ the postē be for the dor<sup>o</sup>. Itm̄ j angyl̄ to be set in þ<sup>e</sup> dor<sup>o</sup>.

Chestē and almoryes A. Itm̄ ij chestē in the vesteary. B. Itm̄ iiij almoryes for bokē vestementē and Copys. C. Itm̄ j coffyn for to kepe the sacrament oñ the hy aut̄. D. Itm̄ j cheste bounde w<sup>t</sup> irone in oure lady chapēft. And ij chestē in þ<sup>e</sup> rode lofte. E. Itm̄ j lonḡ coffyn in the rode lofte w<sup>t</sup> ij lonḡ coffyns for torcheis in the chaunseft and in the churche. F. Itm̄ ij cheyers leddred for the quere.

Deske for auters. Itm̄ iiij deske for auters. And ij deske lying oñ the quere. Itm̄ ij lectures oñ of them in the rede lofte, w<sup>t</sup> j lect̄ to rede þ<sup>e</sup> legent oñ.

Sconsis. Itm̄ j Judas for to set candell oñ w<sup>t</sup> a fote pteyny<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>o</sup> to. Itm̄ iiij Coffyns to ly oñ the auters, w<sup>t</sup> v here. Itm̄ ij seconsys in the churche. Itm̄ j howslynḡ bell w<sup>t</sup> j lytyft bell to honḡ in the stepyl oñ þ<sup>e</sup> dedicacōn. Itm̄ vj seconsys for the quere one of them of tyñ.

Fol. 14. Itm̄ j stole of blewe damaske lynet w<sup>t</sup> grene bokrame which was founde.

Itm̄ j stole w<sup>t</sup> dyūs armys lynet w<sup>t</sup> blak bokrame hangyng oñ þ<sup>e</sup> quere.

Itm̄ j stole of lake bokrame lynet w<sup>t</sup> blew bokrame lying in the vestery.

Itm̄ j olde yollowe stēft lytyft worthe.

Itm̄ j of cloth of golde leyde w<sup>t</sup> golde.

purys not worth. Itm̄ purys for j aube of whyte strypyd w<sup>t</sup> ray.

Itm̄ ij purys of rede for and aube w<sup>t</sup> blake butt.

Itm̄ j pure for and amyte of blake sylke w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> f̄nite and vj floures enbraudyt.

Itm̄ ij smalle pures for aube slevys oñ of cremsyn̄ the toþ<sup>o</sup> of blew w<sup>t</sup> whyt branch.

Itm̄ j olde purpyft clothe of sylke þ<sup>e</sup> was a lynyng for a vestent̄ sū tyme.

Tabyft Coffyn for Itm̄ j salue tabyft Coued w<sup>t</sup> a lynnē clothe. Itm̄ j nothir of þ<sup>e</sup> tunery.

the crosse.

Itm j of the antymys of þ<sup>e</sup> cros and oure lady and the responnys of the Trinite.

Itm j Case for the crosse in oñ of the chest<sup>e</sup> in the vestery.

This boke wryttine by Thom<sup>s</sup> ffitz Joh<sup>n</sup> sume tyme clerke of this pyssh in the monthe of aguste in the yere of oure lorde m<sup>c</sup>cccc<sup>o</sup>lxvj<sup>o</sup> then beyng vic<sup>i</sup> m. Wiffme leek. John flacher and Joh<sup>n</sup> bacon churche wardyns.

- Fol. 15. The Inuenty of the goodes Juels and Ornament<sup>e</sup> of the pish Church<sup>e</sup> of saint stephens yn Collmanstret of London hereafter specified named and written. The xxv<sup>th</sup> day of the moneth of June In the yere of Oure lorde god A thowssande five hundreth and xliij<sup>th</sup> And in the xxxiiij<sup>th</sup> yere of the Rayng of owre soueraing lorde king henry the viij<sup>th</sup> Then beinge vicar sir Richarde Kettyll Bacchelar of law, Robart smithe mercer, and Wylliam Bradforde Talowehandler Church<sup>e</sup> wardeyns. To thentent that the tow pish Clark<sup>e</sup> of the same church<sup>e</sup> shall haue charge and kepinge of them att all tymes hereafter shall be redye and deliuer agayne or do To be delyuerd, To the saide vicar and Church<sup>e</sup> wardens, or to their successours all the same goodes Juels and ornament<sup>e</sup> when they or aiether of them shall be therto required.

PLATE.

Item a chalex silu<sup>r</sup> and gilte with mary and John in the foot and in the pattent saint stephen, wayeng xxxvij ounce.

Item a chalex silu<sup>r</sup> and gylt with the crucifix and mary and John on the foot and the Trinite in the patent, wayeng xix ounce<sup>2</sup> and de half.

Itm a chalex silu<sup>r</sup> and gilt with a crucifix on the foote and on the patēt the vernacle wayeng xvij ounce<sup>2</sup> de half.

Item too sencers pcell gillt wayeng lxxij ounce.

Item too candulstick<sup>e</sup> pcell gylt wayeng xxxiiij ounce<sup>2</sup> and q<sup>tr</sup>.

Item too bassons pcell gilt wayeng xxxvj ounce<sup>2</sup>.

Item a crosse with mary and John all gilt wayeng lxxvj ounce<sup>2</sup>.

Item a monster all gilt wayeng xxxj ounce<sup>2</sup> and q<sup>tr</sup>.

Item a paier of cruette parcell gilt wayeng xv oūe de half.

Item a shipe parcell gilt wayeng ix ounce<sup>2</sup> de half.

Item a pax parcell gilt wayeng iij ounce<sup>2</sup> and q<sup>tr</sup>.

Item a Crismatorye pcell gilt wayeng xxij ounce<sup>2</sup>.

Item a playne crosse pcell gilt plated vpon yron wayeng lxxij ounce<sup>2</sup>.

## LATON.

Item a pair of standerde for the heigh aulter. Item iij pair of great Candulstickē for to stand on the aulter. Item vij small candullstickē for the aulter. Item too holly watt stoppis. Item a senser and a shippe. Itm too crosse stavys. Item a great egull and a lampe for the pascall. Item too candullstickē with ij snoffē in eache of them. Item in the Roode loft xxv bolle. Item Fol. 16. a great lampe with owt the quier dore. Item a crosse of copper. Item too olde crossis. Item a crysmatory of copper. A bell at the heigh aulter. iij pair of cruette. A foot for the crosse. And a braunche for the organs.

## BOKES.

Item iiij greate Antiffoners and ij small. Item a boke for the organs. Item iiij grayles. Item too greate legende. Item iiij Masse boke one with a grayle. Item a prynte masse boke. A masse boke wryttin vpon paper. Item a boke for Rectores. Item iij mañuelles one of them written. Item v. peessioners written and iij prynt. Item iij hymnalle and olde prick songe boke. A sawter boke. Item an old legande writtin. Item a collectorie of the gifte of sir Robert Bygyng written.

## WESTEMENT.

In p̄mis a swete of Rede Clothe of tysswe with one cope to the same. Item a swete of Blacke cowntfeite tisswe with to copis to the same. Item a swete of Blwe vellet with one cope. Item a swet of Blwe damaske with iij copis to the same. Item a swet of white damaske enbroderid with flowers with iij copis to the same. Item a swete of white damaske w<sup>t</sup> owt flowers and copis. Item a swet of grene Bawdekyn with iij copis. Item a swet of Red bawdekyn and iij copis to the same. Item a swet of Red and grene bawdekyn w<sup>t</sup> byrdē and letters of golde with one cope. Item to old copis of Bawdeky.

[erasure].

Item a swete of bawdekyn w<sup>t</sup> doggē of golde and grene silke w<sup>t</sup> one cope. Itē a suete of copper cloth w<sup>t</sup> owt any cope. Item a swete of white bustian and iij copis to the same. Item a swet of blacke Bawdekyn with a cope of worsted.

## SENGULL VESTEMENT.

Item a vestement of blwē vellet enbrodered w<sup>t</sup> flowres. Itm a vestement of blwē damaske w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of blwē tysswe. Item a vestemēt of whit damaske w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of Red tysswe. Item a vestement whit satten brigge enbroderid w<sup>t</sup> flowers. Item a vestemēt of Grene satten brigge w<sup>t</sup> saint John baptist on the crosse. Item a vestment blw vellet w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of Red silke. Item a vestement blw Chamlet w<sup>t</sup> rosis. Item a vestment blw worsted. Item a vestemēt diap silke w<sup>t</sup> stripis of golde whit. Item a vestement of bawdekin w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of blwē and whit bawdekyn. Item a vestement of whit fustian w<sup>t</sup> flowers enbro. Item a vestemēt whit fustian for lent. Item a vestemēt purpull silke for good frydaye.

VESTEMENTE LACKYNG PARRELL.

Fol. 17. Item a vestemet Bawdeking w<sup>t</sup> the crosse blw veltet w<sup>t</sup> Imagerie. Item a vestement w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of lace. Item a vestement grene bawdekyn w<sup>t</sup> a grene crosse. Item a vestement Red silke w<sup>t</sup> crownid garters. Item an old Red vestement w<sup>t</sup> a crosse golde bawdekyn. Item a yealow vestement w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of brode lase. Item a vestement dornex w<sup>t</sup> a crosse of stryped dornex. Item a vestement of dornex w<sup>t</sup> a crosse blwe dornex.

HANGYNGE FOR THE HEIGH AULTER.

Item a hangyng of grene veltet and tawney Enbrodered w<sup>t</sup> flowers. Item a hangyng of Red veltet enbroderid w<sup>t</sup> flowers the neither clothe Red fustian of napulls w<sup>t</sup> golden crownys. Item a hangyng of blacke cownterfete tysswe w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix in the vpper and on the endes master brad<sup>a</sup>burys armes and his wiffe. Item a hangyng bawdekyn olde w<sup>t</sup> a crucifix w<sup>t</sup> armes att the endes. Item a hangyng whit clothe w<sup>t</sup> garters. Item a hangyng of blacke buckram w<sup>t</sup> Jhus. Item an olde stayned hangyng. Item a hangyng for lent.

HANGYNGE FOR O<sup>r</sup> LADYE AULT<sup>r</sup> IN THE CAPPELL.

Item a blwe hangyng of damaske enbroderid w<sup>t</sup> flowers. Item an other hangyng blwe damaske w<sup>t</sup> A crucifix on the vpper part. Item a hangyng of backe Buckram with Jhus. Item a hangyng of whit clothe w<sup>t</sup> garters. Item a hangyng for the lent.

HANGYNGE FOR O<sup>r</sup> LADYE AULTER.

Item a hangyng of Tauney veltet w<sup>t</sup> silke curtyns. Item a hangyng yalow damaske w<sup>t</sup> silke curtyns. Item a hangyng whit satten briggē w<sup>t</sup> garters. Item a hangyng grene satten briggē w<sup>t</sup> saint John baptist. Item too stayned hangyngē. Item iiij cotē for ovr ladye one of Tauney veltet enbroderid, an other blw veltet and golde, an other whit satten briggē enbroderid. An other whit Chamlet enbroderid.

BANNERS.

Item too crosse Banners one of the assencion of o<sup>r</sup> lorde, an other of the assūpcion of o<sup>r</sup> lady. Item a stremer of the assūpcion of o<sup>r</sup> ladye. An other Olde stremer. Item v. Banners of silke. Item ij passion banners. And viij other stayned banners. Item v. banners for the sepulture. And xvij pendens. Item iiij banners w<sup>t</sup> maydens hedde. Item v. banners in o<sup>r</sup> lady Chappett of Master bradburis.

<sup>a</sup> The d and b in this word are joined together in a curious manner which cannot be represented in the type.

## TOWELS.

**Fol. 18.** Item a towell xiiij yerdes long de halff, halff yerde halff q̄t brode. Item a towell x yerdes de halff long and q̄t brode. Item a towell vj yerde long, halff yerde, halff q̄t brode. Item a towell viij yerde long de halff, halff yerde brode. Item a towell iiij yerde long halff yerde halff q̄t brode. Item a towell iiij yerde de halff long halff yerde halff q̄t brode. Item a towell vj yerde q̄t long not and q̄t brode. Item towell for altars v, iiij of them be diap and ij of cloth.

## AULTER CLOTHES.

Item an Ault cloth diap iiij yardē q̄t long more than ell brode. Item an aulter cloth iiij yerde q̄t long ell brode. Item an ault clothe, iiij yerde long ell brode. Item an aulter clothe of lynnē v yerde long ell brode. Item an aulter clothe ij yerde and q̄t long yerde brode.

## SURPLICE.

Item too gatherid surplis. Item iiij playne surplis for the clarkē. Item iiij playne surplis for children and ij albes.

Item a canepy Red silke. Item too canepis for the sacrament, one stryped silke, the other whit neduff worke. Item a hangyng stayned for the sepulture. Item a clothe to drawe ou the sepulture. Item a herse clothe b̄twe vettēt enbroderid w<sup>t</sup> pellicans. Item a herse clothe tawney vettēt for children. Item ij olde hangyngē grene bawdekyn. Item a vale for lent paynted. Item a clothe payntid to hange be for the Rode. Item a clothe for a deske olde vettēt an other paynted. Item iiij fustian ij of thē littill worth, ij pillows Red vettēt and and grene damaske. And an Image of the Resurrection. Item xj Corporis and in eache of them a corporis clothe.

## THE CONSTITUCION AND ORDYNANCE OF CHESYNG THE CHIRCHE WARDYNS.

**Fol. 148.** Also we wyll frōme this tyme forth that for be cause of variaunce and dyuycōn that hathe bene of long contynuaunce among the pysshyns be for this tyme in Chesying of Chirche wardyns and alle was in defaute of good Rule and ordynance made Therfor we ordyne and make this Rule nowē for the pspyte and welfare of the chirche and for to eschewe alle suche vnconvenyence and dyuycōn that hathe bene among them be for this tyme that the sonday alwey be for the feste of the exaltacōn of the holy Crosse The vicair or his depute shalle amyabley after that mateyns be done calle the Chirche wardyns and the pyshyns to geder and ther for to name and chese one chirche wardyne to hym that hase bene laste chosyne the yere be forne, so þ<sup>t</sup> alway one shalle stand for ij yere And also we wyll that the wardyns the yere be for shall bryng in ther accompte w<sup>in</sup> xiiij dayes aft<sup>r</sup> the feste of mighm̄s. And also the Auditours for to be namyd and chosyne the forseyd day for to hyre ther accompte etc a<sup>o</sup> m<sup>l</sup>. cccc. lxxj<sup>o</sup> vppon payne eu<sup>y</sup> of the forseyd chirche wardyns doying contrary to this ordynance shall pay to the chirche xx<sup>s</sup> etc.

Also we wyll that for eu<sup>y</sup> pytt that ys made in oure lady chapell for man woman other chylde shall pay to the church werkē x<sup>s</sup>. And for eu<sup>y</sup> pytt that ys made with in the body of the church for man woman other chylde shall pay also to the chirche werkē vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.



THE SEXTONS DEVTIE.<sup>a</sup>

Also the sexton shall swepe the Church and the yelle therof euy weke ons at the least and cast water on the ground for Rasyng of dust. Also he shall light the candulls euy sounday and holyday yn the yere and doo them owt ayene as tyme requiereth. Also he shall Rynge curfie whan it ys rounge w<sup>t</sup> one bell and call for help whan it ys rounge w<sup>t</sup> moo. Also he shall blow the Organs euy sounday and holyday in the yere. Also he shall bere the crosse on pcession, and carie holywater euy sounday and fete fyre in tyme of nede. Also he shall make the pitte for dead bodies depe I nough for corrupte heyers, that is to say for men and women iiij fote depe and for children iij fote deep. Also he shall swepe the church roffe iiij tymes yn the yere the church fyndyng bromes and polles therfor. Also whan any procession is about.<sup>b</sup>

THE DEVTIE OF THE TOW CLARKE.

Fol. 149. Also they shall clenesse the founte and feille it agayne w<sup>t</sup> clene water twysse yn the yere at paschall and aft witsountyd and after yf nede requier. Also they shall euy weeke Certifye to the Curat and the church wardens all the names and sir names of them that be wedded Christened and burried in the same pish that weeke sub pena of a j<sup>d</sup> to paid to the church. Also the goode of the church that belongeth to ther kepyng they shall treat and kepe it in the most best man<sup>r</sup> and savyng it from harme or pissinge to the vttermost of ther powers. Also that the saide clark<sup>e</sup> to be at noo tyme owt of the way, but one to be alwayes ready to mynest<sup>r</sup> Sacrament<sup>e</sup> and sacramentall<sup>e</sup> what soo eu<sup>l</sup> shall nede to wayet vpon the Curat and to geve hym warnyng. Also that none of the saide Clarke shall goo or ryde owt of the towne with owt speciall lycence hadde of the vicar and church wardens. Also vpon euy sounday and other holydayes to helpe the sexton to Rynge the secounde pele to matens in deve tyme and to masse Evensonge and yn the lent tyme to complene and also in the absence of the sexton to rynge curfie. Also they shall dayly bringe forthe the Booke that be longe to the quier and Receyve them agayne to ther savegarde as they will answer for them on principall dayes and other festiall dayes they shall bringe forth the Coppes vestement<sup>e</sup> and apperellis for the aulters in the Church w<sup>t</sup> the Jvelles to be set on the saide aulters and they to dysaray them agayne as the tyme requireth, and bringe the sayd Jvelles and Ornament<sup>e</sup> into ther owne kepyng for the discharge of them selffe. Also they shall serve the Curat and preest w<sup>t</sup> p<sup>e</sup> coppis and see fier fet and redy in the sensours afore it nede and to set children to do i<sup>n</sup>vice in the saide quier. To light p<sup>e</sup> tapers to the senso<sup>r</sup>s and to see the borne or revesterid and the quier to be senced and many moo small thinge as syngyng and Redyng and pparing the booke and Tu<sup>n</sup>yng theroff to the dyvine i<sup>n</sup>vice afore it begyne as of a laudable and an Auncient custome hath ben vsed in tymes past. Also they shall bere holywat<sup>r</sup> euy sounday in the yere. Also the clark<sup>e</sup> shall sette and bringe in all suche casuellte as be longeth to the Church wardens to the church be hoveffe and iff any casuellte fall yn any Church wardens

<sup>a</sup> This is in a different handwriting.

<sup>b</sup> The "sexton's dentie" ends abruptly here at the bottom of page 148, but there is nothing to indicate that it is incomplete.



absence as beyng owte of towne they shall apply them selfe to bring them yn to the said church wardens for the tyme being.

Fol. 153.  
Statutū cū pena  
P<sup>a</sup> exneis intro-  
ducte in pochia.

Ofte<sup>a</sup> tymys it is seyne that a syngler pfette hyrtyth and harmyth a comyn wele. And for cause myche of the pepyll be sette so nowgh a dayes wenyng hem selfe that they do well when they hyrte hēselfe and alle ther neyghbourse semyng they do a werke of merceye or pitye and it is not soo but her singler a vayl or else they wolde not do hitte that they will receyve men and women and children zonge and olde of other pissches than ther owne infecte in pestilence the which sekenes euy man escheweth. Therefore we beyng Rewlers and gounerse of the pissch of seynt Stephañ in Colmanstrete n̄. william leek vicar ppetuall Robert Ewell and Robert Barly chirch wardens of the same chirch comaunde and forbede by comyn assent of alle the pissch. That no mā ne woman ne childe receyve no suche pepult after this monyschyng made vnder the peyn of lesyng to the chirche of seynt Stephan iij solid. iij d. as ofte as he or they ben founde fawty ther Inne.

Intrañ int̄ Recorda de Termiō pasche A° xv° E. iij<sup>ti</sup> Ex parte Remem̄ Regē Ro. ij<sup>do</sup>.

Nota bene p  
prospitate  
Ecclesie.  
M<sup>d</sup> this prouiso  
most be taken  
hede of at euy  
plyament whan  
eny Resumpeions  
be.

Here is the Copye of the pyyse for the lyuelote of the church. Alwey for to be Remembred at euy parlement where ther ys any Resumpeion. Irrotulatur int̄ Recorda de Termiō pasche Anno xv° E<sup>e</sup> iij<sup>ti</sup> ex parte Remem̄ Rē Rotulo secundo et t<sup>io</sup>.

Provyded alwey that this acte of Resumpeion or adnullacoñ or any other acte or ordynñce made or to be made in this p̄sent plement extend not nor in any wyse p̄iudiciale or harmefull vnto willame leek vikayr of the pyshe Church of Seint stephins in Colmanstrete within the Citte of london John Johans and John fyshe keepers of the gode and ornemente of the forseyd Chirche and to the pysshins of the seyde pyshe nor to their successours of in or to any gūnt by vs vnto theym by our l̄r̄s patentē vnder our grete sealt berring daṽ at westm̄ the xxviij day of feuryere the vij<sup>the</sup> yere of our Reigne of any londes meses teñtē houses shoppes moyte and gardyns with apptenñces in the seyde pyshe of Seint stephins and x̄s. of quite rent in the pyshe of Seint

<sup>a</sup> This is in the same handwriting as the constitution for choosing churchwardens.

Laurence in the olde Jure within our seyde Citee of london but that our seyde gūnt and tres patentees accordyng to theeffecte tenour and purport therof be and stond vnto the seyde vicair kepers and pyshins and to their successours good effectuell and awayleable the seyde acte of Resumpeoñ or any other acte or any mesprision ambiguitee repugñances contrarietee or defaulte had or beyng in our seyde lres patentees whatsoeu it be or by whate name or names so eu the seyde vicar<sup>9</sup> kepers and pyshyns or their successours or eny other psone or psones therein expressed be called or named in any wyse not withstondyng, etc<sup>a</sup>.

Fol. 154. Statutū De officio Clericorū et quomodo se habebunt erga Curatū presbītos et pochianos omēs.

A. In p̄mis Clerkys in ther office shal fynde sufficient Surete to the Curatt and Chirche wardens to kepe alle Bokys all vestmentē alle Jvellys and se to alle the avter clothes and wasschyng of hem and to the Amēdyng of hem at alle tymes as thei wer thayr owne. Itm̄ they schal be obedient to the Curate and to alle the p̄stys in the Chirche doynge to hem reverence and be redy Day and Nyght and at alle tymes to goo w<sup>t</sup> the Curate or his Debite to visitte the seeke and to help to mynstryng of the Sacramentē gladly. Itm̄ they shal be diligent and redy dayly both holiday and warkeday to alle Diuine seruice that is don in the Chirche of seynt Stephan and not rangelyng nor tale tellyng in tyme of diuine ſuice bot exemplar<sup>9</sup> of deuocion. Itm̄ thei shal be redy to mynster Bokys vestmentē Chalycē and all other thyngē necessary to the Curate to the morñ masse p̄ste and to alle other p̄stē of the sayd Chirche that is to say . . . to ryngē iij pelys w<sup>t</sup> the lest Bells to the morowe masse and be for the last pele warne the morou masse p̄ste and aske hym if shal ryngē alle in. And so to do to the Curate or his Debite on sondays and holidays after the gode custom of london. Itm̄ they shall opon the Chirche dores in somer att vj of the belle and orden fressch water wyne and bredde. And ryng to morñ masse i som̄ at v of the belle in wynter at halfē owre be fore vj so that the masse be sayd be vij. Itm̄ thei shal help the morñ masse p̄ste to say masse in a surpelis, and at hyz masse dayly. And no nodur p̄ste \* in the chyrch bin at his ovyn wyll \*<sup>a</sup> except the Curatt say masse at a side awt on of the pissch Clerke shal help hym to say masse or se p<sup>t</sup> he haue on. Itm̄ thei shal be redy to ryng to all mañ of diuine ſuice at dewe owre assyngned of the Curate or his debite after the vse and the custom of london þe Cite of. And not to ryng the laste pele vnto the Curate or his debite be p̄sent. Itm̄ thei shal swepe all the ymagys and glasse wyndowys of the Chirche ij tymes of the 3ere atte Pasch and at the Translacon of sent Stephān aud pare the alyes of the chirche yerde, and suffer no grave nor pitte to be made in the p̄cession way i payne of xij dē w<sup>t</sup> owte gret nede. Itm̄ they shal be redy eūy sonnonday after matens be sayd to orden water and salte and to cutte

Fo. 155.

<sup>a</sup> The words between \* \* are doubtful, being written over an erasure, but they are believed to be correct.

the holi loffe s. ij dē ot, and a ot. loffe for the Cantelle sub pena of a j<sup>d</sup>. to the Chirch to be payd. Itm̄ thei shal see the pfett of the Curate in offeringys in wax, in wyne in brede Iu purificacōns and in alle other Righte and Dewtys that longe to the avter of god Ineresynge multiplynge at ther power. Itm̄ thei shal make no contencoñ nor baate nor hevenesse betwene the Curate and the Parisschoñs nor of no other Preste. And if thei here any Confeterice or Imagynacoñ or Sklawndyr of malice agaynce the Curate or of any other p̄ste that longē to the said Chirch in all haste thei shal in confession telle hit to the Curate, and the namys of the psonys that so ymagyn. Itm̄ thei shal "be obedient in all lefull thyngē" to alle the Pisschons and curtes in beryng in behauyng hem selfe. In answer to high and to lowe as Quauntē and mēbris of the Chirche of Godde askynge theyre q̄rtage their Casuallys and other thyngē p̄t long to hem be right ameabully. And if any man or woman contr̄ye and will not pay ther dewty to informe the Curate and the Chirch wardens and they shal sette remedy w<sup>t</sup> grace of God. And yf ony psone be breker of this good and goodly ordinaunce The Indyngnacoñ of Almyghty God falle he Inne. Amen. Dat̄ etc.

- Fol. 155. Obitus ffraternitatis bē marie Dñica prima post ff̄m Ephiphanie.
- Januarii. Obitus illustri Ducis Ric̄i de Eboz, Edmūdi Comitis de Rutland et Ric̄i Nevell Comitis de Decemb̄r 31 die. Salusbury et oīm fideliū defunctz in die sc̄i Siluestri.
- februar̄ 3 die. Obitus Joh̄is Sytyngburñ in crastio purificacōis beate marie, p Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gyldehall, et oīm fideliū defunctoz.
- August̄ 16 die. Obitus Joh̄is Essex et vxoris sue in Cst̄io assūpcōis bē marie per Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gildehall.
- Septemb̄r 9 die. Obitus Ade Goodman et vx̄is sue in crastio Natiuitatis bte marie p Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gildehall.
- Nouemb̄r 2 die. Obitus Joh̄is Arnold señ et oīm Benefactoz Ecc̄ie Sci<sup>o</sup> Stephi p Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gyldehall p Gardianos eccl̄ie obseruari semp in Crastino Aīaz vel iij die sequen<sup>t</sup>.
- Julii 2 die. Obitus Wiłmi kyng parentū suoz p̄ma die mens̄ julii p Testamentū suū irrotulatū in le Gildehall p vicariū semp obseruari.

LIMITES PAROCHIE SANCTI STEPHANI IN COLMAN STRETT, LONDON'.

- F. 150. Henricus Dei gracia etc. Omnibus etc. Sciatis quod scrutatis rotulis et memorandis Scaccarii nostri, compertum est in eisdem, quod ad quascunque soluciones decimarum seu aliarum contributionum et quotorum per clerum Anglie omnibus antecessoribus nostris regibus Anglie nobis ab anno xx<sup>o</sup> domini E[dwardi] filii Regis H[enrici] nuper regis Anglie progenitoris nostri hucusque, quociens et quando [per] predictum clerum decime sue medietatis decimarum contribuciones aut quota concesse fuerint, Conventus Westmonasteriensis solvit decimas cum clero predicto pro bonis suis in parochiis subscriptis taxatis ad summam denariorum subscriptorum; videlicet, etc. Sancti Stephani in Iudaismo, xxix solidos etc.

Et sciendum est quod tenementum quondam Henrici Laey quondam cujusdam Judei nomine Manseri filii Aaron', et ut patet per quandam inquisitionem captam in London' de redditibus Judeorum anno regni regis E[dwardi] filii Regis Henrici tercii decimo octavo, ut hic in sequentibus:—qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod tenementum quondam Manseri filii Aaron' juxta Catstrete in parochia Sancti Stephani in Colman strete London' valet per annum ix marcas. Inde Abbas Westmonasteriensis, xx solidos, etc.

De te[n]emento Raheri de Soperslane postea Simonis Fraunceyis, postea Helie filii predicti Simonis [modo Elie Fraunceyis]<sup>a</sup> filii predicti Elie, filii predicti Simonis, quod situm est in Cornerio de Basyngsawe ex parte occidentali, et viam regiam vocatam Catestrete ex parte australi, et tenementum Johannis Bradford nuper Ade Wyngham ex parte boriali, et tenementum predicti Elie ex parte orientali; et istud tenementum est cum altis muris lapideis et alard'<sup>b</sup> super cornerium predictum—Abbati Westmonasteriensi ad Festum Pasche pro toto anno in parochia Sancti Stephani in Veteri Iudaismo London' xx. s.

*(Added in a hand of the late xvj or xvij century).*

Plura de hoc in Charta facta decano et capitulo Westm'. Anno 2 Elizabethe, ubi sic etc. Et de xx s. de redditu exeunte de quadam domo mancionali in parochia Sancti Olavi in Veteri Iudiasmo; et hoc minus juste ut patet per preseden', tunc in tenura Brodbury.

- F. 151. CONSTITUCIO PROVINCIALIS SCRIPTA ANNO DOMINI M.<sup>i</sup>. cccc<sup>mo</sup>. lx. octavo.

Presbiteri stipendiarii necnon alii sacerdotes propriis sumptibus vel per amicos sustentati divina celebrantes in archiepiscopatu nostro non recipiant oblaciones, obvenciones, porciones, Constitucio denarios pro requestu, trintalia vel aliam partem certam quotam, presertim oblaciones pro cor- provincialis poribus mortuorum presentibus a rectoribus vel vicariis ecclesiarum, in quibus celebraverint, ullo modo nec asportarent in prejudicium rectorum, vicariorumve predictorum, vel eorum vicem gerencium, ne sentenciam excommunicacionis majoris latam in hac parte incurrant, ut

<sup>a</sup> The words within brackets have been erased but are still legible.

<sup>b</sup> This is how the word is written in the MS.

diximus immiscendo. Predicti vero presbiteri die Dominica vel festiva post admissionem suam jurabunt coram rectoribus, vicariis, vel eorum vicem gerentibus si nulli sint vicarii ibidem, alioquin coram ipsis vicem gerentibus, vicariis vel locorum parochianis, intra missarum solempnia aperte coram ipsis, sacrosanctis inspextis, quod in ecclesiis vel in capellis parochialibus, in quibus divina celebrant, eorum rectoribus seu vicariis vel eorum loca tenentibus vel quorum interest omnino inferrent dampnum seu prejudicium circa oblationes, porciones, provenienciones, denarios pro requestu, trintalia vel alia jura quocunque nomine censeantur. Immo quatenus in eis est, eosdem servabunt indemnes in premissis et singulis premissorum. Item, jurent eciam predicti sacerdotes specialiter quod odia, scandala, rixa, et contenciones inter rectorem seu vicarium vel vicem gerentem et parochianos nullo modo sustineant, aut aliquo modo faciant, sed quatinus in eis est concordiam nutrant inter eosdem; et ita in dicto archiepiscopatu non celebrent divina si expresse eis interdicatur, donec premissis prestiterint juramenta; vel per eos non stent quominus present. Et si celebrent in loco sic eis interdicto, irregularitatem incurrant preter alias penas, quas canones inducunt contrarium facientibus. Et si fuerint convicti coram archidiacono loci vel ejus officiali se infirmasse predicta juramenta, vel si fuerint infamati et se purgare nequeant, amovebuntur omnino, et tanquam perjuri interdicatur eis divina celebratio in dicto archiepiscopatu, donec eis fuerit super hoc canonice dispensatum. Item, non audiant confessiones parochianorum ecclesiarum vel capellarum in quibus divina ministraverint, nisi in casu et jure permissio, nec oblationes hujusmodi ecclesie sive capelle sibi appropriabunt, et sic crimen sacrilegii incurrant, nisi de licencia presidentium petita sit et obtenta. Item, debent interesse cancello, matutinis, vespers, et aliis divinis officiis debitis horis induti superpeliciis, que sibi propriis sumptibus providebunt, et non in navi ecclesie, cimiterio vel campis erunt. Et si fuerint correpti super hiis per presidentem, non reddant se elatos nec erigent cervices contra presidentes, nec propter hoc excitabunt aliquos qui eos protegant et foveant. Et ad interessendum predictis horis et magnis missis debet injungi eis virtute obediencie quod sint presentes, legentes, caventes, et psalmodizantes. Dicti vero presbiteri dominicis diebus et festivis, vel si corpus alicujus defuncti affuerit, suas missas post lectum evangelium majoris misse incipiant et compleant, et non prius nisi licencia rectorum vel vicariorum ecclesiarum vel capellarum ubi celebraverint. Item, non exercebunt tabernas, spectacula, nec cellulas meretricum, nec ludos noxios vel prohibitos. Dicti vero rectores vel vicarii et eorum loca tenentes, debent benigne recipere juramentum predictum et manebit copia de premissis in ecclesiis suis.

F. 152.      **CONSTITUTIO PROVINCIALIS SEU ORDINACIO GENERALIS PRO ELECTIONE GARDIANORUM SIVE  
CUSTODUM ECCLESIE PRO CONSERVACIONE JURUM LIBERTATUM ET BONORUM EJUSDEM.**

Lege nature sufficienter sumus instructi carnales adorare parentes, multo magis spirituales, cum dicat Apostolus; "Anima plus est quam esca, et corpus plus quam vestimentum." Cum precipue tunc honorare oportet matrem nostram ecclesiam que semper regenerat ad vitam, non deest ergo filios ecclesie paupertate seu vilitate, negligencia seu ignorancia affectata eam aliquociens subjacere. Et ne talia sibi accrescant in magnum Christianitatis obprobrium, decretum est per leges ecclesiasticas et Constituciones provinciales, quod annuatim duo vel plures eligantur



Gardiani seu custodes ecclesie pro conservacione jurium libertatum et bonorum ejusdem, non ad depopulandum et devastandum. Sed modernis jam temporibus filii ecclesie non memores precepti legis sed secundum proprias voluntates laxarunt abenas, multociens contra legum decreta per plures annos continuando in eorum officio nec de bonis ecclesie computando, per quod gloria ecclesie pene vertitur in ignominiam, et honor ejus in nichilum. Igitur decretum est per venerabilem patrem et Dominum dominum Thomam Chempe Dei gratia episcopum London', ex unanimi consensu et assensu Magistri Willelmi Leek' vicarii Sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete London' et omnium parochianorum ejusdem ecclesie pro perpetuis temporibus futuris, ut mos est inter omnes Christianos, quod semper antiqui gardiani seu custodes predictae ecclesie Dominica ante festum Translacionis Sancti Eduuardi Regis et Confessoris fidelem reddant compotum in scriptis de omnibus bonis ecclesie et pecuniis per eosdem levatis sive receptis pro utilitate ecclesie predictis parochianis et gardianis de novo electis. Et si illo die prefato aliquae pecunie sive aliqua bona alia fuerint inventa in manibus predictorum antiquorum Custodum sive Gardianorum, omnibus prius fideliter computatis sive computandis, allocatis sive allocandis, pre manibus sine mora solvantur. Et libenter deliberantur<sup>a</sup> claves cum omnibus ecclesie pertinentiis vicario ejusdem ecclesie pro tempore existenti, et custodibus sive gardianis de novo electis integre cum arreragiis et creditoribus omnibus sub pena quadraginta solidorum eidem ecclesie solvendorum. Et si quis hujus nostre ordinacionis violator existat, in Omnipotentis Dei indignacionem incurrat, et propter suam inobedienciam quadraginta solidos predictae ecclesie solvat. Datum apud ecclesiam predictam, ij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Octobris, Anno Domini Millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup> sexagesimo octavo.

Hee Indentura testatur quod cum Willelmus prior de Butle et ejusdem loci Conventus ex **F. 179.** una parte, et Ricardus Wetton pro rectore ecclesie Sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete London', se gerens, ex altera parte, se submiserint stare et obedire laudo, arbitrio, ordinacioni et judicio Reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini Thome Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Reverendorum in Christo patrum et dominorum domini Thome Dei gratia episcopi London' ac domini Willelmi Wyntoniensis episcopi Cancellarii Anglie, Johannis Fortescu, militis, capitalis justiciarii domini Regis ad placita coram ipso Rege tenenda assignati, Magistri Roberti Stillyngton et Magistri Johannis Druell in utroque jure doctorum, arbitratorum inter partes predictas, de et super jure titulo et possessione predictae ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani, ac de et super omnimodis decimis oblacionibus et emolumentis quibuscumque ecclesiasticis eidem ecclesie Sancti Stephani predictae pertinentibus, seu in eadem decimari, offerri et percipi consuetis, ac omnibus accionibus, querelis, debatis et demandis inter partes predictas habitis sive motis, necnon de et super ordinacionibus quibuscumque per ipsos arbitratore pro bono et quieto regimine ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani predictae ac ministrorum et parochianorum ejusdem faciendis, indifferenter electorum. Super quibus predicti arbitratore, accepto super se onere arbitrandi in premissis, vocatis coram eis partibus predictis cum eorum conciliis, visisque coram eisdem arbitratoribus scriptis, evidenciis, juribus et instrumentis suis premissa tangentibus, auditisque et intellectis parcium predictarum allegacionibus responsionibus et replicacionibus in ea parte habitis et factis, cum matura deliberacione de et super omnibus premissis prehabita; iidem

<sup>a</sup> Sic in MS. for "deliberenter."



arbitratores pro eo quod coram eisdem per evidencias coram eis ostensas sufficienter compertum est quod Willelmus Geyton nuper prior de Butle predicta predecessor predicti nunc prioris et omnes predecessores sui a tempore quo non exstat memoria, fuerunt plene seisi et in pacifica possessione de advocacione ecclesie Sancti Olavi in Veteri Judaismo London' una cum capella Sancti Stephani in Colmanstrete eidem ecclesie Sancti Olavi a toto tempore predicto annexa, quodque predicta ecclesia Sancti \* Olavi una cum capella Sancti Stephani predicta eidem ecclesie Sancti Olavi in forma predicta annexa,\*<sup>a</sup> cum suis juribus et pertinenciis, salva certa porcione assignata vicario predictae ecclesie Sancti Olavi, prefato Willelmo Geyton, nuper priori, tenenda sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum sufficienter et legitime appropriata fuit, ac quod predictus Willelmus Geyton, nuper prior et omnes successores sui ac predictus Willelmus nunc prior de predicta ecclesia Sancti Olavi, una cum predicta capella Sancti Stephani in forma predicta appropriata, seisi et possessionati fuerunt in jure ecclesie sue de Butle predicta in proprios usus suos, quousque jam de novo predictus nunc prior de possessione predictae capelle Sancti Stephani minus juste perturbatus extitit, arbitraverunt, ordinaverunt et adjudicaverunt quod predictus nunc prior et successores sui habeant et teneant predictam ecclesiam sive capellam Sancti Stephani ac ipsius pacificam possessionem in proprios usus imperpetuum absque perturbacione seu impedimento aliquo ipsius Ricardi imperpetuum. Et quod iidem prior et conventus et successores sui ad eandem ecclesiam sive capellam Sancti Stephani de cetero presentabunt idoneam personam ordinario loci ad vicariam ejusdem ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani vicarium perpetuum in eadem in forma juris canonice instituendam et inducendam, qui<sup>b</sup> vicarius et successores sui pro sua congrua et honesta sustentacione et porcione sua percipiet singulis annis ad quatuor anni terminos; videlicet ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, Natalis Domini, Pasche et Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste equis porcionibus, ad cornu altaris dicte ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani undecim libras de decimis, oblacionibus, fructibus et proventibus ejusdem ecclesie sive capelle per manus predicti prioris et conventus et successorum suorum vel procuratoris seu assignati sui ibidem existentis in prompta et parata pecunia fideliter solvendas juxta ordinacionem composicionis in hac parte per ordinarium loci fiende. Proviso semper quod si vicarius ille seu successores sui pro tempore existentes alibi quam in vico vocato Colmanstrete sine licencia ordinarii permanserit seu se inhabitaverit, quod pro illo tempore idem vicarius pro tempore existens habebit tantomodo decem libras de predictis undecim libris. Et quod residuum inde, videlicet, viginti solidi, pro eo tempore quo sic alibi sine licencia ordinarii permanserit seu se inhabitaverit, predicto nunc priori et successoribus suis pro eo tempore remanebunt. Et quod predictus nunc prior vel successores sui per scriptum suum sufficiens in lege sigillo suo sigillatum, remittent et relaxabunt tam predicto Ricardo quam omnibus et singulis parochianis dicte ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani, qui presencia laudum, arbitrium, ordinacionem et judicium modo et forma predictis observare et tenere perpetuis temporibus futuris et in nullo ea seu eorum aliqua contravenire, et sigilla sua voluerint, tam omnes et omnimodas acciones personales quam omnimodas execuciones versus ipsum Ricardum et parochianos predictos vel eorum aliquem, quas predictus nunc prior vel successores sui unquam habuerunt, habent seu aliquo modo habere poterint a principio mundi

<sup>a</sup> The passage between \* \* is underlined, and a later hand has noted in the margin:—Hoc probatur falsum per diversa recorda, quorum copia extant.

<sup>b</sup> Later marginal note:—Porcio vicarii Sancti Stephani.

usque in diem confeccionis presencium. In cujus rei testimonium arbitratores predicti hiis indenturis sigilla sua apposuerunt. Et ut predicta arbitrium, ordinacio et iudicium predictum bene et fideliter et firmiter perpetuis temporibus futuris observentur, predicti prior et conventus per presentes concesserunt prefato Ricardo Wetton et Thome Hill, et Johanni Godeale custodibus bonorum eiusdem ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani et parochianis eiu[s]dem, omnia predicta in forma predicta arbitrata ex parte sua bene et fideliter perpetuis temporibus futuris observare tenere et in nullo ea seu eorum aliquod contravenire in futurum. Similiterque tam predictus Ricardus Wetton' quam prefati custodes ac Johannes<sup>a</sup> Browne, armiger, Simon Hammes, armiger, Johannes Croweton', gentilman, Johannes Brewester, gentilman, Johannes Horne, gentilman, Willelmus Edy, draper, Henricus Ashewell, mercer, Robertus Barley, mercer, Thomas Cost, mercer, Robertus Ewell, Thomas Carter, Johannes Arnold, Ricardus Geffrey, Johannes Richard, Willelmus Richard, Johannes Standon', Johannes Fisshe, Nicholaus Hynde, Robertus Colman, Ricardus Colkoe, Thomas Browne. Johannes Byrde, Robertus Bylbarn', Rogerus Humfray, Johannes Bleseby, Johannes Bellers, Willelmus Baker, Radulphus Harmer et Willelmus Osborn' parochiani predictae ecclesie sive capelle Sancti Stephani, per presentes concesserunt prefato priori et conventui et successoribus suis omnia predicta in forma predicta arbitrata ex parte sua bene et fideliter perpetuis temporibus futuris observare et tenere, et in nullo ea seu eorum aliquod contravenire in futurum. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius indenture penes predictum Ricardum Wetton et parochianos predictos remanenti, predicti prior et conventus sigillum suum commune apposuerunt; alteri vero parti eiusdem indenture penes predictum priorem et conventum remanenti, predictus Ricardus Wetton et parochiani predicti sigilla sua separatim apposuerunt. Datum nono d'ie mensis Julii, Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, et anno regni regis Henrici Sexti tricesimo quinto, etc.

Scriptum per Johannem Ingylton capellanum, Anno Domini 1468.

<sup>a</sup> Johēns MS.

V.—*Notes on recent excavations on the supposed site of the Artemisium, near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John Savile Lumley, G.C.B. By R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A.*

---

Read June 25, 1885.

---

THE following brief observations have reference to a remarkable discovery that has very recently been made by Sir John Savile Lumley, Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, near the lake of Nemi. The excavations which he has carried on at that spot simultaneously with those at Cività La Vigna,—about which you have lately had a paper submitted to you,<sup>a</sup>—have apparently resulted in the identification of the site of the Artemisium—the shrine of Diana Aricina.

Antiquaries of all countries have long disagreed about the exact site of that celebrated edifice. Nibby—the great authority on ancient sites in the environs of Rome—supposed the temple of Diana to have been situated on an eminence overlooking the lake where now stands the village of Nemi.<sup>b</sup> Canina, in his work on the Campagna, gives an imaginary restoration of the temple, placing it on the road between Genzano and Nemi, on the right hand of the lake looking from Genzano towards Nemi.

Our fellow-countryman, the accomplished antiquary Sir William Gell,<sup>c</sup> made a shrewder guess. Still it was only a guess. After describing the remains of the *cella* of a small temple, which lies in the valley of Aricia immediately below the modern town, he suggests that the possibility of this being the ruin of the temple of Diana is worth noting. A second suggestion was however nearer the mark. In his description of the lake of Nemi he says, “Near the margin of the lake a little bay indents the shore on the north of the village of Nemi. At the

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. XLIX. pp. 367-381.

<sup>b</sup> Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, vol. i. pp. 254, 255; vol. ii. pp. 395, 397.

<sup>c</sup> *Topography of Rome and its vicinity*, by Sir W. Gell, F.S.A. Edited by Bunbury, 1846.

head of the bay, at the only cultivable spot close to the water, is found a species of quadrilateral peribolus within which two of the walls of a *cella* yet remain of ten or twelve feet in height. Had this been constructed with such materials as might be supposed coeval with the ancient temple of Diana, the question of the position of that building would no longer admit of a doubt: it consists however of *opus reticulatum* (of which style it is a good specimen), and is without any traces of the massive blocks of a more ancient edifice."

It was reserved for Sir John Savile Lumley however to dispel all doubt and to solve the question by the employment of that useful little implement the spade; for on digging beneath these walls of *opus reticulatum* he discovered the basement of a fine building constructed with massive blocks of *opus quadratum* adorned with bold mouldings of a very early period. From the evidence afforded by the architecture and by the inscriptions found amongst the ruins there is now hardly any doubt that he has resolved this great antiquarian problem by the discovery of the real site of the Artemisium.

The position of the Giardino del Lago, where the excavations are being carried on, corresponds with Strabo's description of the site of the temple, though on account of the mutilation of the texts that description is rather confused. He says:<sup>a</sup>—

"On one side of the way is Lanuvium . . . . . On the other side is the Artemisium, which is called Nemus, on the left side of the way leading from Aricia to the temple . . . . . The temple is in a grove, and before it is a lake of considerable size. The temple and water are surrounded by abrupt and lofty precipices, so that they seem to be situated in a deep and hollow ravine."<sup>b</sup>

The garden of the lake answers this description in every respect. The lake lies in the crater of an extinct volcano. Its sides are so precipitous that it is only practicable to descend to the borders of the water by winding paths in the garden of the Palazzo Cesarini, or on the north side near Nemi, where the little bay and cultivated spot of ground mentioned by Gell exists. The ancient approach to the Giardino del Lago was by a road which runs below the convent of the Cappucini, which has substructions of *opus reticulatum*.

In the sixteenth century numerous timbers were found in the lake near the Giardino. These were at first supposed to be the remains of an ancient ship of

<sup>a</sup> Strabo, bk. v. c. iii. § 12.

<sup>b</sup> The term Artemisium would seem to be more properly applied to the Temple than to the Grove. The Temple of Apollo Smintheus was called the Sminthium, that of Apollo Grynæus Grynium.

great size, but Nibby, upon an examination of the timber and tiles which were brought to light in his time, came to the conclusion that these were the remains of an ancient villa,<sup>a</sup> which Suetonius says was commenced upon the lake by Cæsar,<sup>b</sup> who in a fit of caprice ordered it to be pulled down before it was complete.<sup>c</sup> The road above-mentioned probably led to the villa as well as to the temple of Diana.

The Artemisium was celebrated for many reasons. In the first place for its antiquity, for tradition relates that it was founded by Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, after his resuscitation by Æsculapius.<sup>d</sup>

In the second place because the rites celebrated in it were barbarous and Scythic like those of the Tauric Diana. Human sacrifices were offered in it, and the high priest was always a fugitive slave who had succeeded in killing his predecessor. Near the temple stood a tree, and if a fugitive could break off a bough of it he was entitled to the privilege of fighting a duel with the existing priest, and if he conquered of being elected in his stead, and of succeeding to the title of *Rex Nemorensis*. He thus became a noted champion, and when the brutal Caligula was in want of sport he procured an antagonist to fight with the then reigning *Rex*, who had for many years enjoyed the honours of the priesthood.

In 1791 a fine slab of frieze of archaic character, representing the issue of such a combat, was found at Valarriccia. On the ground lies the vanquished official with his entrails protruding from a wound in his side; over him stands the victor with the fatal sword in his grasp, surrounded by four females in Etruscan robes, who seem to be rejoicing in his success and giving thanks to the gods for it.

This fine piece of sculpture was carried off to Russia soon after its discovery and unfortunately cannot be traced.

As the place where the slab was found was in the valley of Aricia, about two miles from the Lago di Nemi, and not far from the ruins of the *cella* already mentioned, its discovery gave rise to the theory entertained by Gell and other antiquaries that those ruins were the remains of the temple of Diana Aricina.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nibby, vol. ii. p. 396.

<sup>b</sup> Suet., *Cæs.* 46.

<sup>c</sup> There is a large piece of timber from this structure preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>d</sup> Paus. ii. 27, § 4.

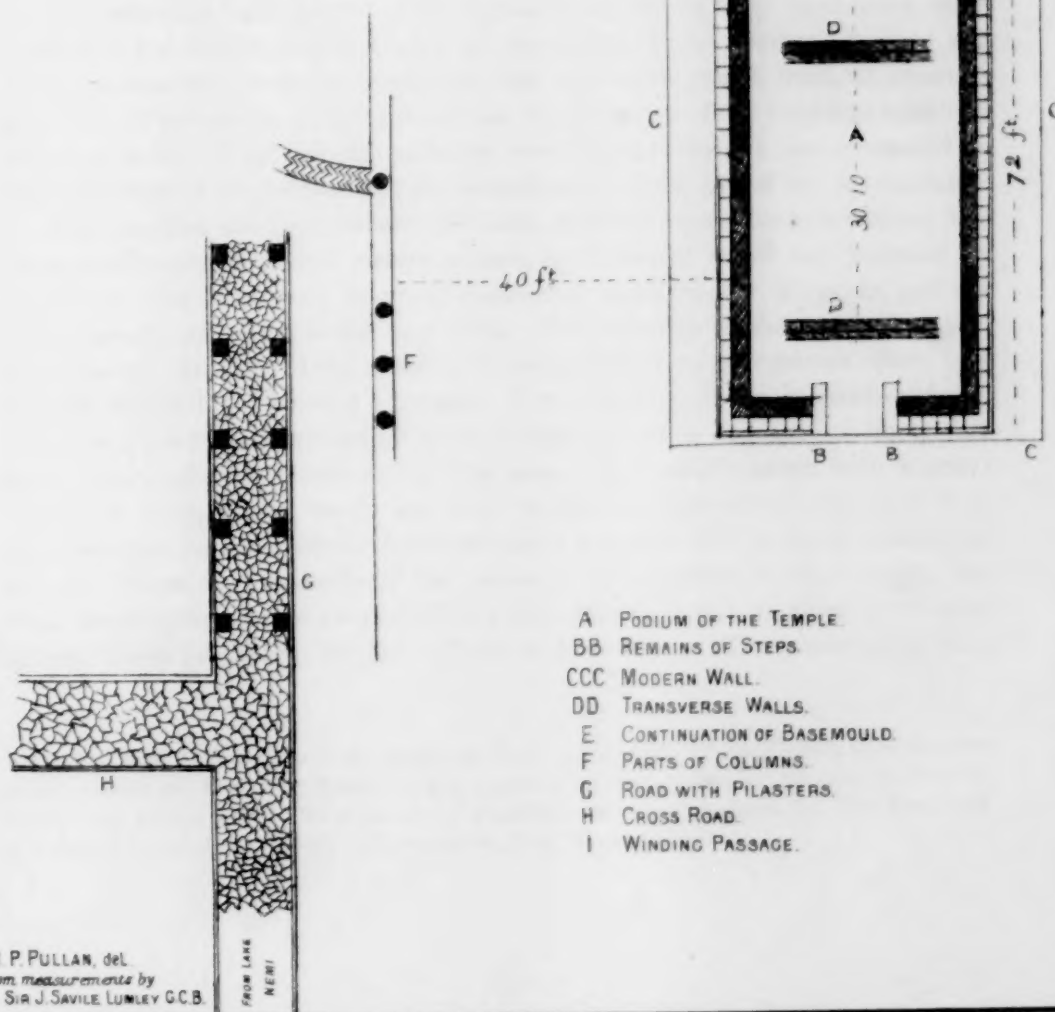
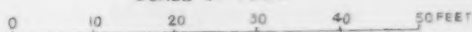
<sup>e</sup> Some antiquaries suppose that there were two temples dedicated to Diana, one at Aricia, the other at Nemi, although it is not likely that there would be two celebrated shrines of the same goddess within two or three miles of one another; besides, Salmasius says, "Latini Aricinæ Dianæ templum proprie vocabant Nemus . . . Ex his locis constat Nemus proprie vocatum fuisse templum illud Dianæ Aricinæ quod in nemoribus positum esset." Sir W. Gell goes so far as to apply the



PLAN  
OF EXCAVATIONS AT  
LAGO DI NEMI,  
on the Site of the  
ARTEMISIUM.



SCALE OF FEET.



- A PODIUM OF THE TEMPLE.
- BB REMAINS OF STEPS.
- CCC MODERN WALL.
- DD TRANSVERSE WALLS.
- E CONTINUATION OF BASEMOULD.
- F PARTS OF COLUMNS.
- G ROAD WITH PILASTERS.
- H CROSS ROAD.
- I WINDING PASSAGE.

R. P. PULLAN, del.  
from measurements by  
SIR J. SAVILE LUMLEY G.C.B.

FROM LAGO  
DI NEMI





In the spring of last year I obtained from Prince Orsini permission to excavate on part of his property near Cività La Vigna, where there were some remains of a villa of Caligula. We found that the ruins extended about a quarter of a mile in each direction, and that they contained baths, with a fine hypocaust, and several chambers with mosaic and marble pavements. Pieces of fine sculpture were also discovered but they were very fragmentary. As the ground had evidently been disturbed before, and as numerous old olive-trees interfered with extensive operations, Sir John Lumley decided this year to abandon the *scavi* and to dig near some ruins which existed near the lake of Nemi, at the other extremity of the Prince's estate.

Sir John Lumley had often speculated as to the real site of the Artemisium, and no doubt he fixed upon this spot as that which was the most promising.

The following brief account of his operations as far as they have gone, compiled from his letters, together with an inspection of the various sketches and photographs which he has so kindly sent me, will enable you, I trust, to obtain a clear idea of the nature of the ground and the character of the buildings which he has discovered. They will also probably convince you that he has succeeded in the realization of his wishes, viz., the identification of the site of the Artemisium.

The Giardino del Lago, where Sir John Lumley began his excavations, is a large quadrangle about 300 metres square, two sides of which are bounded by very large niches of *opus incertum*, measuring eight metres in height and six metres across, with semi-domes over them. Twenty-eight of these niches are still in existence. In front of the niches at a distance of about four metres there is a wall ten metres high, forming a terrace. Two sides only of the enclosure remain. Trenches were opened in front of these niches, and at a distance of thirty feet from them numerous terra-cotta *ex voto*s were found, chiefly heads with a great variety of head-dresses, hands and feet of different dimensions; amongst them were two rude representations of a horse and a cow and two or three anatomical figures. These were evidence of the existence of a temple in the vicinity, for when the temples became crowded with votive offerings, such as these terra-cotta figures, it was the custom for the priests to bury them. There were altogether

description given by Vitruvius of the temple of Nemi to the small temple of which there are some slight remains at Aricia. "Nemori, Dignæ columnis, adjectis dextra ac sinistra ad humeros pronai," and gives a ground plan of his idea of what the restoration of it should be. (See *Topography of Rome and its vicinity*, by Sir W. Gell, revised by E. H. Bunbury, 1846.

between three and four hundred of these *ex votos* dug up. Those shown on Plate VIII. are fair specimens of them.

Soon after this discovery Sir John Lumley commenced operations in the centre of the vast enclosure, and was soon gratified by finding the remains of a building of splendid masonry on the plan of a parallelogram. (Plate VII.)

He was able to trace the basement of this edifice for a distance of seventy-two feet on the east side and about half that length on the west. This basement consisted of a bold cyma having a projection of about two feet, backed by blocks of tufa. This no doubt formed part of the podium of a fine temple which inscriptions proved to be the long-sought shrine of Diana Aricina.

The inscriptions that were found among the ruins may be classified according to the date of the characters in which they are inscribed.

The earliest is cut in fine bold letters on a slab of marble so much broken that the word **LATON** alone remains. This evidently formed part of the name of Latona, the mother of Artemis, who was worshipped in temples dedicated to her daughter.

Another fragment of the marble called Verde Ranachia has, in deeply-cut letters almost as fine as those in the inscription first mentioned,

P · AVTRO . . .

I · F · CO . . . .

A third inscription is on a leaden pipe—

P · AMPHILVS · AUG · SER · FEC

A fourth, on a much-worn slab surrounded by a moulding, runs thus—

L · PONTIVS . . .

O · PETRE . . . .

C · PVPI · I . . .

M · L · AVG . . .

L · ACC . . . . .

. . . EC . . . . .



*The Phototype Coy.*

EX VOTOS, *from the* ARTEMISIUM, near Lake Nemi.



100-100000

100-100000 100-100000 100-100000

A fifth, on a well-preserved slab (Plate IX.), has a dedication to Vespasian—

IMP · CAESARI  
VESPASIANO · AVG ·  
PONTIF · MAX · TR · POT · II ·  
IMP · VI · P · P · COS · III · DESIG · IIII ·  
VLVSQVE · ARI

A sixth inscription, in characters of a much later period than those already given, proves the existence of a shrine of Diana on this spot—

.....  
M · MANLLIO · DOMESTICO .....  
L · OPPVNEIO · AVGVIRINO · XII T · VOLTEDIO · INDICTORE · II · · ·  
MARCELLO C LVCILIO · PIO

Then follows a distich hexameter and pentameter—

VNVS ES EX SACRIS CVI PARENT · DONA · DIANA  
QVOD TRIBVIT · POPVLVS · RESTITVIS · POPVLO

A seventh is on a square label cut on the face of a marble column. It reads as follows:—

.....  
AD HORREAS EM .....  
AD BALNEVM · VETVS  
IN QVATTVOR  
PLVMBI · PONDO LXIII  
E · FLABELLA · NIDEM  
DONVS · PRO · SE · ET · SVIS

Further excavations brought to light several pieces of a beautiful carved cornice in white marble ornamented with a Greek honeysuckle and other enrichments (Plate IX.)—this is fine in style and of early date—several terra-cottas, principally *antifixæ*, and parts of small friezes. Two of the most noticeable are figures of females in low relief, wearing the tiara, and draped in the stola or chiton, with archaic folds and terminating in feathers. Each figure holds in each hand the paw of a lion, the other paw rests upon her breast. One of these figures is shown on Plate IX. These terra-cottas have been coloured; the upper gar-



ment has traces of red colour, the lower of alternate red and blue. Amongst the *ex votos* there are two or three representing anatomically either some internal disease or childbirth, from which it would appear that the priests of the shrine acted as surgeons or doctors. (See Plate VIII.)

On digging on the south side of the podium Sir John Lumley found traces of the steps which led from the level of the *temenos* to that of the peristyle. He also laid bare two transverse walls of *opus quadratum* laid with headers and stretchers; one 9.50 metres from the northern wall, and the other 7.50 metres further to the south. He also traced the fine basemould to a length of 40 feet at right angles to the north-east corner of the parallelogram of masonry. At about the same distance to the west and parallel to the main building he discovered a road laid with basalt running between a colonnade of square pilasters of excellent masonry. This road, which was paved with two layers of large blocks, led in the direction of the lake, and had a cross road of similar character but without pilasters leading into it. A curved passage paved with herring-bone tiles seems to have joined the covered road leading thence to the temple.

But the most interesting architectural features are three capitals which lie abacus downwards within the colonnade. From a rough sketch that has been sent to me it appears that these capitals are of the Doric order, but the sketch is not sufficiently clear to enable me to decide whether they are of Greek or Roman character. There is a square abacus with a rather flat ovolo and listels beneath it. The flutes, which finish some inches beneath the listels, seem to be semicircular in plan and to have fillets between them. If they should be of Greek character they will go far to prove that either the temple itself or the inclosure of the *temenos* was of the time of the Republic, as the Greek Doric order was seldom employed during the Empire. The lower order of the theatre of Marcellus is however an exception, as it is decidedly Greek in style. There is a small Greek Doric temple dedicated to Hercules crowning the hill upon which stands the Volcian town of Cori. This is apparently of late date, as the columns are much attenuated. Sebastiano Serlio, in his *Libra Terza d' Architettura*, 1562, page 72, gives an engraving of a Greek Doric column, with its entablature, which he says "fu trovato fuori di Roma sopra il fiume detto Teverone al ponte Nomentano." The examples of this style are however rare and belong to an early period. The capitals found at Nemi measure 2 feet 4 inches in diameter at the necking, therefore they could not have been much more than eighteen feet high. This seems too small a dimension for the columns of the temple. I therefore conclude that they belonged to the colonnade of the peribolus.



1.



2.

*The Phototype Coy.*

1. Portion of a Terra-cotta Frieze.

2. Inscription, and a portion of a White Marble Cornice.

From the ARTEMISIUM,  
near Lake Nemi.



4

The flutes of these drums of columns terminate abruptly at a short distance from the necking of the capitals, and in one instance the flutes are carved on one side only. But this is no proof that that part of the edifice to which they belonged was left incomplete. For in many of the most celebrated temples of antiquity parts were left unfinished. I found in the temple of Minerva Polias, at Priene, that some of the bases were left uncarved, and in the temple of Apollo Branchidae, that one at least of the columns was left in block.

In addition to the terra-cottas, above one hundred bronze coins of various dates, a Samian cup with perfect glaze, the bronze latch of a lock, and various other small articles were found in the course of the *scavi*.

Sir John Savile Lumley is continuing the excavations with great vigour, and I hope by the commencement of the next session to be enabled to lay before you full details of the results of his discovery, which promises to be one of the most important of modern times.

<sup>a</sup> Since this paper was read, further proof of the truth of Sir Savile Lumley's surmise, that this was the site of the Artemisium, has been afforded by the discovery of a bronze implement of sacrifice, with the word *DIANA* inscribed upon it, and also of seventeen bronze statuettes of female figures, with buskins, bows, and quivers, the apparel of the huntress Diana. Eight hundred coins of Republican times have also been dug up, which help to confirm my conjecture as to the early date of the temple.

VI.—*On a Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.* By JOHN HENRY  
MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A.

---

Read November 26, 1885.

---

THOUGH the parish church of Deerhurst is well known to archaeologists as being one of the most important existing examples of a pre-Norman building in England, yet it was not suspected till last September that the same parish contained another specimen of what it is convenient to call Saxon architecture, which, though small, is in some respects more perfect than the parish church.

This appears to have been a private chapel attached to the manor house of Deerhurst.

The history of the manor, as far as it can be traced, is this—In the latter part of Edward the Confessor's reign, the manor of Deerhurst belonged to Pershore abbey, but in the last year of his life, 1065, the Confessor granted the manors of Pershore and Deerhurst to his royal abbey of St. Peter at Westminster. The charter making this grant, addressed to archbishop Ealdred and bishop Wlstan, is in the British Museum (Cotton MSS. *Faustina*, A. III. f. 109 b.). Another charter to the same effect is addressed to the Eorls and Theynes (*Faustina*, A. III. f. 112a.).

This grant was renewed by William I. and the Domesday Book records that the manor of "Derherst" belongs to the church of St. Peter at Westminster.

The following account is given of Deerhurst by Leland, writing in the reign of Henry VIII. (ed. of 1745, vol. vi. p. 69):—

It is now but a poore Village, and the Lordship longgid of late partely to the Abbate of Theokesbyri. Suche parte as *Westminstre* had was longging to *Persore* Abbay tyl *William Conqueror* gave it away.

*Deerhurst* Abbay had the Residew afore that the House of *Derehurst* was alienatid from the Monasterie of S. *Dionise* by *Parise*, to the which it was a Celle, and one *Hugo Magason*, a Monke of S. *Dionise* was the laste Prior aliene there yn King *Eduarde* the 4. Dayes, and aboute that tyme it was dissolvld, and moste of the Landes of it given to *Foderingey*, and *Eton*

College, as it is said, had sum Title. After Sute betwixte the Colleges and the Abbay of *Theokesbyri* Debatinges was, and after longe Tracte a final Ende made in Henry the 7. days that the Priory of *Goldeclife*, longging then newly to *Teokesbyri*, should go with the Landes to *Foderingey* College, and *Dehorhurst* onto *Theokesbyri*. *Bede* makith mention that yn his tyme there was a notable Abbay at *Derehurst*. It was destroyed by the *Danes*. *Werstanus* fledde thens, as it is sayde, to *Malverne*. The *Frenche* Order was an Erection syns the Conquest. The olde Priory stode Est from *Severn* a Bow shotte, and North of the Town.

The house, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was built over the chapel, is still known as the "Abbot's Court," and it remained in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey till quite recent years, when it was transferred to the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The existence of the Saxon chapel was only brought to light during the commencement of some repairs undertaken last September, in order to make the house which concealed it fit for occupation. This house had for long been used as a farm building, but, having been empty for some time, had got into a very dilapidated state. It is a fine example of a Gloucestershire half-timbered house, such as the neighbouring town of Tewkesbury is very rich in.

The nave of the chapel has been divided into two stories by a floor which cuts across the chancel arch, but otherwise is unaltered, and the walls appear to exist to their original height—see section on Plate X. The chancel is covered by another wing of the house, with fine timber-work in square panels, with four curved braces in each.

This part of the house is of the sixteenth century.

The chancel arch and doorways, with their characteristic Saxon stonework, had been blocked up and plastered over, and new windows had been cut through the old walls at two levels, so it was not till the plastering began to be removed that the Saxon work came to view. The woodcut at the end of this paper shows the manner in which this later house covers the ancient chapel.

This chapel consists of a nave about 25 feet long by 15 feet 10 inches wide, and a chancel 14 feet by 11 feet 2 inches. The walls are 2 feet 3 inches thick, built of thin pieces of the local blue lias, averaging only from one to two inches in thickness, set with very thick mortar joints, so that there is more mortar than stone in the wall. The style of this walling strongly resembles that of some Roman masonry in the fourth century.

The chancel arch, doorways, and angle quoins of the chapel are of hard, white oolitic limestone, very neatly dressed and jointed. The quoins tend only slightly towards the arrangement known as "long and short work."



The chancel arch (see Plate X.) is semi-circular, slightly stilted or horse-shoe in form, with unmoulded voussoirs worked very accurately: on the nave side it had a label mould, which has been hacked away nearly flush with the wall.

The impost stone of this arch is moulded in a characteristically Saxon fashion: (See Plate X.).

The north door in the nave (nearly half of which remains) is similar in style to the chancel arch, except that the impost stone is unmoulded, and the opening was of course much smaller: it is now blocked up.

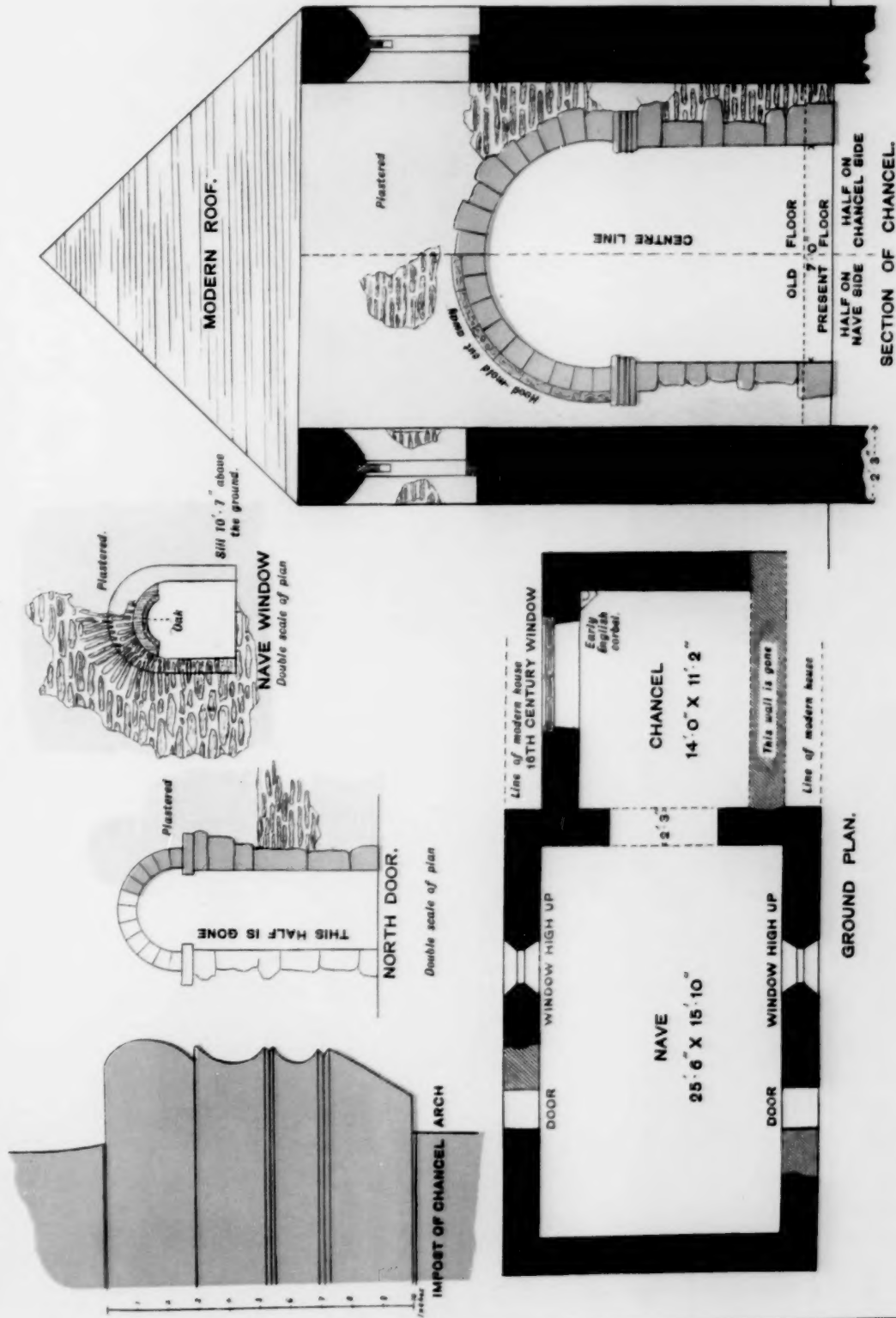
Only one stone of the jamb of the south door now remains, but that is sufficient to show that it was opposite the north door (see plan).

One of the most interesting features of the chapel is the existence of two of the original nave windows (see A on the drawing), with their sills about 10 feet 6 inches above the ground. These are splayed inside and out, and have semi-circular arches roughly built of the thin blue lias: they have no quoins of dressed stone, but are plastered inside and out, the stucco being rounded at the edges of the jambs and arch.

In one window what appears to be part of its original oak casement still remains firmly built into the masonry of the wall; it is a simple slab of oak, 2 inches thick, in which a small round-arched opening has been cut. The edge of this opening has no trace of any filling-in, and the window was probably open to the air. I tried in vain to find marks of osier wattle-work, with which Saxon windows were sometimes filled in, as at Avebury church, near Marlborough, where round-headed stone windows of pre-Norman date were discovered a few years ago. A row of holes, some still containing stumps of willow twigs, in the stonework of the Avebury windows showed that they had once been filled in with a wattle screen.

The south wall of the chancel is wholly gone: it was evidently pulled down when the sixteenth-century house was built, and so there are no remains of any piscina, nor is any mark of the altar visible against the east wall. There is also no sign of any east window, but it may be blocked up and hidden under later plastering. In the north-east angle of the chancel an early-English corbel has been inserted.

The whole building, with the exception of the dressed quoins, was originally plastered, both inside and out, with a thin coat of hard white stucco, only thick enough to hide the projecting inequalities of the blue lias rubble-work. The quoins do not project to receive this plastering, but, in the usual medieval way, the stucco is thinned down with the trowel to where the dressed stone begins.



Double scale of plan

SCALE TO PLAN

J. H. MIDDLETON.

M. Briggs, Photo-lith.

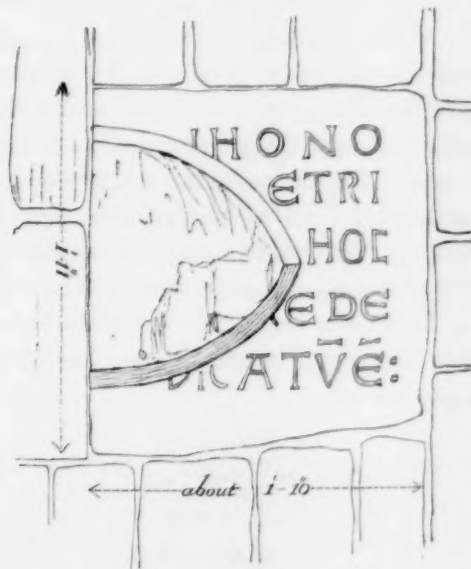
SAXON CHAPEL AT DEERHURST.



As the internal plastering has many times been lime-whitened or papered, it is now difficult to distinguish which is the original stucco, and so there is considerable risk of destroying the old plastering in the search for blocked-up windows.

This short description, with the help of the accompanying drawings, will, I think, show that this little chapel is a building of great interest, and an important addition to the rather scanty list of Saxon buildings still existing in this country.

The inscription, of which I submit a rubbing to the Society, is, though mutilated, of much value (see Plate X.). It is cut on a slab of limestone, the same as that used in the dressed work of the arches, and is now built into a chimney stack, part of the above-mentioned house, which seems to have been added in the early part of the seventeenth century.



INSCRIBED SLAB.

This slab, which is nearly 2 feet square, has, during the early-English period, been cut away to form it into the head of a lancet window, and thus part of the inscription is missing. There can be, I think, little doubt that this inscription is of the same date as the Saxon chapel, that is, about the year 1056. The form of its letters much resembles that of another inscription, which is recorded to have been found near the parish church in 1675, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. A facsimile of the latter is here given :

+ODDA DVX IVSSIT ANC  
 REGIAM AVIAM CONSTRVI  
 ATQVE DED@RI INHONO  
 RE S TRINITAT S PRO ANIMA GER  
 MANIS VIÆLFRICI QDE HO C  
 LO @ASVPTAE ALDREDVS VERO  
 EPS QVIE AND E DDCAVIT II ID  
 BVS APLXIII AVE ANNO S REG  
 NIEADWARD REGIS ANGLORV

This Oxford inscription, dated the fourteenth year of the reign of the Confessor (1056), records that duke Odda built and dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity a *regia aula*. It runs thus, “+ Odda Dux jussit hanc regiam aulam construi atque dedicari in honore S Trinitatis pro anima germani sui Ælfrici que de hoc loco asūpta Ealdredus vero Eps qui eandē dedicavit II idibus Apt XIII aute(m) anno regni Eadwardi Regis Anglorū.” It has been supposed that the strange phrase *regia aula* is pedantic Latin for *basilica*, and refers to the parish church. Assuming this to be the case, we should have 1056 as the date of the building of the church; and the stone-work and details of the newly discovered chapel so closely resemble those of the church, that it is reasonable to suppose them to have been built about the same time.

The inscription reads thus, with missing letters supplied conjecturally by our Fellow Mr. Micklethwaite:—

[+ IN HONO  
 [RE S P]ETRI  
 [APL ] HOC  
 [ALTA RE DE  
 DICATV E:

One point at least is clear about this slab, namely, that it was set up near an altar in this little chapel to record to what saint the altar was dedicated.

This was done in accordance with a canon of archbishop Wulfred, A.D. 816, which ordered that on or by every altar should be an inscription recording its dedication—

“Præcipimus unicuique Episcopo ut habeat depictum in pariete Oratorii aut in tabulâ vel etiam in Altaribus quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata.”\*

\* Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. i., p. 169.

After the twelfth century this canon appears to have been neglected, and hence such inscriptions as this are very rare.

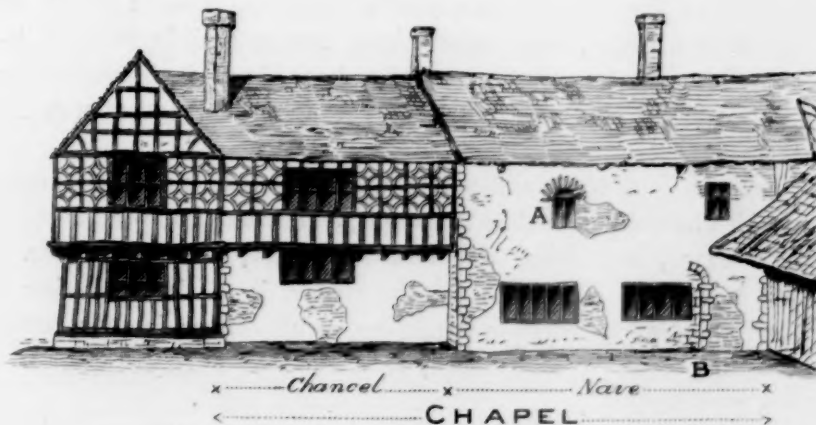
One still exists painted on the wall by one of the crypt altars in Canterbury cathedral church, but I do not know of any other English examples.

The Rev. G. Butterworth, vicar of Deerhurst, suggests a different reading of the inscription; making its dedication not to St. Peter, but, like that of the Ashmolean slab, to the Holy Trinity. He supplies the missing part thus—

[+ IN HONO  
[RE SC̄]E TRI  
[NITATIS] HOC  
[ALTAIRE DE  
DICATV̄ E:

Mr. Butterworth moreover believes that the Ashmolean inscription refers not to the parish church, but to this little chapel. So that both these inscriptions would belong to the same building—the one to the dedication of the whole structure, the other to that of its high altar.

The chapel stands only about five hundred yards from the church, and it is possible that the Ashmolean slab, said to have been dug up “near the church,” may really have been found still nearer to the chapel, the existence of which was probably not then known (in 1675).



General view of the Chapel from the north, showing the manner in which the sixteenth-century house is built on to it.



VII.—*Remarks on the fifteenth-century Diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tervueren, in Brabant. By EVERARD GREEN, F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Spalding Society.*

---

Read 26 November, 1885.

---

THE diptych I exhibit before our Society belongs to our Fellow Mr. Walter Metcalfe, who bought it some twenty years back at Phillipps's sale rooms in Bond Street. After hanging the diptych up in the hall of his house in the country, Mr. Metcalfe gave the picture to a parish church in Essex; but it was not admired, and a new organ, with smart pipes, was erected in front of it. Mr. Metcalfe, therefore, at my suggestion, asked to have the diptych returned to him. After some delay, and certain forms gone through, this request was complied with.

The diptych is in a black-and-gold frame, and, when open, measures 5 feet 4 inches in width by 2 feet 6 inches in height, and from the interpenetration of the molding above, and from the chamfer below, our Fellow Mr. Pullan believes that it was not only made for, but that it is of the same date as, the diptych; and this is important to remember, as all chance is thus removed of there ever having been a third panel, as some have suggested. The frame, however, has been repaired, rebacked, repainted, and regilt.

The two panels are of oak, almost square in shape, each measuring 2 feet 5 inches in width by 2 feet  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in height. Both panels are painted in oils, and no gilding is used. The name of the painter is unknown, but after a long

and careful study of the diptych, I think it would be quite safe to call it of the later school of Roger Van der Weyden,<sup>a</sup> who died at Brussels in 1464.<sup>b</sup> The diptych certainly belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the Baron de Cosson, no mean authority, suggests the date 1480-1500.

The dexter panel, of which the accompanying plate is a careful illustration in monochrome, will first engage our attention. We have, on its dexter side, an achievement, consisting of a shield of arms, surmounted by a crest, helmet, and mantling. This shield, which is quarterly—1 and 4, *Sable, billetée a lion rampant argent crowned Or*; 2 and 3, *Sable, a lion rampant Or*—was the first puzzle, as to find the 1 and 4 quarters with a field *sable* seemed an impossibility. At last, however, I found in *Le Grand Théâtre Sacré du Duché de Brabant* (vol. i. 383), an engraving of the same quarterly shield on a tomb in the parish church of Betecom, near Brussels, and from the monumental inscription discovered that the arms belonged to the family of Hinckaert. No crest is there given, and the crest on the diptych Mr. Metcalfe, after long research, found engraved in *Giessenburg*.<sup>c</sup> This crest is a maiden's head issuant from a floriated crest-coronet of black iron, studded with seven gold studs or jewels, and her head-dress has at least four black plumes attached to a tight-fitting cap of black velvet. Around her shoulders is a close-fitting ermine cape (which has a yellow collar, fastened by a button), and it is drawn through the crest-coronet, forming the ermine mantling, which is doubled *Gules*.

Besides the arms, the badge or device, which is fifteen times repeated, either wholly or in part, as a powdering on the scarlet cloth-of-estate and its canopy, baffled us for a long time, and it was not until we had consulted various German and Dutch dictionaries that we found a clue to its meaning.

In these dictionaries we found that the word *hincker* meant a lame man, a limper, a cripple; and the word *aerdt* a man's nature; and it is evident that the badge or device is a cradle for the leg, and the sort of heraldic knot above it, on the ends of which a buckle and mordant may be noticed, is a leather strap to fasten the cradle on to the limb.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, tome xxi. pp. 241-251.

<sup>b</sup> Bryan and Stanley, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 1858, p. 906.

<sup>c</sup> Giessenburg, *De Ridderschap Van Veluwe*, 1859.

<sup>d</sup> In the church of St. Giles Cripplegate, London, one of the verger's staffs is surmounted by the figure of a cripple who uses a leg-cradle even more like that in the diptych than the example given in Fairholt's *Costume in England*, London, 1860, p. 160.

The device is clearly a canting rebus on the name of Hinckaert.

On either side of the rebus are the Gothic letters P. and G.

The P. no doubt stood for Philip, and in the diptych the figure standing behind the knight is easily identified as that of St. Philip the Apostle, his heavenly patron, who presents his client to our Lady, who is holding her Divine Son in her arms for the adoration of the knight.

That the kneeling knight was a Philip Hinckaert seemed certain, and then looking into Butkin<sup>a</sup> we found, in the Hinckaert pedigree, that the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelaine de Tervueren in Brabant, who died the 9th day of January, 1459-60, had married a lady whose christian name was Gasparine. So the G. was satisfactorily accounted for.

Mr. Metcalfe has also discovered a large view of the castle of Tervueren, in *Le Grand Théâtre Sacré du Duché de Brabant*;<sup>b</sup> and it is pleasant, first to look at the kneeling figure of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, and then at the view of the old-world castle of which he was chastelain.<sup>c</sup>

This castle of Tervueren is seven miles east of Brussels, and is now a royal residence,<sup>d</sup> and George St. George, in his *Saunter in Belgium* in the summer of 1835, mentions his "visit to the palace of the Prince of Orange at Tervueren."

Having, I trust, proved who the kneeling knight is, I will now describe this dexter panel.

<sup>a</sup> Butkin, *Trophées du Duché de Brabant*, La Haye, 1724-6, vol. i. p. 662.

<sup>b</sup> Tome i. p. 313.

<sup>c</sup> There is also another view of the *Casteel van Tervueren*, with the following account, in *Les délices des Pays-Bas*, Paris, 1786, tome i. p. 190.

"Tervuren, ancien château, bâti par les Ducs de Brabant, dans la Forêt de Soigne, est à deux lieues et demie de Bruxelles: on voyoit à l'entrée une salle d'une grandeur immense, et d'une largeur extraordinaire, dont on admiroit la charpente qui étoit à découvert. Il est assez difficile de savoir à quoi cette salle étoit employée. Le bâtiment du Château n'avoit rien d'ailleurs de fort remarquable; mais le parc en étoit fort agréable, par les embellissements que le Duc Charles de Lorraine y avoit fait faire. Tout fut démoli en 1784."

<sup>d</sup> Il n'y a qu'un pas de Saventhem à Tervueren, où se trouvait autrefois un des châteaux les plus aimés des ducs de Brabant. Il n'en reste plus que le parc et une chapelle dédiée à Saint Hubert par les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle. Le château a été remplacé, sous le gouvernement des Pays-Bas, par un élégant pavillon que la nation a fait construire pour le prince héréditaire et qui, cédé à l'état belge, après le traité de 1839, est aujourd'hui assigné à l'héritier présomptif du trône. *Guide-hen, La Belgique pittoresque*, 1858, deuxième partie, p. 62.

See also Keith Johnston, *General Gazetteer*, London, 1860, p. 1197; and Fullarton, *Gazetteer of the World*, vol. vii. p. 67.

The foreground is a pavement of black-and-white marble, which on the dexter side ends at a very abrupt angle, no doubt to give perspective.

The background is chiefly taken up with the cloth-of-estate, the canopy of which extends the whole width of the panel. Both are of scarlet stuff.

The canopy is edged with a green fringe and worked upon it are four powderings of the leg-cradle with the letters P. and G. Towards the right is a pendant curtain of scarlet folded up like a bag.

The cloth-of-estate has a narrow green border with an inner detached line of white, and the powderings of the rebus and letters P. and G. are eleven in number. The letters and leg-cradle are painted yellow, the leather strap green, the buckle and mordant yellow.

Under the centre of the canopy, at a *prie-dieu*, kneels Sir Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tervueren. On the *prie-dieu* (which is covered with pink-red drapery) lies a closed book, in a long bag-like green stuff cover,<sup>a</sup> laid upon a long strip of inscribed parchment, one end of which hangs down. This is illegible, but looks like a deed of gift.

Sir Philip Hinckaert has a highly refined and earnest expression. He is bare-headed, and his face is entirely shaven. He looks past middle-life, and is clad in black armour, over which is a tabard-like surcoat embroidered with the arms of Hinckhaert and Brabant quarterly.

His bare hands are joined in prayer, and the thumbs are not crossed, but placed thumb against thumb.

On the first finger of the right-hand is a plain ring, in the bezel of which is a red sard.

<sup>a</sup> For examples of these covers see Becker und Hefner: *Kunstwerke und Gerüthsch afen*, 1863, 3 Band, p. 56;

Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 219;

Shaw, *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, 1843, vol. ii. plate 86, part of a room from a picture by John Schozeel, and plate 78, *Saint Agnes*;

Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*. Bonn, 1866, Taf. xxxi.

Laborde, *Glossaire Français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1872, p. 211), where there is the following note:—

“CHEMISES A LIVRES. Enveloppes et sacs dans lesquels on enfermait les livres pour préserver leurs riches reliures. On disait aussi couverture et chemisette. Le luxe aidant, ces chemises devinrent elles-mêmes très-riches.

1360. Pour cendal à doubler la couverture du Messel du Roy.

— Pour la façon de deux enveloppes pour le Roy. (*Comptes royaux*.)

1463. Pour faire une chemisettes aux petites heures du Roy. (*Comptes royaux*.)

1492. Ung petit messel, couvert de cuir rouge, garni d'une chemisette de chevrotin rouge. *Inventaire de Notre Dame*).

A short staff, tipped at either end with ivory, "to express his curiall office," rests against the *prie-dieu*; and the pommel and hilt of the sword, on the far side, should be noted.

On the pavement, at his side, and close to the *prie-dieu*, are his gauntlets and helmet. The latter is decorated with eight plumes, four white and four red. These feathers are studded with "*musers or trembling spangles of gold.*"<sup>a</sup>

Saint Philip the Apostle, the heavenly patron of the Chevalier Hinckaert, it may be as well to mention, is the patron-saint of Brabant; and Mrs. Jameson<sup>b</sup> states that "single figures of St. Philip, as patron, are not common;" which statement adds to the interest of this diptych.

The Apostle is here represented standing, and as a man in the prime of life. His countenance is benign. He is bare-headed, has a slight beard and moustache, and long brown hair.

He is clad in a green robe, over which is a pink-red mantle, and he bears in his left-hand, as his emblem, the *cruz gestatoria*, or processional cross.

His right-hand rests on the right-arm of the chevalier, whom he is presenting to our Lady.<sup>c</sup>

The right-heel of the apostle is just visible, and should be noted.

The standing figure of our Lady will next engage our attention. Her tight-fitting dress is green, under which is one of a pink-red colour, and over her green dress is a white mantle falling into beautiful crisp folds.

She is bare-headed, and her long tresses of auburn hair fall over her shoulders in rich luxuriance.

<sup>a</sup> Hall's *Chronicle*, second year of King Henry VIII. fol. ix.

<sup>b</sup> *Sacred and Legendary Art*, fourth edition, 1863, vol. i. p. 242.

<sup>c</sup> Our Fellow Mr. Edmund Waterton, in his very interesting book *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (London 1879), says: "Anglo-Saxons and Normans, both alike, applied to the Blessed Virgin the title of *Our Ladye*, and this title is a precious inheritance from our Catholic forefathers and is applied exclusively to the Blessed Virgin. The same cannot be said for the word *Madonna*, as Polo Capello calls Lucrezia Borgia *Madonna* Lucrezia, and the *Fioretti* of St. Francis speak of *Madonna* Giacomo. Indeed it would be difficult to mention a nation, except Ireland, which has not adopted this pleasing form of addressing our Ladye. So we find

*Δεσποίνα ἡμῶν*, in Greek.

*Domina Nostra*, in Latin.

*Nostra Donna*, in Italian.

*Nuestra Señora*, in Spanish.

*Notre Dame*, in French.

and in Germany and the Low Countries Our Ladye is called, *Unsere liebe Frau*, *onze Lieve Vrouwe*, our dear Ladye." It is also to be noted that in *The Book of Common Prayer*, in the table of *Proper Lessons for Holy-days*, the words *Annunciation of our Lady* occur.





DEXTER PANEL OF THE DIPTYCH OF PHILIP HINCKAERT.





With her right hand she supports the infant body of her divine Son, whose baby feet she upholds with the left, and she is represented as showing Him to the devout gaze of the good knight, who, without fear and without reproach, is engaged in prayer.

The infant Christ is quite naked; and He alone, of all the figures in the diptych, has a nimbus, or rays of glory, about His head. These rays are arranged in quintuplets.

With both hands the divine Infant holds a red coral rosary, gauged at irregular intervals with seven larger gold beads, and with a gold pendant.

The scroll in this Hinckaert diptych is worthy of some attention, and bids fair to rival the celebrated scroll of Lucas Cranach, in his interesting picture of the *Adoration of the Rood*, which was reproduced by Mr. James Ackerman in the *Building News* of the 13th of October, 1882.

Cranach's engraving is dated 1505, and, like so many of his pictures, is enlivened with heraldry.

The legend on the scroll in the Hinckaert diptych is—

**O mater Dei memento mei**

and the same words greet one at every turn, on medieval seals, rings, monumental-brasses, etc.

Here, in this diptych, the legend—

*O Mater Dei memento mei,*

is the prayer of Sir Philip Hinckaert, who, no doubt as often as he used it, thought of his illustrious great-grandfather, the Chevalier Gerrelin *alias* Hinckaert, of whom we read in the *Annals of the Church of Brussels*, that being lame he cried again and again—

*Mater Dei memento mei,*

when one day the answer—

*Marche droit Hinckaert*

came to him in prayer, and he that aforetime was lame was made straight and glorified God.<sup>a</sup>

It is interesting to note that Rietstap, in his *Armorial Général*, gives us these words—*Marche droit Hinckaert*—as the motto of the Hinckaert family.

<sup>a</sup> This Chevalier Gerrelin *alias* Hinckaert, on whom this notable miracle was worked, married Margaret de Malines, daughter of Jenniken de Malines, bastard son of John, duke of Brabant; and the arms of Brabant, viz.: Sable, a lion rampant Or, are quartered by Philip Hinckaert in his achievement in this diptych.

The sinister panel represents the scene on Calvary after the legs of the two thieves had been broken, and the blood and water had flowed from the wounded side of the second Adam.

The dead body of the world's Redeemer is fastened to the rough cross by three nails. The head is crowned with fresh green thorns, and inclines to the right, and the wound of the lance is on the right side. The title, which is nailed to the cross with four nails, is white with black letters, and over the I N R I—*Jesus Nazareus Rex Judæorum*—are four marks of contraction.

The two thieves are tied to their crosses with cords.

The good thief is on the right hand of our Lord. His eyes are tightly blindfolded with a piece of white linen. His face is turned towards the Redeemer, and his loins are girt with a linen cloth. He is represented as a young man, and there is no trace of hair about his face.

The bad thief is on the left hand of our Lord. His hair and beard are thick and matted, and the painter has done his utmost to make him look repulsive. He too wears a loin-cloth, and the bandage that blindfolds him is just visible beneath his matted hair.

At the foot of the cross of the good thief, now that all is over, sits the sore-distressed *Mater Dolorosa*, who up to the last had stood by the cross of her divine Son. She is upheld by St. John the beloved disciple, and by Mary wife of Cleophas, who both, partaking in her pain, mingle their tears with hers and share her grief.

The face of the *Mater Dolorosa* is swollen with weeping, her eyelids sunk with heaviness, and her hands clasped in resignation. Thumb crosses thumb. She is dressed in blue, and has a greenish grey mantle. All her hair is hidden by a white coif-like head-dress, which falls around her neck.

Saint John is bareheaded, and his reddish curly hair falls on his neck. He has no hair on his face, and is clad in a red robe and mantle. His youthful brow is knit, and his eyelids are swollen with weeping.

Mary wife of Cleophas has a tight-fitting pink-red dress cut square in front, with a dark green mantle. She has her right hand on the shoulder of Our Lady, whilst with her left she raises her green mantle to wipe away a tear.

Between the cross of our Lord and the cross of the bad thief sits Saint Mary Magdalene. She laments with joined hands. Her right elbow is raised high. Her green dress has red sleeves, and is cut somewhat low in front. Around her waist is a long gold chain of oblong links which hangs down in front. Her beautiful

golden hair is all but hidden by a white head-dress which falls down on the right and helps to shew off her thin tapering fingers.

The foreground is rocky, and a few stones lie here and there; among them one human bone. The background is a soft turquoise-blue sky, such as one sees in the spring just as the glow of sunset is over and the night is stealing on. There are a few small clouds.

The horizon is bounded by distant hills, in front of which, in the central distance, is the Holy City of Jerusalem, which is treated like a medieval town.

The rest of the landscape is green well-wooded pasture, and the bare foreground of Calvary is shut in by tall grey and brown rocks on either side.

I have only to add that our Lord is looking towards the east, and not towards the west, as is the tradition of western Christendom.<sup>a</sup>

I have to thank our Fellow the Hon. Harold Dillon for the following very exact account of the armour worn by Sir Philip Hinckaert:—

“The knight is shown in an armored tabard, displaying the arms of Hinckaert and Brabant, worn over a suit of plate armour, such as was in use about 1480. The body is protected by a hauberk or shirt of mail, reaching a little below mid-thigh, and ornamented by an edging of four rows of brass links. The collar of the hauberk, which shows above the tabard, is similarly enriched with a row of brass links. The arms are protected by avant-bras and coudières of plate, the rere-bras being covered by the wings of the tabard. The legs are covered by the cuissards, genouillères, and greaves. The feet are covered with broad but round-toed sollerets, flexible, by means of rivets, on the instep and at the tread of the foot. The soles of his arming shoes are visible, as are the cross bands of the sollerets passing beneath the foot. The spurs are moderately long-necked, with rowels of eight points, and are apparently fastened to the greaves. The sword, with a plain spherical pommel and straight cross-guard, both gilt, is supported by a narrow

<sup>a</sup> In the exhibition of works by *The Old Masters* at the Royal Academy in 1886, in a picture (No. 210 in the catalogue) lent by Lord Heytesbury of *The Descent from the Cross*, attributed to the *Master of Cologne*, the dead body of the Saviour, the figure of St. John on the right, the Magdalene on the left, and the rocky landscape, one and all lead to the conclusion that the *sinister* panel of Mr. Walter Metcalfe's diptych was painted by the same hand as Lord Heytesbury's picture. The pose of the Magdalene is the same, St. John has the same red hair and red mantle and robe, and the figure of Our Lord's body, with the green crown of thorns, as well as the colouring, recall the one picture when standing before the other.

red belt crossing the body from the right hip and holding the hilt about five inches below the left hip.

The edges of the plate armour are in all cases inlaid with lines of gold.

The helmet is of the kind usually called an *armet*. It is, like the armour of the knight, of dark blue steel or iron, with the edges gilt, and has a plume of four red and four white feathers, with gold spangles along the quills. The plume starts from a point (not seen) on the left side of the helmet, near the nape of the neck. At the back of the helmet is a gilt disc on a stem projecting from the helmet. The use of this disc, which is also seen in the large picture by Uccello of the battle of St. Egidio (National Gallery) and in the suit of armour in the Ambras collection at Vienna as shewn by Schrenk van Notzing, and associated with archbishop Langius of Salzburg, is not known. The vizor of the helmet is attached by staples and a pin to two small pieces pivoting on the sides of the helmet, and has eight holes in its upper slope. A pin with a head, fixed in the lower slope of the vizor, works into a slot in the upper edge of the beaver, and was used for keeping the vizor closed down by means of a spring.

The beaver or portion covering the lower part of the face hinges on the left side of the head, and is retained in a close position by a strap and buckle, as may be seen in the tilting-helmet of the Warwick effigy. From the lower edge of the helmet depends a curtain of mail with two rows of gilt links as a border, and a fente or slit in front. This curtain, which would intercept a lance-head penetrating between the body armour of the helmet, is also seen in the Warwick effigy. The knight's gauntlets are on the ground beside him, and are of the class generally known as the *miton*. The cuffs are pointed, and the backs of the hands are protected by seven plates, the centre one only of which shews rivets."



BADGE OR REBUS OF PHILIP HINCKAERT.

VIII.—*The Manor of Aylesbury.* By JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.

---

Read December 10, 1885.

---

THE town of Aylesbury is associated with the early history of this country. Green, in his volume on *The Making of England*, points to this as one of the four British towns to which a region was subject, that held out against the Saxon invader.

This tract of country Green describes thus, "It lay within a natural framework of river and woodland that marked it off from the rest of Britain."<sup>a</sup> And speaking of the town of Aylesbury itself, he says, "On the upper waters of the stream (the Thame) lay a town, which is represented by our Aylesbury, crowning with the church or *eglwys*, to which it possibly owed its English name, a low rise of oolite, that commanded the district from the base of the Chilterns as far as the town of Thame."<sup>b</sup>

Green gives another derivation of the name of this town, referring it to Ægil the sun-archer of Teutonic mythology; but a recent historian of Aylesbury<sup>c</sup> tells us that there are no less than "fifty-seven variations in the etymology of the name on record," and proceeds to verify his statement by supplying a list of these varieties.

Camden asserts, "as for its old British name, that through the injury of time is quite lost," and that the Saxons gave it the appellation which finally settled into the present name of Aylesbury.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *The Making of England*, by J. R. Green, p. 118.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* p. 119.

<sup>c</sup> *A History of Aylesbury, with its Borough and Hundreds, and Hamlet of Walton*, by Robert Gibbs, 1885, p. 15.

<sup>d</sup> See *Britan.* vol. i. p. 311.



There can be no doubt that a town giving the name to a vale so famed for its tracts of corn-land and luxuriant pasturage must have been a coveted spot from the earliest times. Camden in his time says of this favoured valley, that "all round about are fed a vast number of well-fleeced sheep, to the great profit and advantage of their owners."

Kingsbury, or the king's borough, still designating part of the old town where formerly stood the manor-house, probably indicates a clearance made on an elevated position, a chosen site for the king's homestead, when it came into the possession of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs.

Browne Willis says, "The church of Ailesbury was one of the most ancient of all these parts and the parish thereto belonging of the greatest extent in the whole county. \* \* \* Neither was the manour of the town less considerable, for at the time of the Norman survey Ailesbury lordship, which was then the demesne land of the Crown, was then rated at 56*l.*, which lordship the Conqueror (though he bestowed the church with appendants, viz. Bierton, &c., on the cathedral of Lincoln, to which it is at this day prebendal) still reserved to himself, as his immediate successors also did."<sup>a</sup>

The manor of Aylesbury is described in *Domesday Survey* as "Terra Regis." It was "rated at sixteen hides; having sixteen ploughs, two in the demesne, and twenty villeins with fourteen bordars having ten ploughs to which four more might have been added; two servants and two mills of 23*s.* value, pasture for eight plough teams, and to the value of 20*s.* more, altogether worth fifty-six pounds in money assayed; and for the markets 10*l.* by tale. In King Edward's time it paid 25*l.* by the tale."<sup>b</sup>

This manor continued part of the royal demesne till the time of King John, who in the beginning of his reign granted it to Geoffrey Fitz Piers to hold by military service as one knight's fee, and the payment of 60*l.* per annum.

I propose very briefly to trace down the successive lords of this manor till we come to times which connect it more or less directly with the reign of Henry VII., as it was in 1499, the fifteenth year of that reign, that the court-roll of the manor, which has recently been brought to light, was dated, a full copy of which is given in these pages with these introductory remarks.

After the death of the famous Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Lord Justiciary of Eng-

<sup>a</sup> *Notitia Parliamentaria*, published by R. Gosling, 1730.

<sup>b</sup> See *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, by Dr. Lipscomb, 1847, vol. ii. p. 4. [Referring to *Lib. Censual.* vol. i. f. 143.]

land and Earl of Essex, his son John Fitz Piers, in 1227, became possessed of the manor. He was succeeded by his eldest son, known as John Fitz Geoffrey, conspicuous among the barons who rebelled against Henry III. We hear of him as Sheriff of Westmoreland and Constable of Windsor Castle. He died in 1275, seised of this manor, and was succeeded by his brother Richard Fitz John, who was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1294, and died in 1297 possessed of great estates. His widow, Emma, held this manor in dower, and after her death it was held by Joane the wife of Theobald le Boteler, or Butler, the fourth Butler of Ireland, upon a partition of the inheritance, she being the fourth sister of Richard and one of his coheireses. This Joane "brought" to her husband Theobald le Boteler "the manor of Faubridge, in Essex; the hamlet of Shippeley, in Hants; the manor of Shire, in Surrey; the hamlet called the Vacherie, and the manor of Aylesbury, in Bucks."<sup>a</sup>

The family of Boteler, or Butler, held the manor of Aylesbury from the time to which I have referred till the reign of Henry VIII., and throughout that lengthy period its successive members left a mark on the history of this country and Ireland. Often eminent in the service of their sovereign, sometimes in advance of their age, their exploits and careers have been deservedly preserved to us. An exhaustive account of this family, from its origin down to the seventeenth century, is given in the Introduction to *The Life of James Duke of Ormond*, by Thomas Carte.<sup>b</sup>

The writer of the Introduction says, "I find by a letter of John Walsh to the Duke of Ormond, dated July 11th, 1665, that Sir William Domville, Attorney-General of Ireland, was then drawing up an exact pedigree and account of the family, of which Mr. Walsh gives the following character: 'This,' says he, 'which the Attorney hath in hand, is like to be the noblest thing that any subject in the king's dominions hath or can have, beginning from beyond the time of the Conqueror's coming into England, not grounded upon hearsay or self-seeming knowledge, but upon records recorded, and other good evidences to be cited with the most memorable acts of all those that went before you.'"

Tracing on the different successors to this manor, we find that the second son of Joane le Boteler, Sir Edmund le Boteler, Knight and Earl of Carrick, succeeded to part of the lands of his mother, but it is not ascertained that he held the manor of Aylesbury. His eldest son was James Butler, second Earl of Carrick, and

<sup>a</sup> *MS. Annals in Trin. Coll. referred to in Collins's Peerage of England*, by Sir Egerton Bridges, 1842, vol. ix. p. 62.

<sup>b</sup> *The Life of James Duke of Ormond*, vol. i. 1851. Oxford University Press.

created Earl of Ormond by patent dated the 2nd November, 1328. "He is characterised by Clynn, the annalist, to be a liberal, amicable, facetious, and comely person."<sup>a</sup> He died on the 6th January, 1337, seised of Aylesbury Manor.<sup>b</sup> It should be recorded of him that he married Eleanor, second daughter of Humphrey Bohun, the fourth Earl of Hereford and Essex, High Constable of England, by Elizabeth his wife, seventh daughter of King Edward I.; on account of which marriage, with the king's consent, he was created, as before mentioned, Earl of Ormond.<sup>c</sup>

By this wife he had two sons and one daughter, the second son, James, lived to succeed his father as second Earl of Ormond. He was, we are told, usually called the noble Earl on account of his descent from the royal family, and by the Irish James the Chaste, an appellation procured by his modesty and virtue.<sup>d</sup> He was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland in 1359, and again in 1360, and in 1364 he was appointed Lord Deputy to the Duke of Clarence. His distinguished services against the rebellious Irish, in addition to his royal descent, procured for him grants of lands and other favours from Edward III. and Richard II. His eldest son, James, was the third Earl of Ormond; in 1386 he founded a friary of minorites at Aylesbury. He was made Lord Justice of Ireland in 1392 and in 1401, and again in 1404. Lodge says of him,<sup>e</sup> "Being a mighty strong man he is styled in some annals the head of the chivalry of Ireland, which kingdom he governed to the content of the king and his good subjects." He died in 1405, at the castle of Gowran, where he was buried.

It has been very generally believed that his effigy is in Aylesbury church, from the fact that the effigy now deposited in a recess in the north transept was some years back dug up from the grounds supposed to belong to the Grey Friars monastery, though at a considerable distance from the monastic buildings. The figure of a layman admitted, as was conjectured, into a church of this order led to the conclusion that it must represent the founder of this religious house. And so the fact has been assumed, and repeated in different works bearing on the history of Aylesbury and the pedigree of the Ormonds. The statue to which I refer is in alabaster, of elaborate and beautiful workmanship; it retains slight traces of

<sup>a</sup> *Collins's Peerage of England*, by Sir Egerton Bridges, 1812, vol. ix. p. 65.

<sup>b</sup> *Esc. 12 Edw. III. No. 43, Cal.* vol. ii. p. 857, quoted by Lipscomb, *History of the County of Buckingham*, in pedigree of Botelers, vol. ii. p. 7.

<sup>c</sup> *The Life of James Duke of Ormond*, 1851, vol. i.; *The Introduction*, p. 65.

<sup>d</sup> *Collins*, vol. ix. p. 65.

<sup>e</sup> Quoted *Ib.* vol. ix. p. 65.

armorial bearings on the surcoat, apparently a fess dancette between three leopards' faces, but a shield charged with three covered cups is the heraldic bearing of the Botelers, as evidenced as far back as A.D. 1285, from the slab of Sir John Boteler, in St. Bride's, Glamorganshire. The "wyne botelle" of the Botelers is referred to in a satirical song written about the year 1449, and preserved in the British Museum.<sup>a</sup> It is interesting to note, that in the town of Buckingham an ancient inn bears the sign of the "Three Cups," from which circumstance we may fairly conclude that traces of the influence of the Butlers in Buckinghamshire are still preserved to us.

The founder of the Grey Friars monastery left two sons, James and Sir Richard Butler; James, the eldest son, succeeded to his father's title as the fourth Earl of Ormond; he is commonly called "the white earl." He seems to have been a man of singular eminence for his times. It is said of him that he was master of a great share of learning, which was then very rare in noblemen. He is, too, spoken of as a lover of history and antiquities. Like his ancestors, he was conspicuous in the foremost part he took in quelling the ever-recurring rebellions in Ireland. During the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., in the account given of this family to which references have already been made, we find that this earl held high positions in Ireland, serving his sovereign either in the office of Lord Deputy or of Lord Lieutenant. He had a confirmation of King John's charter to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, of the manor of Aylesbury and a fair therein.<sup>b</sup>

By his first wife, Joane, daughter of Gerald the fifth Earl of Kildare, he had issue three sons, the eldest James, the second John, and the third son Thomas, successively Earls of Ormond. He died at Ardee in 1432, and was buried in St. Mary's abbey, near Dublin, and was succeeded by his eldest son James as fifth Earl of Ormond. This earl was knighted when very young by King Henry VI., with whom he was in great esteem. He was a strong partisan of the Lancastrian cause, for his fidelity to which he was created a peer of England in 1449 by the title of Earl of Wiltshire. His activity on the field of battle, and the energy he displayed during the wars of the Roses, are recorded of him in the annals of his house. His last engagement was at the battle of Towton Field, on the 29th of March, 1461, where he was taken prisoner, and on the following 1st of May

<sup>a</sup> *Cott. MS.* 11, 23.

<sup>b</sup> *Rot. Pal.* 18 Hen. VI. p. 1, *M.* 14 Cal. p. 281, quoted by Dr. Lipscomb, *History and Antiquities of the County of Buckingham*, vol. ii. p. 7. Pedigree of Boteler.

he was beheaded at Newcastle, and attainted in the Parliament which met in November of the same year.<sup>a</sup>

James had no issue, and was succeeded by his brother John, the sixth Earl of Ormond and Baron Rochford, who was also attainted for his adherence to Henry VI., but was afterwards by Edward IV. restored in blood, and, it is said, to all his estates except the manor and hundred of Rochford, and other lands in Essex. It does not appear, however, that he regained the manor of Aylesbury, for we find that in 1474 Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, having married Isabel, sister of Richard Duke of York, and the King's aunt, had a grant of the manors of Aylesbury, *Boorton* (Broughton), and *Woddesdon*, of which in 1483 he died seised,<sup>b</sup> as did Isabel, his widow, on the 2nd of October in the next year.

It is related of the sixth Earl of Ormond, that Edward IV. said of him, "He was the goodliest knight he ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Christendom, and if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world they might all be found in John Earl of Ormond." Frequently sent as ambassador to foreign courts, he acquired the knowledge of European languages, and is said to have been a remarkable linguist. His death occurred in the Holy Land, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1478, the seventeenth year of Edward IV.'s reign. He died unmarried, and was succeeded by his only brother, Sir Thomas Butler, the seventh Earl of Ormond; he was also attainted. Whether or not he took an active part in the cause of the House of Lancaster does not appear; but it was not till the reign of Henry VII. that he was restored in blood. It was in November, 1485, by Henry's first parliament, that his restoration took place; then the statutes made at Westminster, 1 Edward IV., which declared him and his brothers traitors, were "utterly abrogated," and once again the Ormonds were lords of Aylesbury.

This Sir Thomas Butler was the lord at the date of the Court Roll before referred to, and to which attention will be presently directed. We are told of him<sup>c</sup> that soon after his restoration he was sworn of the Privy Council of England; in 1491 he accompanied the King with a powerful army in aid of Maximilian the Emperor against the French; in 1492 he was appointed Chamberlain to the Queen; and in September of that year sent with Thomas Goldston, prior of Canterbury, ambassador to Charles VIII., King of France, to transact a treaty between the two crowns. On the 14th of October, 1495, he was summoned as a Baron to the English Parliament by the title of Thomas Ormond de

<sup>a</sup> *Collins*, vol. ix. p. 72.

<sup>b</sup> *Esc.* 1 Rich. III. No. 31.

<sup>c</sup> *Collins*, vol. ix. p. 73.



Rochford, and in 1497 sent ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy. Lodge informs us that he was a wealthy nobleman at his death, "leaving 40,000*l.* in money, besides jewels, and as much land in England as" (in Lodge's day) "would yield 30,000*l.* a year, so that he was said to be the richest subject of that time." He survived Henry VII., living on till the seventh year of Henry VIII.'s reign, his death occurring on the 8th of August, 1515. He was buried at the church of St. Thomas d'Acres, London, known as the Mercers' chapel, in Cheapside. Weever has preserved the Latin epitaph to his memory.

And here will appropriately terminate the more detailed account of the various Lords of the Manor of Aylesbury. Earl Thomas left no male issue; his vast estates in England, containing seventy-two manors, besides lands in Ireland, descended to his two daughters. His second daughter, Margaret, married Sir William Bullen, and by this marriage the manor of Aylesbury passed to the Bullens. Sir Thomas Bullen was the eldest son of Margaret and Sir William Bullen; he was created Baron and Viscount Rochford, and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and was father of the Lady Anne Bullen, the wife of Henry VIII. He sold the manor to Sir John Baldwyn, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who made Aylesbury his residence, and of whom it is recorded, that he built or re-embellished its original market-house, or town-hall, and became a great benefactor to that town. The manor came into possession of the Pakingtons at the death of Sir John Baldwyn in 1545 by the marriage of his daughter and coheiress Katherine to Robert Pakington, mercer, of Cheapside, London, younger son of John Pakington, esquire, of Worcestershire. The eldest son of Robert Pakington, Sir Thomas Pakington, knight, became the head of the Worcestershire Pakingtons on the death of his uncle Sir John Pakington. From the death of Sir John Baldwyn till the year 1802 the Pakingtons held the manor and estate of Aylesbury, excepting during the period of the Commonwealth, for we find that in 1657 Thomas Scott the regicide was lord of the manor. The Pakingtons had a residence at Aylesbury till the death of Sir John Pakington, baronet, in 1680, and from that time the close connection of this family with the town was severed. Dame Dorothy, the widow of Sir Thomas Pakington, the second in succession to the manor and estate, was a woman who must have combined decided political predilections with strength of will. Previously to an election in 1512 appears among the parliamentary writs, formerly in the Rolls Chapel, and now in the Public Record Office, the following mandate, addressed to the people of Aylesbury:

"To all Christian people to whom this present writing shall come. I Dame Dorothy Pakington, Lord and Owner of the town of Aylesbury, send greeting; Know



ye that We the said Dame Dorothy Pakington have chosen, named, and appointed my trusty and well-beloved Thomas Lichfield and George Boredon, Esquires, to be my burgesses of the said town of Aylesbury; and whatever the said Thomas and George, burgesses, shall do in the service of the Queen's Highness in the present Parliament to be holden at Westminster the 3rd day of May next ensuing the date hereof I the same Dame Dorothy Pakington doe ratifie and approve to be my own act as fully and wholly as if I were or might be present there. In witness whereof to these presents I have set my seal this 4th day of May in the fourteenth year of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God," &c.<sup>a</sup>

Sir John Pakington, the eighth baronet, conveyed the manor of Aylesbury in 1802 to George Marquis of Buckingham, Knight of the Garter. His son, Richard Marquis of Buckingham, created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos in 1822, and at the death of the latter his grandson Richard the second Duke, successively held this manor with the other ducal properties. At the dispersion of the second Duke's estates in 1848 Mr. Acton Tindal, the clerk of the peace for Bucks, and a nephew of the late Sir Nicholas Tindal, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, purchased the manor, from whose representatives, in the year 1884, the writer acquired it, with the manor of the rectory of Aylesbury.

A point of interest relating to these manors should not be omitted. The borough of Aylesbury was incorporated in 1553, and sent members to Parliament in the next year, chosen by the corporate body; but in the fourteenth year of Elizabeth, the lady of the manor, Dame Dorothy Pakington, as her mandate would imply, made the return of the members. In the twenty-eighth and in the thirty-ninth years of Elizabeth the return was still made by the owner of the manor. In the forty-third year of Elizabeth the corporate body again elected, and the bailiff made the return; this practice was continued until the third year of Charles I., when the inhabitants and burgesses elected the members.<sup>b</sup> Since that period the constables appointed at the Courts Leet for the manors of Aylesbury, and of the rectory of Aylesbury, have been the returning officers at the elections for the borough; and subsequently, when for parliamentary purposes the borough was extended, they have held the same office for the borough and hundreds of Aylesbury. The Redistribution Act, 1885, disfranchised the borough, and had therefore the effect of relieving the constables from their responsibilities.

<sup>a</sup> *English Baronetage*, vol. v. p. 384.

<sup>b</sup> *Heywood on Elections*, pp. 21 and 24, at which pages reference is made to Brown Willis's *Not. Parl.* vol. i. pp. 108, 129.

On the eve of their retirement, however, they were again, during the year 1885, called upon to discharge their duties for the last time, the occasion being the return of Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild to Parliament, on the elevation of his relative Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild to the House of Peers.

Among the muniments of the manor the earliest document preserved is the draught of a Court-roll of the fifteenth year of Henry VII., to which I have before referred; it is a subject for congratulation that this too has not shared the fate of the missing records of a town which should have revealed to us so much of archaeological interest, but which is so deficient in resources among its archives for the elucidation of its past history. This roll, it will be seen, is just such as might have been hoped for; it may be compared to a rift, and but a rift, in the cloud that hides from us to a great extent the life of the period, embracing the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century; at all events it vividly pictures to us scenes in a provincial town in times with which our acquaintance is but imperfect. The danger to the traveller on the public roads, the habits of the people, the free use of the dagger, familiarised as all classes must have been with the practice of arms at the close of the civil wars, the turbulence of the townfolk, all are depicted to us with the unvarnished truth of a penman, whose only object was to give a faithful account of the misfortunes or malpractices of his contemporaries.

I would now call attention to some points of interest in the roll itself.

The importance of the Manor at the time the entries are made is evidenced by the value which is attached to the court-rolls themselves, and by the solicitude for their safety; not only were the titles to the properties of the townfolk dependent on their preservation, but, being records of the litigation of the freeholders' courts, it was of great consequence that they should be open to inspection. So we find them kept in the vestry of the church of Aylesbury, and because they had not been securely guarded, and had therefore been "purloined," the jury present their grievance and desire that the rolls may be laid "in the place afore rehearsed," to be locked in a chest, the lord or his deputy to have one key, and the master of the fraternity of Our Lady to have the second key; then follow the cautious directions, borrowed from immemorial usage and practice, as to the fabrication of the lock and the key itself. Preceding the direction for the safety of the court-rolls, we shall note a ring of independence in the first presentment of the "twenty-two of Aylesbury and the twelve." The lord is distinctly reminded of the "customs, liberties, and franchises" to which he is bound to conform, inasmuch as they can be referred back to the days of his ancestors and of the preceding lords, and that he owes his title to "the Crown of England as ancient

demesne." This gives one of the many proofs that the spirit of freedom reigned in our English towns even in Tudor times.

"The twenty-two" further on assert their right "to annul all manner of penalties aforetime made not yet forfeited," and complain of the want of a hall to hold the lord's court, and of the absence of those requisites of a medieval community, a pillory and "cucking-stool to do correction."

I have been puzzled how to designate those described in the roll as "the twenty-two of Aylesbury and the twelve," to whose presentations I have referred. This manor is described as the Manor of Aylesbury-with-Bierton; Bierton being the name of a village adjoining the county town. Possibly this adjunct to the chief manor was at first possessed by John Fitz Piers, as he acquired lands in Bierton by a fine with John de Burton or Bierton.<sup>a</sup> In the Norman survey, however, the lands described included, besides Aylesbury and Walton, the parishes of Bierton with Broughton and Hulcot.

We find in this roll that there is a separate presentation by the tithing-man, the constable, and the tasters of ale in respect of "Bereton" or Bierton; it therefore has occurred to me that the "twenty-two" are the jury of the court leet for Aylesbury manor, and the "twelve" for Bierton. The jury at these courts leet were often more, but could never be less, than twelve.<sup>b</sup> Scriven says, "Although an honour should consist of several manors, yet for all the manors one court only is held, for so it was in the time of the Abbots, who kept but one court for several manors, but such one court is *quasi* several distinct courts."<sup>c</sup>

Again, the designation of "the twenty-two" and "the twelve" may have reference, and carry us back to the early custom of the vill or township, still undestroyed by the lords of the manor, of choosing out of the inhabitants those who should manage the commons, and undertake other duties which by custom devolved upon them for the benefit of the community.

The late Mr. Joshua Williams, in his lectures on "Rights of Common," gives an interesting account of the vill of Aston, in Oxfordshire, which retained its ancient customs until a recent period. This example may explain the question before us.<sup>d</sup> The customs of Aston and Coate, both in the parish of Bampton-in-the-Bush, Oxfordshire, are printed in the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 472.

<sup>a</sup> Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii. p. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Scroggs, 84, cites *Old Book of Entries*, 392, Kitch, 89, cites 6 Hen. IV., i., 45 Edw., III. 26 Br. Leet. 7, referred to in Scriven's *Treatise of the Law of Copyholds*, 6th edition, by Archibald Brown, p. 352.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* p. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Joshua Williams on *Rights of Common*, 1880, Lecture 7.

The directions of the jury, and the complaints of the jury and the constables, are extremely interesting; but, as they speak for themselves, it will be unnecessary to call attention to them at any length. The complaints of the constables, however, disclose the mode at the period of preserving the peace, to which some allusion should be made.

It will be seen that the defaulters in keeping the king's watch "at the time of watching" are presented. It would seem from the case of Reygg, one of these defaulters, that householders were bound to undertake this office, as it is complained that he, Reygg, "kept a house all the year (?) till the watchtime came." Edward Chalkyll "said he should not watch for no man." John Bossey was equally obdurate, and the three others "lacked each of them a night."

From the ordinances of Edward I. in 1285 we find that when the king took into his hands the franchise of the city of London, in the place of the mayor, a warden was to be appointed, and sheriffs and aldermen, "to preserve the peace by night and by day, and to cause the watchers and waits to be set." And in some instances, we are told, they were minstrels or musicians who paraded the streets and sounded the watch. And it would appear from these ordinances that the people of each ward of the city were responsible for the peace of that ward; thus, quoting from the ordinances themselves, "And if it so happens that any felon escapes into a church before he is taken, let the people of the ward where the church is situate unto which such felon has betaken himself keep watch upon that felon until such time as he shall have been made to quit the realm, in case the people of the ward suffice thereunto; and, if not, let them have aid of the nearest neighbours, and of the wards adjoining unto such ward, according to the ordinance and counsel of the warden of the city, care being taken that no person shall be with such watch unreasonably charged."<sup>a</sup>

The summoning special constables each year in towns for the purpose of keeping the peace, if need require, seems to be a practice handed down to us from mediæval times, maintaining the wholesome rule, as it appears to have prevailed in the city of London, and within the manor of Aylesbury, that each inhabitant in his district must share in the responsibility of preserving the peace of his neighbourhood.

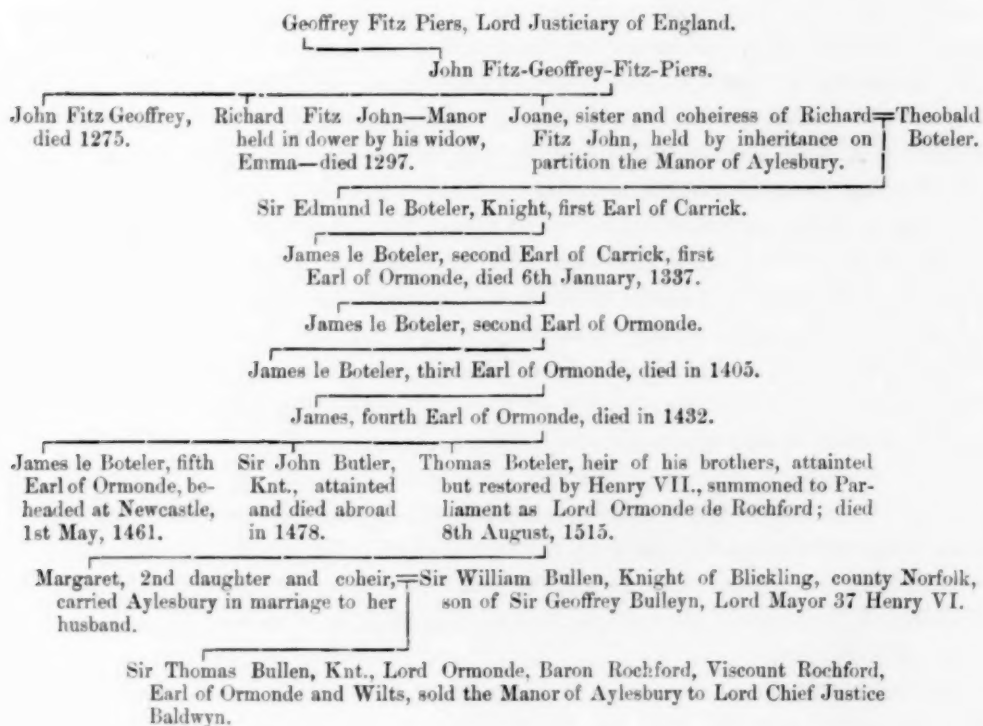
So deplorably have the early muniments of this manor been kept, that we have to pass from the roll we are considering to the reign of George II.

<sup>a</sup> "Liber Albus," *The White Book of the City of London*, translated by H. T. Riley, 1861, pp. 244, 245.

for the next manorial records, the date of the earliest roll of that reign being 4th February, 1730, when Sir Herbert Perrott Pakington, Baronet, was the lord.

It would have been well for the history of an important manor, and an ancient town, had the solicitude of the jury of Henry VII.'s time for the security of the court-rolls in the vestry of the parish church been better regarded.

Pedigree showing Descent of the MANOR OF AYLESBURY.





## APPENDIX.

Memoranda of Proceedings of Courts-Leet and Views of Frank-Pledge of the Manor of Aylesbury in the county of Buckingham in the fifteenth year of King Henry the Seventh: with a Presentation of Customs of the same Manor.

[ M. I. ]

Jacobus Fleccher et Henricus Spede Tastatores serviciæ jurati præsentant quod

*Communes Gannogiatores.*

Communes  
braciatores  
serviciæ et  
fregerunt  
assisam.

iii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Mabella Long  
ii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Isabella Gurney  
iii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Isabella Graham  
iii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Agnes Skylwelt  
iii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Agnes Sharp  
v<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Margeria Gebond  
iii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Johanna Estwayte  
iii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Johanna Bassett  
ii<sup>j</sup><sup>a</sup>  
Grace Wells

ij<sup>a</sup>  
Alicia Smewyn  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Willelmus Laurence  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Katerina Miller  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Ricardus Jonys.  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Isabella Bonyndon  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Emma Wells  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Agnes Wells  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Thomas Hardyng  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Elene Miller  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Andrew Fisher  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Johannes Gegge  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Margeria Spyceer  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Willielmus Tudor  
ij<sup>a</sup>  
Thomas Barlowe

Gannogiatores.

Cecilia Devenshire  
Isabella Litalpange

Candle  
Courte

Edwardus Chalkhill<sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup>



Johanna Wener <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>	Hugo Wells <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>
Robertus Miller <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>	Thomas Mortemer <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>
Philippus Hunt <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>	Robertus Scolys <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>
Ricardus Smyth <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>	Johannes Bulmer <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>
Margerie Waller <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>	Willielmus Desynte <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>
	Ricardus Bonyndon <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>

[ d ]

## Communes pistores panis

Johannes Elys	viiij <sup>d</sup>
Ricardus Bosse	viiij <sup>d</sup>
Willielmus Clerke	vj <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Andrew	vj <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Danngebild	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Willielmus Bonyndon	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Robertus Pitte	ij <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Ros de Greneend	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Brayngdon	ij <sup>d</sup>
Willielmus Gretham	ij <sup>d</sup>

Affuratores.	Edwardus Chalkhill
	Henricus Spede
	Hugo Wells
Affuratores.	Edwardus Chalkhill
	Hugo Wells
	Henricus Spede

[ M. 3. ]

Juratores praesentant quod Ricardus Boose de Aylesbury praedicto Baker qui de domino tenuit molendinum suum ventriticum ibidem ex dimissione Thomae Comitum Ormond, domini praedicti manerii ad terminum annorum non dum completorum durante quo termino eidem Ricardus assumpsit super se facere omnimodas reparaciones ad dictum molendinum pertinentes ex suis propriis sumptibus et expensis. Et dicunt quod dictum molendinum erat et est ruinosum in defectu reparacionis videlicet in Ramyng super quo idem Ricardus tantum ex sua spontanea voluntate xx<sup>o</sup> die ante festum Natalis Domini [anno ultimo] praeterito praecepit quosdam servientes suos videlicet Edwardum Johnson et Rogerum War fodere lutum vocatum Ramyng cley in communi via vocata Bierton Wey infra jurisdictionem hujus manerii ex australi parte ejusdem vie propter reparacionem ejusdem molendini. Et dicunt quod iidem servientes in fodiendo idem lutum post lutum asportatum ad dictum molendinum reparandum fecerunt quendam puteum continentem in longitudine x pedes in latitudine octo pedes et in profunditate octo pedes qui quidem puteus ex

habundancia aquae ibidem ex pluvia ibidem cadenti repletus erat. Et dicunt quod regia via ex parte boriali ejusdem putei continebat xxiiij pedes et ex parte orientali ejusdem putei tres pedes. Et quod idem Ricardus Bosse non habuit aliquam maliciam sive intentionem malivovalam praecogitatum versus aliquem in fodiendum puteum praedictum sed solummodo ad dictum molendinum reparandum pro eo quod ad tunc non sciebat aliquod lutum prope ibidem conveniens propter reparationem ejusdem molendini sed solummodo ibidem. Et dicunt quod quidam Johannes Walker de Aylysbury praedicto Glover veniens usque Aylysbury praedictum domorsum de Leyghton Busard a marcato ibidem videlicet die Martis proximo ante festum Natalis Domini ultimo praeterito post marcatum ibidem finitum videlicet inter horas sex et septem ejusdem diei post meridiem in praedictum puteum cecidit et ibidem submersus fuit sub forma sequenti ut eum invenerunt sed ignorant utrum submersus fuit equitando an sequendo equum suum quia dicunt quod tam idem Ricardus quam equus suus submersi fuerunt in eodem puteo. Et quod idem equus habuit quandam sarcinam vocatam Glovers panyars cum cirotecis in eisdem inclusis. Et postea proximo die sequenti videlicet in die festi Natalis Domini quidam inhabitantes ejusdem villae de Aylysbury ex relatione obitus ejusdem Johannis habita in eodem puteo existentis eundem Ricardum submersum invenerunt cum toga ejusdem Johannis a corpore suo separata emergentem et baculum ejusdem Ricardi in latere ejusdem putei jacentem. Et sic dicunt ut credunt quod idem Johannes ex infortunio sibi accidenti submersus fuit in sequendo equum suum [qui] prius in puteum illum ceciderat et in restituendo equum suum praedictum cecidit in puteum illum et ibidem submersus fuit et non per aliquam maliciam per praedictum Ricardum seu per aliquem alium praecogitatum sive habitam.

## [ M. 4. ]

Aylysbury. Curia de tribus in tres septimanas cum curia vocata Candlemas Court ibidem tenta vicesimo tertio die Februarii anno regni Henrici VII. quintodecimo.

Terrae tenentes Comitis Warwici heredes Ricardi Lee Willielmus Basset heredes Johannis  
<sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup>  
 Grove heredes de Perkyns heredes de Kebylwhite Johannes Latham Thomas Vaux heredes  
<sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup>  
 Johannis Prior Ricardus Bosse heredes Ricardi Butler debent sectam curiae de tribus in tres septimanas et fecerunt defaultam. Ideo ipsi separatim in misericordia prout patet super eorum capita &c.

Johannes Dovall quaeritur versus Thomam Swayne alias Wa[1]terum Wever in placito debiti plegii de prosecutione Hugo More et Johannes Hunt.

<sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup>  
 Willielmus Temple de Haddenham in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum Ricardo Greneville in placito debiti, &c.

<sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup>  
 Idem Willielmus in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum praedicto Ricardo in placito transgressionis &c.

<sup>ij<sup>a</sup></sup>  
 Johannes Davy in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum Johanni Broun in placito debiti &c.

Respectuatur omnis materia usque cras &c.

Habet copiam. Ad hanc curiam venit Johannes Rasshe et cepit ex manibus domini xii acras terrae arrabilis jacentis in campis de Aylesbury in quodam stadio vocato The Kings Furlong nuper in tenuria Johannis Haryson dominus concedit inde seisinam tenendam sibi et suis de domino ad voluntatem secundum consuetudinem manerii Reddendo inde domino per annum viij<sup>s</sup> sterlingorum ad duos anni terminos &c. et sectam curiae semel in anno videlicet &c. Et fecit domino fidelitatem &c. Et dat domino de fine &c.

[ M. 4. dorso. ]

The Curte holdyn at Aylesbury the iij<sup>de</sup> day of Februar the yere of the Reign of Kynge Harry the vii<sup>th</sup> the xv yere.

Memorandum. John Andrewe Baker & John Wylson at this Curte be agreed payd & contente.

Memorandum. Thomas Crofton & John Pontessey at this Curte be agreed payd & contente.

Memorandum. At this Curte Thomas Mortemer cam in this Curte with his iij hands & he the iij<sup>th</sup> & wachygge his lawe for John Pymme in axyon of drapenyng.

Wylliam Tympylle cam in the Curte & answered to Richard Grenfylde in axyon of dette. Item y<sup>e</sup> same William com in y<sup>e</sup> Curte & answered to Richard Grenfylde in axyon of trespas.

John Davy com in y<sup>e</sup> Curte & answered to John Brown in plee of dette.

Sutertes. The Erle of Warwicke ij<sup>a</sup> || The Eyres of Richard Lee ij<sup>a</sup> || John Latham. ij<sup>a</sup>

[ M. 5. ]

Johannes Davy in misericordia quia non venit ad respondendum Johanni Broun in placito debiti &c.

Memorandum that M<sup>r</sup> Bayley hath content his oftes for all manner of costs unto this Courte and for this Courte &c.

Bakers for Candlemas Court:— 0

Johannes Elys xiiij<sup>d</sup>

Ricardus Bosse xiiij<sup>d</sup>

Willielmus Clerk xiiij<sup>d</sup>

Johannes Andrew viij<sup>d</sup>

Willielmus Bonyndon viij<sup>d</sup>

Johannes Ros vi<sup>d</sup>

Thomas Skytwell Inholder Bakynge viij<sup>d</sup>

Inholders.

Thomas Skytwell xij<sup>d</sup>

Edwardus Chalkhyll vj<sup>d</sup>

Willielmus Tudor viij<sup>d</sup>

Johannes Norres vj<sup>d</sup>

Ricardus Gebons vj<sup>d</sup>

Johannes Spyceer viij<sup>d</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

Per Jacobum Fletcher et Johannem Gardener.

Aylesbury. Curia de tribus in tres septimanas ibidem tenta die lunae proximo ante festum Natalis domini anno regni regis Henrici vij quintodecimo.

[ M. 6. ]

Aylesbury. Visus franci cum curia ibidem tenta xv<sup>o</sup> die Octobris anno regni regis Henrici Septimi quintodecimo.

Decena ibidem videlicet Ricardus Latham Thomas Skytwell Edwardus Chalkhill Willielmus Gretcham Johannes Bulmer Robertus Rvale Johannes Cottas Andreas Johnson Johannes Dovall Thomas Hempman Johannes Estwayte Willielmus Clerke Baker Ricardus Bosse Johannes Gregge Thomas Swayne Ricardus Gebons Ricardus Gurney Thomas Mortemer Ricardus Plummer Johannes Litelpage Ricardus Long Hugo Welles decena ibidem.

Jurati in } Willielmus Ward  
decena } Willielmus Bulmer  
serviens J. Rosse  
non vult } Thomas Rogers  
solere } Willielmus Gardener  
Ricardus UMBERFELD

Officer not chaunged

Jurati Henricus Moyke  
Rogerus Tudor  
Edwardus John  
Ricardus Russell  
Willielmus Reynold  
Nicholaus Legyngham  
nil  
Robertus Forde  
Radulphus Roger  
Robertus Margery  
Edwardus Stevyn  
Hugo Ridgate  
Ricardus Nutte

Eleccio Constabulariorum Robertus Bawme }  
Johannes Rosse } Electi sunt in officium  
constabulariorum pro anno  
sequenti &c.  
Affuratores Johannes Elys }  
Willielmus Gretcham } Jurati.

[ M. 6, DORSO. ]

Bereton. Walterus Polle decenarius ibidem juratus praesentat quod dant de certo ad hunc diem iii<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>. Et quod Johannes Piers Willielmus Smyth clericus Radulphus Verney Armiger Johannes Baldewyn Gentilman Johannes Soper debent sectam ad hunc diem et fecerunt defaltam Ideo [&c.]. Et quod est ibidem unus ovis capta de extrahura capta circa festum Natalis Domini etc. pretium.

Constabularius ibi. Ricardus Hawkyns constabularius ibidem juratus praesentat quod omnia [bene].

Tastatores servisiae ibidem. Henricus Edes Tastator servisiae ibidem juratus praesentat quod Johannes Rogeres est communis brasiator servisiae et fregit assisam inde. Ideo &c.

## [ M. 7. ]

This ys the presentacion of the xxij of Aylesbury and the xij. The yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the VII. the xv yere.

Fyrst we present the lorde of the manor of Aylesbury with xxij<sup>a</sup> with help of the lymmys and of other inhabetyngs that be no tenants with that that our seid lord be confirmabull to all manner of customs libertys and franchesses as we oft to have and have had withowte tyme of mynd as well by the dayse of the aunsetryse of oure seid lord as by enny other lordes afore tyme beyng after the custo[me of] the manor of Aylesbury the which manor ys holdyn of the Crown of Ynggulond as auncient demayne the wich custome of the manor ys as here after followyth.

First we present that all sych Evidens and Court rowlys beyng within the Chyrche of Aylesbury as well the Evidens of oure seyde lordes as of all the tenantes y<sup>t</sup> they to be in differently in keypyng in the vestry of Aylesbury aforeseyd ther to be lokyn in a chest withyn lokys the lord or hys debytt to have oon key the masters of the ffraternyte of our lady to have the second key and every lok and every key with dyvers onyons so that they may nott be sayne but be all ther assentes indifferently as hath byn of olde tyme usyd with oute tyme of mynd so that our seid lord or hys tenants may have recotverse to the sayd rowlys at all tymys when nede shall requir wher y<sup>t</sup> ys so we fynd us a grevyd that our lordes court rowlys and our Evidens be purloyned away otherwyse then thay were wont to be in tyme past where fore we desired [that] thay may be layd in y<sup>e</sup> place afore rehersyd.

Also we present that all londes and tenementes holdyn of the sayd manor within the manor and lordshypp afor[e said] as well charter held as copyhold to be ympletyd be writt off ryght clos after the custome [of the manor] aforesaid and all sych londes so impletyd to be tryed be the fre suters tenants of the seid manor as our old rowlys woll make mension.

Also we present the free suters that is to  
say the eyers of my lord of Warwycke the  
abbot of Myssenden Thomas Tesell Master Rafe  
Farney the yerys of Myles Thomas Hankyns.  
The hayers of Hertysborn.

Richard Lee of Quaringdon  
John Lee of Quaringdon  
The Eyers of Smith of Hartewell  
The Eyres of Anlows

Jo Funtyn of Wyng  
Sur Richard Gynnyn

The hayers of Fox of Ayton  
John Lak of Wyllysthorn

the hayers of Archys the hayers of Richard  
Nasch Sanders of Agmondescham Robert  
Sayner of Agmondescham John Broun de  
Stoke Mandevile Walter Schapman of Wyns-  
low.

William Fryer de Wycomb  
John Goddalle of Tetysworthe  
The Eyers of Runnowld Hycey[s]  
John Bauldyn  
John Latham

Essoniatus finis xii<sup>d</sup>  
The Vicar of Berton

Also we present lymmys that be not sworn <sup>Juratus est</sup> Robert Ford <sup>Juratus</sup> William Gardiner sarvant of  
 Robert Glover . . . . Bulmer the son of John Bulmer, and William Ward sarvant of the same <sup>Juratus</sup>  
 John Thomas Rogers <sup>Juratus</sup> suarvant of . . . . Barbur John Welys the son of Harry Welys Robert <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>  
 Smewyn Wylyam Myllyr suarvant of Richardus . . . . Baldyn sarvant of the same Richard  
 Robert Dering sarvant of Robert Stokys <sup>respectuatur quousque</sup> Jamys Sterkey sarvant [of] Richard Humbertfeld <sup>ij<sup>d</sup></sup>  
 sarvant of Thomas Mortymer Thomas Dacyn Harry Meve . . . . Will . . . . <sup>iiiij<sup>d</sup></sup> <sup>ijij<sup>d</sup></sup> <sup>Juratus est</sup>

Also we xxij disanull all manner of paynys aforetyme made not yet forfeit as our . . . .  
 byn of olde tyme past to make paynys and breke paynys Rogger servant of Thomas Johsun John  
 Br . . . . Edward Johns.

Also we complayn that we have no mete hall to hold in the lordes courtes nor no pilery nor  
 no cokkyng [stool to] do no correccion wher for we pray that yt may be amended.

Also we wold that no man kepe no opyn bych but thay shall tay her up in the tyme that sche  
 hys [open] upon the paynes of xii<sup>d</sup> totiens quotiens that yt be takyn by the bayly or his debute.

Also we wold that no man shall put hys mers in the infyldes of Haydon upon the payne of  
 every m[are of] iiiij<sup>d</sup> totiens quotiens that yt be taken by the bayly or hys debute.

Also we wold that no man shall put hys hogges in the fyldes but he ryng them by the fest  
 of all [Saints] next cummyng upon the payn of every hogg so takyn in the fyldes on rynggyd  
 by the fest afore seyd . . . and they shall not be on rynggyd till they be put before the herd.

Also we wold ordyn and present that all manner of persons having onny grondes joyning to  
 enny rever within the lorship of Aylesbury that is to sey be twen the mede callyd dotmore at  
 dunsam and Goldynham that they and everych off them drawe or skower or do make drawe and  
 skower ayenst hys grondes as far as hys [land] extendet by the fest of the Holy Trentyte next  
 cummyng upon the payn of vj<sup>d</sup>.

Also we wyll that no manner of person from this tyme forth make no dammyng in the rever  
 in no manner of plase within the lordship of Aylesbury upon the payn xij<sup>d</sup>.

Also we wold and orden that no manner of persons botchers nor no other from thys tyme  
 furth put no catell within the infeldes that ys to say between Howmannys Brygg and Spetyll  
 Brygg in the tyme off . . . . Cummyng but after the Rate afore tyme rated up on the payn of  
 every person doying the contrary to forfeit to the lord v<sup>s</sup>.

Also we wold that no man no woman shall not wasch within xl fete above the brygg upon  
 the pay of every person doing the contrary iiiij<sup>d</sup>.

Also wher Edmund Hornelyff Thomas Mortymer Rogger Cokks . . . . Flecher Robert  
 Bayme John Plat and John Daynscher for leyeng ther dung in the kynges hy way [to the]  
 nyans of the kynges lege pepull lyeng between the teniment of William Grove on on party and  
 the teniment of the same party Edmund Bate John Stone We wold that they mend yt be the  
 fest of Martilmas next cummyng upon the pay of every of them xij<sup>d</sup>.

Also wher William Basset gevid hys hogges mete in the kynges hy way to the nyans of the



kynges lege pepull we will that he asayd the dung and the trow be the fest of Martylmas next cummyng upon the pay of xl<sup>d</sup>.

Also we present the commyn myllers for exsis toll takyng John<sup>vj<sup>d</sup></sup> Latham Richard<sup>iiij<sup>d</sup></sup> Bosse  
 John<sup>iiij<sup>d</sup></sup> Lambert Richard<sup>iiij<sup>d</sup></sup> Miller and Robert<sup>iiij<sup>d</sup></sup> . . . .

Also wher John Spycer John Elys Joh . . . . . malt myll ther dong in the . . . . .  
 we woll that they . . . . .

[ DORSO ]

Also we desire th . . . . . John Pryer complaynet upon . . . . .

Sciant Pater Noster 9.

Memorandum that Henry Spede is common surety for Grey Rics her . . ij<sup>d</sup>.

[ M. 8. ]

Thys is the presentation of y<sup>e</sup> constabull Robert Bame and John Roos.

First Jemes Fleccher mad a fray upon Edward Chalkyll with es fystes plukyng Edward downe be y<sup>e</sup> her of is hede and y<sup>e</sup> sayd Edward up on Jemes Fleccher with a short dagger and so drowe blod up on ech other. And as far as we can in quer they wer bothe in de fawt and so departyde a way home to is howse.

Also after that ther was on Nycholas Croke and the same Jeme Fleccher come home to hym a gen with ech of them a swerd in ther hond and Edward Chalkyll syttyng be is fyer and these ij men bade hym com howt agen and so they frayd a gen and drowe blod and as for as we can in quere y<sup>e</sup> sayd Nycholas Croke and Jeme Fleccher wer in defawt.

Also nother fray mad be John Hardyng up on Rychard Sadeller with ther fystes and all was for a sake of colys John Hardyng plokyl of a handfull of her of Rychard Sadeler hedd and as far as we can in quer they wer bothe in defawte.

Also William Teder mad a fray up on a frer and bete him with is dagger. We put owr discrecion to bayley for he had the matter in exsemycion.

Also Jeme Fleccher mad a fray up on Edward Chalkyll with a staffe and drew blod up on Edward Chalkyll and therein we have inquiryd & fond Jeme Fleccher in defawt.

Also thes be defawtys of the kyngges wayteche in y<sup>e</sup> tyme of waychetyme first ther was on Reygg Keppyt a howse halle the yer tylle y<sup>e</sup> wayteche tyme come. And wan he was sommȳd to y<sup>e</sup> waych than came Edward Chalkyll fasesyng & sayd a shold not waych for for no man and thus ber hym up and that cawsyd no oder be y<sup>e</sup> bolder for to barre y<sup>e</sup> kyngges waytch lyk wyse tenys pleyng with in howse in y<sup>e</sup> courte, lyk wyse bowlyng. He saythe & thretyn us with is mayster & thus we be over crakyd that we darre not go for wan they be mayten they be the bolder.

Also on Reyg Wych sayd he wold waych for no man.

Also John Bossey sayd the same wyse that he wold not waych for us.

Also her is John Reynold John Estway and on John Vernan weuer they lakyt eche of them a nyzt ther forre we myt them to the cort of merci up on a mersement.

Also Thomas Stanbyrge mad a fray up on Reygg Wollfe & flong a last at is hed and so raylyd with wordes owt of reson and we sett hym in y<sup>e</sup> stokkys & put hym swert & y<sup>t</sup> is Andrew Fysher & Patryk Johnson for y<sup>e</sup> fray.

Also Edward Chalkyll mad a fray up on Robert Bame stondyng cōstabl<sup>t</sup> and smoth hym with hys fyst wp on y<sup>e</sup> cheke that he began to stagger redy for to fall. So leyyng . . wayt for hym for to pyke a quarell & therfor we fynde hym in a fawt.

Also I complayne up on Jeme Fleccher for fraying of my wyfe abowt x of klok in y<sup>e</sup> nyth & y redy for to gotobed stondyng scoldyng at my dor byddyng me com owt of thy dorres & thou dare with is dagger in is hond redy to brek y<sup>e</sup> kynges peace for he semyd as a madd man he is comyng & therefore I be sech yow of pece of is godabery.

Memorandum. Respechiatur ad visum anno xvj<sup>o</sup>. Jacobus Fleccher Tailor videlicet Thomas Barlowe & Thomas Harding de se bene gerendo usque proximum visum sub pena videlicet uterque [eorum ?] sub pena xx<sup>s</sup>. Et . . sub pena xl<sup>s</sup>. Quas quidem summas uterque plegius concessit. Et . . concess. si &c.

Edward Chalkhyll de se bene gerendo usque proximum visum videlicet Ricardus Jones et Johannes Estwayte uterque plegius sub pena xx<sup>s</sup>. Et . . sub pena xl<sup>s</sup>.

[ M. 9. ]

Robertus Stokys	vij <sup>d</sup>	Willielmus Tyddir	vj <sup>d</sup>
Robertus Bame	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Andreas Johnson	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Ravenyng	vj <sup>d</sup>	Thomas Johnson	ij <sup>d</sup>
Ricardus Gebons	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Willielmus Basset	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Thomas Mortymer	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Robertus Basset	ij <sup>d</sup>
Rogerus Cokkys	ij <sup>d</sup>	Willielmus Chalfhunt	iiij <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Reynold	noght.		

Also Richard Gebons sold a kowe y<sup>t</sup> was corrupte.

Item Roger Cokkys sold an oxe y<sup>t</sup> was corrupte.

[ DORSO. ]

Fyshe & Flesche affuratores.

[ M. 10. ]

The xii.

Juratus  
Johannes Stone  
Juratus  
Edwardus Hornecliff  
Juratus  
Johannes Spycer  
Juratus  
Johannes Elys  
Juratus  
Willielmus Chalfhunt  
Georgius Barton

defalta  
Thomas Basset  
Juratus  
Thomas Love  
Juratus  
Ricardus Blakston  
Juratus  
Ricardus Dover  
Juratus  
Walterus Pole  
Juratus  
Willielmus Dursington  
Juratus  
Johannes Abbot

Memorandum that every man that hath a servant which hath bene her a xij moneth & a day that bring hym in to be sworne under payne of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

Item. Memorandum Ralf Verney Gutter & Tuder Gutter for to emende.

[ DORSO. ]

Robertus Baldin.

Thomas Cokkes.

Johannes Ballard.

Isabell Baker.

[ M. 11. ]

le Messor.

Johannes Denys Juratus praesentat quod Willielmus Tethyr posuit equos suos transire ad largum in campis de Heydon et aliis campis ante finem Autumpni contra formam ordinacionis inde factam per curiam videlicet cum duobus equis. Ideo incurrit penam de . . .

Item praesentat quod Thomas Hardyng pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Ricardus Ballard pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Roger Bocher pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Ricardus Jones pro consimili cum uno equo.

Item praesentat quod Willielmus Basset est communis transgressor cum porcis suis in gravis tenencium videlicet cum viij porcis.

Item Willielmus Clerke pro consimili cum ij porcis.

Item Johannes Rosse Baker pro consimili cum iiij<sup>or</sup> porcis.

Item Johannes Herdyng pro consimili cum tribus porcis.

Item Johanna Wever pro consimili cum uno porco.

Item praesentat quod Willielmus Hayll de parochia de Stone est communis oppressor tenencium domini cum bestiis suis viz<sup>t</sup> cum xxiiij<sup>or</sup> bestiis. Ideo.

Item praesentat quod Ricardus Suthcot de Hertwell positus besstis suis apud Heydon videlicet duas equas et quod praedictus Ricardus parcum domini fregit et intravit et duas equas ibidem imparcatas pro transgressione facta adhuc et ibidem inventas sine licencia domini vel officarii sui cepit et abduxit &c. Ideo &c.

[ DORSO. ]

Veredictum Haywardi.

Hayward ville.

[ M. 12. ]

*Praesentatio tastatorum servisiae villae de Aylesbury.*

*Communes Brasiatores.*

*Communes Gannogiatores.*

Isabella Gretham	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Alicia Smewyn	ij <sup>d</sup>
Ricardus Gurney	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Uxor Willielmi Rowdon	ij <sup>d</sup>
Johannes Estwayte	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Katerina Myller	ij <sup>d</sup>
Agnes Sharpe	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Emma Wellys	ij <sup>d</sup>
Margerie Gebons	ij <sup>d</sup>	Agnes Wellys	ij <sup>d</sup>
Gracia Wellys	ij <sup>d</sup>	Johannes Gegge	ij <sup>d</sup>
Johanna Basset	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Thomas Barlowe	ij <sup>d</sup>
Isabella Christmas nothing.		Hugo Wellys	ij <sup>d</sup>
Agnes Abbot	ij <sup>d</sup>	Thomas Mortymer	ij <sup>d</sup>
Agnes Watyr	iiij <sup>d</sup>	Robertus Stokys	ij <sup>d</sup>
		Johannes Bulmer	ij <sup>d</sup>
		Thomas Hardyng	ij <sup>d</sup>
		Johannes Lyttylpage	ij <sup>d</sup>
		Johannes Walker	ij <sup>d</sup>
		Ricardus Long	ij <sup>d</sup>
		Johanna Appleyerd	ij <sup>d</sup>

*Common Inholders & Bruers in ther Innys.*

Agnes Kytwell	finis.
Edwardus Chalkhyll	finis.
Johannes Spyce	finis.

*Comon Typlers in ther Innys.*

Ricardus Jonys	ij <sup>d</sup>
Willielmus Tyddyr	ij <sup>d</sup>

[ DORSO. ]

*Ale.*

*Affuratores.*

*Tasters.*

*Curia de tribus.*

IX.—*Some further Notice of the Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. ; of the King's Diamond ; and of the Sapphire Signet believed to be that of Mary Queen of William III.* By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, V.P.S.A.

---

Read January 28, 1886.

---

ON the 20th November, 1880, I had the honour of exhibiting to the Society at their meeting the diamond signet, engraved by order of King Charles I., with "o<sup>r</sup> Armes" and with the "tres of the name of o<sup>r</sup> dearest Consort the Queene on each side," and of reading some descriptive and other notes on this interesting historical relic.

In those notes I endeavoured, as much as possible, to record all the facts I was then able to gather touching the history of this costly gem—the record for the payment in 1628 (o.s.) of £267<sup>a</sup> to Francis Walwyn for his workmanship thereon, still existing in the Public Record Office. These notes were published in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLVII. p. 393.

Through the kind communication of my friend Mr. Albert Hartshorne, one of our Fellows, I am now enabled to offer some additional and interesting facts in the signet's history.

"On casually looking over some letters from Douce to my grandfather," he writes, "my eye caught sight of the sketch of the diamond signet. I think the extracts I am now tempted to send you will, if they do no more, fill up a gap in its history."

Extract from a letter from Francis Douce to Thomas Kerrich :—

Charlotte Street, 16th June, 1817.

. . . . . "Your comparison to your father's seal prompts me to mention a seal of a different kind that has been the subject of much conversation

<sup>a</sup> Equal to nearly £1,100 of present value.

among some of the antiquaries and virtuosos, and still remains an unsolved enigma. It is a diamond signet ring said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots. It is to be sold by auction next week for whatever it will fetch, having been already more than once bought in. When I say a diamond signet I mean that it bears the arms of France and England in the 1 and 4 quarters, those of Scotland in the 2nd, and of Ireland in the 3rd, engraved on a table diamond."

From the same to the same (Extract).

" 20th June, 1817.

"Curiosity led me yesterday of the M. Q. Scots diamond ring that I mentioned in my last. After a Christian historical flourish from Rapin and Henault, it was knocked down to the happy purchaser for 86 guineas; the diamond being worth about 10 of them. In the mean time and before I wrote my last I had discovered that this signet was that of Queen Henrietta Maria. The letters which I then purposely gave you as **M. R** as they had been seen by the inspectors of the ring, stood actually thus **MR**.<sup>a</sup> The cross stroke for the **H**<sup>b</sup> is certainly not visible to common eyes unassisted by a glass, but it is as much there as my pen is now in my hand. I have a duplicate impression, which I would have inclosed in this letter but for the double postage. So much then for this seal. I must however tell you that on the impression I have of Lord Buchan's seal, and which he swears by all that is holy was that of Mary Q. of Scots, the cross stroke is not to be found. I find there is also another in the Signet Office at Edinburgh, of which the late Mr. Edwards's lady, who supposes herself a model of the Scottish Queen, has procured an impression and caused a seal to be cut from it, with which she seals

<sup>a</sup> By an unfortunate error at p. 395 of my former paper this monogram was wrongly printed **M** instead of **M** as it is seen on the diamond.

<sup>b</sup> This monogram occurs on a silver *jetton* in the possession of the President of our Society. On it two shields are represented conjunctly and beneath one royal crown; on the dexter are the Arms of England; on the sinister are those of France; beneath is the barred **M** crowned, on either side of which is a laurel spray. The surrounding legend reads **HENR · MAR · BORBON · D. G. MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REG.**

On the reverse a flowering tree—a rose?—is represented rising and spreading above cypress, cedar, laurel, and other trees; the sea, on which are ships, is seen in the distance. The motto surrounding **SVPEREMINET · OMNES** explains this device.

This *jetton* is referred to by Mr. Syer Cuming as figured in Pinkerton's *Medallic History*, plate 15, and noted in my former paper at page 395.



her letters. What if these should turn out to be the signet of Mary the wife of William III.? for if they do not the difficulty about the arms remains. I will probe this matter to the bottom and examine, if there be any, the seals on the letters of the 3 maries."

These letters help materially to fill in the *hiatus* of the signet's history between the time of Astle's paper in 1792, where he states, "this seal is in the French king's collection at Paris," and the exhibition at Holyrood in 1843. By them we have direct evidence of the engraved diamond being sold by auction in June 1817, some twelve years previous to Earl David Buchan's death, who then, it would seem, was still in possession of a signet which he persisted in believing to be that of Queen Mary. Unfortunately, no mention is made of the form and ornamentation of the mounting of the diamond, more than Douce's statement, that it was "a diamond signet ring" in "gold setting;" and, what is still more to be regretted, the material of that other signet, then in Earl Buchan's possession, is not stated. In regard to the latter we have, however, the evidence of a letter from Monsignore Searle (communicated to me by Dr. Munk), that the signet formerly belonging to Cardinal Wiseman was a "ruby;" that it was given to the Cardinal by the Misses Nutt; and was that formerly in the possession of Earl Buchan.

Dr. Munk writes:—

"40, Finsbury Square, E.C.

"Dec. 6th, 1880.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"My friend, Mons. Searle, for many years private secretary to the late Cardinal Wiseman, writes to me as follows:—

"‘At as early a moment as possible I reply to your inquiries about the signet ring.

"‘The one that was in Cardinal Wiseman's possession was given to his late eminence by the Misses Nutt,\* and, thinking to make the present "nicer," they had the stone removed from its setting, and reset as a modern ring. This was the one in the collection of the late Earl of Buchan, and was a *ruby*, not a *diamond*; it is still in the possession of the Cardinal of Westminster.

"‘In the summer of 1843 I was in Edinburgh, and saw, among the treasures of Holyrood, the "signet ring of Mary Queen of Scots, from the collection of the

\* Purchased for them, as I have since learned, by a person named Harris, their brother's tutor. (C. D. E. F.)

late Earl of Buchan;" and facsimiles of the seal in glass were sold to the tourists at the palace. I bought one, and with the then purchase seal this letter, as well as enclose another impression. When in Cardinal Wiseman's collection it was shown to Mr. Turnbull of Edinburgh, who called attention to the cypher H.M. blended **M** and said it was the cypher of Henrietta Maria Queen of Charles I. *Some time* before Cardinal Wiseman's death Mr. E. Waterton, the ring collector, called on me and said he wished for my assistance to find out *who* had got the signet ring in question, he having ascertained from the dealers in antiques, &c. that it had passed into the hands of some Catholic ladies, and that there his information ceased. I answered him by going up stairs and bringing him down the relic; and by assuring him that it was not to be added to his collection. So much for the history of the ring, as known to myself."

"Mons. Searle adds, in a P.S. in reference it will be seen to the ring in your possession and the glass copies of it :

" 'The exhibition of the original at Holy Rood in 1843 can be readily ascertained; my facsimile was bought there, and has never been out of my possession.'

"These particulars will doubtless interest you. They show that your signet was not in the Cardinal's possession; but that it was at Holy Rood in 1843, and that it, or its glass facsimile, was recognised years ago as pertaining to Henrietta Maria.

" Believe me,

" Yours very truly,

" Drury Fortnum, Esq., F.S.A.,  
&c. &c."

" W. MUNK.

It would thus appear that in 1817 there were two signets; one then in Lord Buchan's hands, and believed to be the "ruby" given subsequently to Cardinal Wiseman; and the diamond sold by auction under Mr. Douce's eye. That keen antiquary in his second letter says, he will "probe this matter to the bottom;" and Mr. Hartshorne, having in his possession much of Douce's correspondence with Mr. Kerrich, kindly took the trouble to look through it, but, unfortunately, found "no further mention of the seal."

The Douce papers at Oxford are chiefly historical MSS.; of his private correspondence there is none, and I am indebted to my friend Mr. Arthur Evans for looking them over and vainly searching for further information. It would appear, however, from Mr. Douce's will, "that his note books and other MS. collections, presumably containing his private letters, were left to the British

Museum, in a chest to be opened in the year 1900." In that chest, therefore, it is not unlikely that the result of his further research in the matter, if ever made, may be preserved.

The question immediately arises, what was the signet possessed by Lord Buchan, if it were not this diamond? and how came it that the glass copies sold at Holyrood, as made from that in the late earl's collection, correspond so accurately with the diamond signet which is the main subject of our inquiry?

It is a curious fact that, although the Earl of Buchan was the original founder and ardent supporter of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a liberal donor of objects to their museum, and a constant contributor to their proceedings, no mention is to be found in the volumes of *Archæologia Scotica*, from its commencement to the notice of his death, of the signet in his possession which he believed to be that of Queen Mary, and which we are led to believe was exhibited at Holyrood in 1843, and which, it is said, subsequently passed into the hands of Cardinal Wiseman.

By the courteous permission of His Eminence Cardinal Manning, in whose keeping, at the archbishop's house at Westminster, the reputed ruby signet, presented by the Misses Nutt to the late Cardinal Wiseman, now remains, I have had an opportunity of carefully examining it, in company with Professor A. H. Church. There can be no doubt that it is a copy in red glass taken from Henrietta Maria's diamond. The intaglio is poor, and evidently moulded, the cross-bar of the **M** being but weakly indicated, though unquestionably there; in fact, it is a red replica of one of the Holyrood pastes, set in a heavy, plain, man's ring.

This examination removes one pretender to the royal line of those we thought might be original and rival signets. Our diamond and Miss Hartshorne's sapphire yet remain.

It seems to me probable that some of the glass copies of the diamond had been taken long before its sale by auction in 1817.\* That of these earlier glass copies one, of red colour, had been imposed upon Lord Buchan, who believed that he had acquired Queen Mary's signet. If so, it may well have been that exhibited in 1843, after his death, and casts taken from it would yield glass copies equal in sharpness to those sold to visitors at Holyrood.

\* Tassie, the well-known maker of glass pastes from the antique, &c. may have been the author of some of these. In 1783 he made a cameo portrait of the Earl of Buchan.

It is stated that one Bulters, an old engraver at Edinburgh, was the producer of some of the copies engraved on hard stones.

We may also presume that Douce, although possessing a (perhaps imperfect) impression, had not, at the time he wrote those letters, had an opportunity of examining Lord Buchan's seal-ring, or, if it were really that subsequently acquired by the Misses Nutt, so shrewd an observer could hardly have passed it as a real stone.

It is also possible that the hearsay evidence of the enamelled gold setting of the diamond having been made for the Duke of Brunswick is incorrect, and that it may have been sold in that setting in 1817, for Douce and the catalogue both state it was a diamond signet-ring, and of gold. This setting was evidently made to enhance its interest and value by bearing the initials and emblems of the Scottish queen.

To return to our history. Acting upon Douce's information as to date, on making inquiry of Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods, at whose house it seemed probable that the signet had been sold, with their courteous assistance, I have had the satisfaction of finding the sale Catalogue of the 19th June, 1817, in which the diamond is fully described, but wrongly attributed to Mary Queen of Scots.

The following is a copy of the Catalogue title and of the description of the lot :—

A Catalogue  
Of the following valuable articles  
viz<sup>t</sup>  
The original diamond signet ring  
of  
Mary Queen of Scots  
Engraved with the arms of England  
Scotland and Ireland quartered  
as also  
A few Books and prints  
of the late  
Barrington Pope Blachford Esq<sup>re</sup>.  
which will be sold by Auction  
(by order of the Executors) by  
Mr. Christie  
at his great room Pall mall  
on Thursday 19 June 1817  
at three o'clock.

Lot 7. The original diamond ring of Mary Queen of Scots upon which are engraved the arms of England Scotland and Ireland quartered, and of which the following well-authenticated history

was communicated by that correct and learned antiquary the late Richard Gough Esqr. as cited in letter from — Brooke Esqr. to Miss Martha Browne which will be delivered to the purchaser.

“That it descended from Mary to her grandchild Charles I. who gave it on the scaffold to Arch Bishop Juxon for his son Charles II. who in his troubles pawned it in Holland for £300 where it was bought by Governor Yale and sold at his sale for £320 supposed for the Pretender. Afterwards it came into possession of the Earl of Ilay, Duke of Argyle & probably from him to Mr Blachford.

“This seal-ring appears to have furnished evidence that was fatal to Mary Queen of Scots.”

[Bought by Dr. Curry, 90*l.* 6*s.*]

The signet was purchased by a Dr. Curry, probably James Curry, M.D., born at Antrim, 13th September, 1784. He was a licentiate of the College of Physicians of London and physician to Guy's Hospital. He died on 26th November, 1819.

It was probably sold again at Christie's after Dr. Curry's death, and then bought, as stated in my former paper, by one Van Prague.

I may here record two other seal-stones, or pastes, which have not been before referred to, having the royal arms between the letters **M** and **R**, with the cross-bar to the first letter.

A signet-ring set in gold, belonging to the Rev. W. Bentinck Hawkins. On this the cutting is flat, evidently copied, but differing in the form of the crown and otherwise from the diamond, apparently on hard stone (crystal or white topaz?). The **M** is barred. The form of the shield also differs from Mr. Franks', on which the cutting is more concave.

Another, seemingly engraved on a crystal (?) foiled to resemble sapphire, and adapted to a setting of the later years of the last century, was sold by auction at Messrs. Sotheby's, on 14th April, 1885 (Lot 101), for 5*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

The correct attribution of our diamond signet by Mr. Douce to Henrietta Maria,<sup>a</sup> and the suggestion, so long since as in 1817, that the signets on which the **M** occurs without the cross bar may have been those of Queen Mary II., the wife of William III., are remarkably corroborative of the conclusions to which I had come and which were expressed in my former paper.

It is further remarkable that he refers to another seal in the Signet Office at

<sup>a</sup> On a letter of instructions to Mr. Denham, 10th May, 1649, Henrietta Maria signs in a monogram formed of the letter M, with R on the last limb, and crossed by a bar to form the H. *Mus. Brit. Jure Emptionis* 19,399, fo. 72.



Edinburgh, which was copied by her wish for a certain vain lady, Mrs. Edwards, to use as a seal.

Of those signets on which the letter **M** is without the cross-bar, Miss Hartshorne's beautiful ring has every claim to originality as a royal signet, not of Mary Queen of Scots, nor of Henrietta Maria, but, probably, of Mary the Queen of William III.

Of massive fine gold, a half-round hoop, widening to the bezel, on which is a table sapphire of oval form and pale colour, slightly raised, and with facettèd back; the shoulders are decorated with a rose of England on its leafy stem, worked in intaglio on the metal, and which has been filled in with enamel, now only showing traces, red on the flower, green on the leaves. The fashion and ornamentation of the ring would almost point to an earlier period than the style of the heraldry engraved would corroborate; there is no doubt however that it is the original setting. Incised on the sapphire is the royal shield between the letters **M**, (without the cross-bar,) and **R**, surmounted by the Queen's open crown.

Could this be the ring referred to by Douce in his letter as being then at the office of the Signet in Edinburgh?<sup>a</sup>



Gold signet ring of Mary, queen of William III., in the possession of Miss Hartshorne (full size.)

It is a curious circumstance that almost at the very time when Mr. Hartshorne communicated Douce's letter to me, he purchased, by mere chance, at a jeweller's in Vigo Street, an elegant gold seal set with a red carnelian, engraved with the royal arms, the **M** and **R**; of careful workmanship and of the earlier years of this century.

It is no strain of probability to suggest that this seal may be the copy made by order of the vain Mrs. Edwards from an impression of that in the Signet Office. The cutting is concave, the tinctures indicated by incised lines, the only example

<sup>a</sup> Up to 1815 there was a Secretary of State for Scotland, who had possession of the Great Seal, &c. &c. When that office was abolished the clerks (who were lawyers) formed themselves into the "Signet." The Scotch regalia, hidden till 1818, was then placed in the regalia room.



I have seen, and suggesting carefully executed work to order, rather than one made for chance sale; the **M** is without the cross-bar.

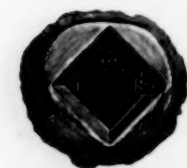
Among these imitations or copies, perhaps the most manifest forgery that has come under my observation is one which was foisted upon its present owner, Sir Richard Wallace, under the veil of charity. It is a seal formed of carnelian, of elongated quadrilateral baluster shape; on the square face of one end, placed lozenge-wise, is the royal shield between the plain **M** and **R**, surmounted by the crown; at the other end, on a face of oval form, is the Thistle. Both are deeply incised in a manner clearly indicative of modern work, and the seal was evidently made to be that passed for the seal of the unfortunate Queen Mary.

#### KING CHARLES' DIAMOND SIGNET.

On searching among the letters written by Charles, when Prince of Wales and when King, which are preserved in the British Museum among the Harleian, Lansdowne, Egerton, and other MSS., some of which are of comparatively recent acquisition, I have been fortunate enough to find a wax impression of the princes' diamond signet, which is preserved among the Queen's private collection of gems at Windsor Castle, and which was figured and described by me in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XLV., p. 26, and again referred to and figured in my former paper on the Henrietta Maria diamond. With it he sealed a letter addressed to his father, King James I., beginning "Dear dad and gossope,"—the wax impression on which is well preserved. There is no date to this letter.

Some of the letters from King Charles I. are sealed with a signet, which I think there is every reason to believe must have been that "diamond seal cut with great curiosity, and fix'd to the Gold Watch by a Gold Chain," referred to by Mr. Herbert as having been temporarily lost by the King at Windsor.\*

One is a letter to the Earl of Newcastle, dated Oxford, 28 April, 1643. (Harley 6988, fo. 135.) This is sealed with red wax; the impression from a signet of lozenge form, bearing the royal shield between the initial letters C and R. The cutting is very similar in character to that on the queen's, Henrietta Maria, diamond, and is probably the workmanship of the same hand, that of Francis



Diamond signet of King Charles I. from an impression in the British Museum (full size).

Walwyn, who is recorded as the artist employed by King Charles to cut the signet for his queen. In size it is about similar; the

\* See my former paper, *Archaeologia*, XLVII. p. 407.

form of the shield is somewhat more square, having longer straight sides; the crown differs in form, the surmounting orb and cross being held by four supporting bands which spring from behind the fleurs-de-lis on the circlet or coronal.

This seal occurs again on Harley 6988, fo. 194, with the king's initials.

Again: two impressions on the outside of a letter addressed, "For Mr. Nicholas, one of the Clarkes of my Englishe Councell." (Egerton MS. 2546, fo. 31.)

Again, it is found on a letter from Carisbrook Castle to General Fairfax (Egerton 2618, fo. 21-22), dated 26 Nov. 1647; and on one of the next day's date from Carisbrook to Fairfax. (Egerton 2618, fo. 23-24.)

I have caused a cast to be taken from this, the king's seal, by Mr. Ready, that it may be compared with impressions from the queen's diamond.

Another extremely interesting fact was revealed by an examination of the numerous royal letters in the British Museum, viz. that the same signet was subsequently used, and is to be seen on several of the letters written by Charles II.\* thereby, in part, corroborating the curious statement in Mr. Palmer's MS. Life of Dr. Baldwin Hamey (see the last page of my former paper), who had presented to Charles II. "on the restoration, a diamond ring on which were curiously cut the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and which had cost the doctor 500*l*."

That part of Gough's statement that King Charles I., when on the scaffold, gave it (a diamond signet) to Bishop Juxon for his son Charles II. is corroborated by its impressions being found on the letters of both those sovereigns. In my former paper, at p. 396, I showed that Mr. Syer Cuming had alluded to an impossible myth, connecting it with Mary Queen of Scots; and in Mr. Gough's "well-authenticated history," as quoted in the sale catalogue description of the diamond sold at Christie's in 1817, it is referred to as the signet so given by King Charles I., whereas there can be no doubt that the king gave his own diamond signet, which we find used by him on his letters, and afterwards by Charles II., and was doubtless that temporarily lost by the former when at Windsor in 1648 (p. 407).

The following letters, written by Charles II. are sealed with this his father's signet:—

\* Some of the letters published by the Marquis of Bristol in the *Camden Miscellany*, vol. v. 1864, are sealed with the same signet, an engraving of which, with fac-simile of the autograph, are given.

Lansdowne Royal, &c. Letters, 1236, fo. 114, written from Collen, Aug. 6,  
"to the Queen of Bohemia," "my dearest Aunt."

Do. do. 1236, fo. 116.—Letter from Bruges, 15 June,  
1656.—"For my dear cousin, Prince Rupert."

Do. do. fo. 124.—Letter "For the Chancelour,"  
describing his Queen on his wedding-day, 21 May, 1662.

Do. do. fo. 130.—To the same, 25 May.

Do. do. fo. 142.—To the Duke of York.

Do. do. fo. 158.—To Prince Rupert, 1673.

Do. do. fo. 199.—To Prince Rupert, 12 May.

Do. do. fo. 201.

Do. do. fo. 223.—26 August. to Prince Rupert.

Royal Letters, &c., 18738, fo. 37.—To his sister, 11 September.

The letter dated from Bruges of the 15th June, 1656, a few years before the restoration, written and addressed to Prince Rupert, "Deare Cousin," in Charles II.'s own handwriting, and being sealed on the same sheet of paper with this same signet, would show that if that was the stone given by Dr. Hamey, some error or omission must have occurred as to the date of its presentation to Charles II.; and, further, that the diamond then given is stated to have been in a *ring*, and not a *seal*, in which form it was set when in the possession of Charles I. Unfortunately, the initials are not mentioned.

Charles II.  
landed in  
England.

From the time, 29th January, 1648-9, when the king (Charles I.) gave to his children, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, "all his jewels save the George he wore,"<sup>a</sup> this precious seal would doubtless have been treasured by one or other member or friend of the family, to be restored to the elder son of the royal house at the time of his probable restoration.

Is it not possible, however, that before the restoration of Charles II. the king's diamond may have been deposited as security for some loan of money, which he so much needed immediately before his embarkation for England,<sup>b</sup> and that the loyal Dr. Hamey may have redeemed the pledge for 500*l.*, as stated, presenting it to his royal master on his restoration or accession?

<sup>a</sup> This George, worked in cameo on a superb onyx, is now in the possession of the Duke of Wellington.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 16th June, 1817, is a copy of a letter written by Charles II. from Brussels, 28th May, 1658, borrowing 50*l.*, sealed with an oval (? lozenge) about three-eighths of an inch long.

We may, from these impressions on the letters, conclude that King Charles I.'s diamond signet, used by him, was also subsequently in the possession of and used by Charles II. from 1656 to 1673 and onward; and that, therefore, the diamond engraved with the royal arms of England, which was in Tavernier's hands in Persia in 1664, could not have been the king's, but may, with greater probability, have been the queen's, Henrietta Maria, signet, as previously suggested. Although then living, that unhappy queen was reduced to great want, having first pledged some of her jewels, &c. and subsequently sold everything she possessed.<sup>a</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> In the *Memoire de Madame de Motteville* (Camden Miscellany, vol. viii. p. 23), we read: "*Elle mit toutes ses piérieres en gage, et de cet argent,*" &c. and again, p. 27, "*Nous luy avons veu vendre toutes ses hardes l'une après l'autre, ces meubles et le reste de ses piérieres, et engager jusques aux moindres choses pour pouvoir subsister quelques jours de plus.*"

## POSTSCRIPT.

---

15th June, 1886.

---

During a recent visit to Vienna I was enabled, by the kindness of Dr. Friedrich Kenner, the courteous and learned director of the Imperial Cabinet of Antiques at the Hofburg in that city, to examine more minutely and to enjoy more thoroughly many of the choicer objects preserved in that rich collection.

My attention was, naturally—from my interest in the subject—directed to any engraved diamonds that might be found among the many gems of the *renaissance* and more recent time; and I was rewarded in my search by finding two, one of which is of English historical interest.

The less important is a small, high table diamond, on the face of which a double-headed eagle, not crowned, is incised in a somewhat scratchy manner of shallow *intaglio*. It is set in a small gold ring, the bezel and shoulders of which are enriched with black enamel. It is probably of the early seventeenth century, and is numbered 134.

The other is a diamond of irregular quadrate form, faceted on the sides, but having a tabular face, on which a profile male head is deeply cut, but of indifferent execution; it shows that the material was too obdurate for the sculptor's power of manipulation; and, although the general form of the bust is fairly rendered, the features are but ill defined. The bust faces to the left, in the impression (which I send herewith), and is between letters difficult to define, but which may be intended for the Greek  $\Pi$  and  $\Delta$ , and possibly the initials of the person's name who is represented in the *intaglio*.

It was on turning the ring that I discovered its chief interest; for at the back of the bezel, painted in enamel on the gold, on a ground of turquoise colour, the plume of three white ostrich feathers and the well-known motto of a Prince of Wales are represented between the initial letters **C.** and **P.**



The feathers are tied and shaded in dark blue; the motto **ICH . DIEN** is in gold letters, on a dark blue ribbon. The ring is small, a simple hoop enamelled dark blue upon the shoulders; the stone, held in silver casing, is backed by the enamelled gold bezel.

There can be no doubt that this ring belonged either to the unhappy Charles I. when Prince of Wales, or perhaps, but with less probability, to his son; the fashion of rings not varying sufficiently during the intervening period to mark with certainty the former or the later date. I should, however, be disposed to think that the *intaglio* on the diamond may be of earlier execution than its setting in a ring.

It has no history in the octavo Catalogue of Antiques, &c., in the Imperial Cabinet prepared by the late Baron von Sacken and the present able director, Dr. F. Kenner, in 1866, in which it is described merely as a diamond engraved with a head in *intaglio*. Its number is 141.

Whether the original owner was the luckless first Charles, as is more probable, or his son, or, indeed, both—for it may well have passed from the former to the latter in his youth—this ring is interesting as another relic of the royal Stuarts, and notice of it and of the other engraved diamond may form a not unworthy *addendum* to my last paper on the Henrietta Maria signet.



X.—*The Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia, and to Cellini.* By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.

---

Read February 4, 1886.

---

THE remarkable seal to which I have the pleasure of directing the attention of our Society this evening is one of several which were made for the use of certain art-loving cardinals during the earlier half of the sixteenth century, and which were the workmanship of at least two of the skilful goldsmiths of that prolific artistic period.

Of these, Benvenuto Cellini was one, although he confesses himself to be but the follower of a certain Maestro Lautizio, a native of Perugia, who specially gave himself to this branch of his art under high patronage at Rome. Cellini tells us that Lautizio had executed nearly all the cardinals' official seals previous to 1525, about which time, struck by the beauty of their workmanship, he made an effort to rival the Perugian, finding however great difficulty in a branch of art which differed so materially from that of the ordinary goldsmith. It was not till during Cellini's second sojourn at Rome, to which city he was journeying when Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope, in 1523, under the title of Clement VII., that he refers to the excellence of Lautizio's productions, of which the seal now under consideration may probably be one.

It is of gilded bronze, of pointed oval form (*mandorla*),  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches in length from point to point, and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches wide; of solid metal, rather more than an eighth of an inch thick, having the subject of the seal in intaglio on the face; to the back is attached a handle of elegant design, formed as a central upright

100 100 100



100 100 100



100 100 100

100 100 100



SEAL OF  
CARDINAL ANDREA DE VALLE,  
1517.



SEAL OF  
CARDINAL EGIDIO DA VITERBO,  
1517.

foliated stem, surmounted by a globular fruit sustained by four petals; to this, on either side, and attached by a central band, is an acanthus foliated volute, recurved at the further end.

The *intaglio* subject on the face is of high artistic merit. (Plate XVII. fig. 1.)

Divided into two, we may almost say into three stages, we have, in the impression, a group in *rilievo* of eight persons occupying the foreground in front of an arcaded building of two domed wings and a centre, which retires behind the group in diminishing perspective. To the right of the beholder, the Holy Virgin is seated on a moulded base, having the Child in her lap sustained by her left hand; she is fully draped, a veil on the head falls behind her back and shoulder. Before her, St. Peter, a kneeling aged man, offers the keys, in his right hand, to the young child, who takes them with his left, raising the right in form of benediction. Two other elders stand behind him, one in the attitude of prayer, perhaps St. Andrew; of the other, St. Paul, only the head is seen, but the blade of the sword is apparent on his right; beyond him is a cross seen in perspective. At the back of the Virgin, a female holding a palm stoops forward, perhaps St. Catherine, or, may be, St<sup>a</sup> Prisca; between her and the praying elder, in full face, is a mitred and bearded personage. On the other side is a beautiful erect figure of St. Sebastian, nude, with the exception of a drapery round the loins; his hands are tied behind, an arrow is at his feet; a figure evidently studied from the antique. Above the central building the Almighty Father floats in the air, seen in full face and seated posture, His feet sustained by cherubim, His head only is nimbed; He holds a crucified Christ, on whose head the dove of the Holy Spirit is descending from his mouth. The lower stage or division of the subject, separated from the group above by a straight dividing line, is occupied in the middle by a shield bearing the cardinal's arms; on a chief a demi-eagle displayed and crowned; on the field, semée with stars, two lions rampant combatant. The cardinal's hat surmounts, and on either side a flying boy angel supports the grounding of the group above; beneath are stars. The legend is on a band surrounding the upper divisions of the subject, and reads, beginning from the top—

• ANDREAS • TT • S • PRISCAE •  
• PRES • CAR • DE • VALLE •

Which reads in full—

*Andreas Titulo Sanctæ Priscæ Presbyter Cardinalis de Valle.*

Cardinal de Valle, a member of a Roman family of distinction, was one of the

fifth creation of cardinals by Pope Leo X. in the month of July, 1517. He was a member of the conclave by whom Hadrian VI. was elected to the papal throne in 1521; as also of that which elected Clement VII. in 1523.<sup>a</sup>

He died on the 4th August, 1533; and is buried in the church of *Sa. Maria in Ara Cæli* at Rome.

I would now propose to consider some bronze casts from other cardinalic seals of about the same period, which, as it appears to me, may be reasonably assigned to the same able artist, agreeing, as they do, in general plan and in the treatment of the figures and subjects represented thereon.

The first of these and the best known is one which was figured and described by me in the *Catalogue of Bronzes of European origin in the South Kensington Museum* (No. 7799-'63, page 67, and plate vii.).

It is of the same pointed oval (a form still showing the Gothic influence, which later in the century yielded to rounded lines) as that of the *Cardinal de Valle*. The subject of this, again divided into three stages, is a group of saints in front of an arcaded building. The Virgin kneels before the Child, which is supported on a pillow in the foreground. St. Lorenzo, with palm and gridiron, is the prominent central figure; on his right St. Paul, with open book; on his left St. Peter; behind them shepherds, some bringing offerings, others piping. Above, the Almighty with right hand in the act of benediction, the left holding the orb; from Him descends the dove of the Spirit. The Medici arms are on the shield below; the cardinal's hat sustained over it by a flying angel on either side. Round the edge is the inscription—

IV · T T · S · L · IN · DAM P B R  
CAR DE MED · S · R · E · VICE-CAN  
THVSCIÆ · BON Q E LEGAT.

<sup>a</sup> Ciaconius. *Vita Pont. et Card.* vol. iii. p. 350.

Andrea de Valle: a Roman, was Canon of S. Peters.

Regent of the Apostolic Chancery; Bishop of Miletus (in Calabria).

Cardinal under the title of *Sa. Agnese in Agone* and afterwards of *Sa. Prisca*.

Legate to the kingdom of Naples.

Arch-priest of *Sa. Maria Maggiore* in 1520.

Protector of the Brothers of the Minor Order.

A medal of the Cardinal is of the year of the Jubilee, 1525.

Reading—

IVLIUS TITULO Sancti Laurentii IN  
DAMASO PRESBYTER CARDINALIS DE  
MEDICIS Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ  
VICE-CANCELLARIUS THVSCIÆ  
BONONIÆ QUE LEGATUS.

Giulio de' Medici was created cardinal under the first creation of Leo X. in October 1513.

He was one of the conclave which elected Hadrian VI. in 1521, and was himself elected pope 19th November, 1523.

He died in 1534 and his magnificent monument designed by Baccio Bandinelli, his statue, by Nanni di Baccio Bigio, is in the church of Sa: Maria sopra Minerva, at Rome.

This, then, is the earliest of this group of seals of which we have at present any knowledge, being made, doubtless, shortly after his creation, say, in the course of 1514, and we may be sure that its author would have exerted himself to produce a work worthy of the Medici, Pope, and Cardinal, the great patrons of art at that period in Rome.

It is interesting to learn that after Giulio's elevation to the Holy See this fine seal was made over to Hippolito de' Medici, whom he created cardinal at his sixth creation in 1529, for we find by an engraving published, as I believe, by the Marchese Tito Strozzi, in Florence, and taken from a cast which had come under his observation, the same seal, differing only in the surrounding inscription, which reads—

HIP · T · T · S · LAV · IN DAM DIA · CAR  
DE · MED · S · R · E · VICECAN · PERV ·  
VMBRO ZC LEGAT ·

The bronze cast from this seal (a *surmoulage* of later date and wanting in some details) which I now exhibit, would seem to have been taken from a mould on which the first few letters had been wrongly stamped by the ignorant workman, the original having been obliterated. They are LMIMM instead of HIP · T · T · S · LAV ·

Cardinal Hippolito de' Medici was one of the conclave that elected Paul III. Farnese in 1534, and died as it is believed by poison on the 9th of August, 1535.

He was buried in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso at Rome.



At the sale of some of those works of art collected by my esteemed friend the late Mr. Edward Cheney, a gilt bronze cast of the greatest beauty was sold, which there can be little doubt was taken directly from the carefully executed wax model made for this seal.

Cellini tells us in his *Trattato dell' Oreficiria* the *modus operandi* by which Lautizio worked these seals and on which, he states, that he (Cellini) improved in the composition of the moulds and other technical details. The subject to be represented in relief on the impression was carefully modelled in wax upon a piece of slate or other hard material, round it a ledge or wall was formed, of a proper composition, sufficiently high to contain the necessary amount of mixture of which the first mould was to be formed; this, when detached from the wax model, would of course have the subject in *intaglio*, and its accuracy and sharpness would depend upon the skill in the use of proper materials for forming and in the manipulation of the work. A first and carefully executed cast in and from this mould would be a reproduction of the original wax model. Such an one is the gilded bronze above referred to, and a proof of its being a first cast is shown by the absence of the gridiron at S. Lorenzo's side, and of the surrounding inscription. This probably was made to submit for the Cardinal's approval, previous to finishing the work in detail. The next operation would be to form another mould, in relief from the first, which, as we have seen, was in *cavo* and upon which the letters of the inscription had been since impressed with metal dies. Surrounding this mould in *rilievo* (representing in fact an impression of the seal) with a suitable wall and casing to hold and resist the melted metal, all being duly dried and skilfully prepared, thereinto the fused silver or bronze, as the case might be, was cautiously and dexterously poured. This cast, finished and tooled where necessary, and subsequently gilded was the seal such as we see in that made for the Cardinal de Valle.

Giulio de' Medici's seal was probably of silver, as were many others, and doubtless went eventually to the melting pot; that for Cardinal Andrea de Valle, though equally fine or even finer as a work of art, was fortunately cast in baser metal and here we have it now before us.

So masterly is the art shown upon the gilt bronze *prova* of Giulio's seal, referred to above, which was purchased by Mr. J. C. Robinson, that it was at once supposed by that able connoisseur to be the work of Benvenuto Cellini's own hand, an opinion in which I could not agree, believing that it, the De Valle seal, and two other plaques to which I shall presently refer, were of great affinity in style, in composition, and in detail, and that all four were probably of earlier date than Cellini's productions of a cognate kind. A glance at the historical dates at

once confirms my impression. Benvenuto Cellini was born at Florence in the year 1500. He went suddenly to Rome, for his first visit, in 1518-19 with Tasso, a wood carver, remaining there two years and working under Firenzuola and Arsagno.<sup>a</sup> Returned to Florence, he again started for Rome in 1523, the year of the election of Giulio de' Medici to the papal throne, and not till after 1523 did he wish to rival Lautizio, whom he, and he only, then refers to as the clever artist who had made nearly all the beautiful cardinal's seals, in which branch of art no one excelled him. Cellini further states that these seals were of oval form about the size of a child's hand at four years old, that Lautizio received 100 scudi in payment for each, and that he was still working at Rome in 1525.

We have seen that Giulio de' Medici was created cardinal in 1513; Cardinal de Valle in 1517, and the others, whose seals I have yet to refer to, in that same year. Not till seven or eight years afterwards did Cellini essay to rival Lautizio. Cellini proves, by his own evidence, that the works in question could not be by him; and, furthermore, it is by his evidence alone that we know the name of the admirable artist to whom we venture to ascribe them, agreeing so exactly as they do with the description Cellini gives of Lautizio's productions.

Another bronze bas-relief plaque preserved in the South Kensington museum is also described in my catalogue of bronzes in that collection, under No. 7800-'63, at page 68; and also figured on plate vii. It is the cast of a seal made for the Cardinal Guglielmo Raimondo de Vich, who was another of the many cardinals created by Leo X. in 1517, shortly after the alarm created by the discovery of a plot for his murder by poison.

This seal *plaque*, also of oval form with pointed ends, is about the same size as that of Giulio de' Medici, and the scheme of its subject and ornamentation is on the same general plan; without doubt it is the work of the same artist. A group of many figures occupies the centre; in the foreground, the Virgin seated to the left holds the Blessed Child upon her knee, to whom kneels one—the elder—of the Magi in the act of offering a vase, other two—also holding vases—approach from the right; Joseph leans on his staff behind the Virgin. All these personages are nimbed. The middle distance is occupied by the shepherds, who approach playing their pipes, and one points to the star seen in the sky above a building of temple form, which, with some foliage, fills in the extreme background, a picturesque composition in character like that of Antonio Rossellino's roundel at the Bargello in Florence, of *circa* 1470, the *terra cotta* study for which is in the writer's possession.

<sup>a</sup> Plon. Eugène Benvenuto Cellini, 4<sup>e</sup> Paris. 1883.

The inscription round the sides reads—

GVILHELMVS Raymundus TiTulo Sancti MARCELLI Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ  
PREsbyter CARDinalis DE · VICH.

Beneath the stage supporting the groups of figures, two stooping men in armour, but bare-headed, uphold the shield of arms surmounted by the cardinal's hat.

Cardinal de Vich was a Spaniard, native of Valencia. He died 8th August, 1525, and is buried in the basilica of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome.

Another bronze seal plaque of great beauty, which has only recently come under my notice, and which has not, I believe, been published hitherto, is preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, whence it will probably soon be transferred to the Ashmolean museum. (Plate XII. fig. 2.)

This seal was slightly larger even than that of Cardinal de Valle, and is a very beautiful work, as I believe, by the same able artist's hand. In treatment and subject it is much more simple and purely Umbrian. The centre is, in the background, filled by a domed arcaded building of octagonal structure; in fact, a sort of *baldacchino* surmounting a throne, on which, in front, the Blessed Virgin is seated holding the Child in her arms; to her right stands St. Augustine; to the left St. Nicholas; the name of each inscribed beneath. All the heads are nimbed.

Beneath is the shield of arms: three Calvary crosses on three hillocks or monticles in base, surmounted by a cross and the cardinal's hat; there are no supporting figures on either side. The surrounding inscription on a band, between loop and button and pearl mouldings, reads—

EGIDIVS · CARDinalis TiTulo Sancti MATTHEI SANTE APOSTOLICE · SEDIS ·  
DE LATERANÆ · LEGATVS.

Egidio of Viterbo was created cardinal by Leo X. in 1517 at the same consistory held in July, at which De Valle and De Vich were also raised to that dignity. He was principal of the order of Augustines, a trusted friend and councillor of Leo, and a writer of great elegance in Latin poetry. He was one of the conclave that elected Hadrian VI. to the papacy in 1521, and also of that which chose Clement VII. in 1523. He died in November, 1532, and was buried in the church of S. Agostino in Rome.

It may be worth our while, before considering what the world-famed Cellini did, or is known to have done, in the production of seals of this highly artistic character, to examine the four examples I have just described comparatively with

each other, and, by their own evidence of style, manner of composition, and treatment of the subject, to draw some probable inference as to their authorship.

First in date of production is that made for Guilio de' Medici doubtless soon after his creation in 1513, four years before any of the other three. In modelling this the artist would doubtless give his best care and strive to produce a work to the satisfaction of the favoured relative of the art-loving pope. The early cast from the wax model before referred to shows the very high artistic excellence of its unrecorded author; and yet, in merit as a composition, it is perhaps inferior to the De Valle seal. The same general scheme, the same manner of treatment, slightly modified, pervades the four, and the influence of the Umbrian school, rather than the Roman, is more or less manifest in all; more so, perhaps, in the Egidius and the De Valle than in the other two. In these last we see somewhat of the picturesque character of Ghiberti's work in *rilievo*; in both the shield of arms is made too prominent, particularly in that of the Medici, where the subject above is dwarfed in effect thereby, the more so from its numerous figures and pictorial back-ground. The De Vich seal, as far as we can judge by the bronze cast in the South Kensington museum, is inferior in workmanship to the Medici. The Oxford *plaque* is of great beauty, more simple in subject, almost more "Gothic" in character, but refined in detail and harmonious in composition; better suited for the use of the Augustine father than the more composite and elaborate designs for the service of more world-busy men. For general merit I should award the palm to the De Valle seal which is the prime subject of this paper. On it we have full dignity and importance given to the main subject of the composition; the shield of arms, the hat and their supporters, are properly subordinate, although sufficiently distinct; while the well-balanced background recedes with artistic, rather than picturesque, effect. The treatment of the figures and of the heads, in lower relief than on the Medici *plaque*, is equally excellent. I should take this to be the last and most matured work of the group.

I can see nothing of Cellini's manner in any one of these four seals, but in the absence of direct evidence of authorship, by signature or record, we may, I think—as Cellini tells us that nearly all the seals executed for the wealthy cardinals at that period were the work of Lautizio, and that they were of such beauty as to excite his emulation,—reasonably ascribe them to his—Lautizio's—masterly hand.

We know, however, from his own writings, that Cellini did so strive and after encountering considerable difficulties did make seals for several prelates in or about 1525; but, unfortunately, we only know two of those cardinals' seals made



by the great Florentine goldsmith, one in 1528 for the Cardinal of Mantua, who was created in 1527; the other in 1538-9 for Hippolito d' Este, who was created Cardinal of Ferrara in that year.

Photographs of seals impressed from these are given on Pl. X. in M. Plon's magnificent work on Cellini, before referred to. For the first that artist adopted the pointed oval form, the subject of the Assumption of the Virgin occupying the central and upper portion, the lower having the shield of arms and the hat; an inscription surrounds: **HER · GONZAGA · S. MARIAE · NOVAE · DIAC · CAR · MANTVAN.** In modelling the subject of this seal Cellini was evidently to a considerable degree guided by the style of those which we have been studying; there is, however, a marked difference in the treatment of the figures and in their grouping. In the centre the open sarcophagus is seen in perspective lengthwise, on either side are the apostles, two kneeling in the foreground, all in somewhat forced attitudes or expression; above rises the Virgin in seated posture with outstretched arms, supported by a too-obtrusive cherub with outspread wings; a boy angel floats in attitude of prayer towards the Virgin on either side.

Beneath the stage supporting this group, and which is itself sustained by a voluted bracket capital at either end, are the arms of the cardinal in a shield and the hat.

Although the general design may have been founded on some Florentine picture of the preceding century, there is an absence of that calm dignity which we have noted, and a forced action of the figures, which we do not see in those represented on the four earlier seals we have been studying.

The other and larger seal which we know to have been Cellini's work in 1538 or 1539 is an oval, rounded at the ends in lieu of pointed. On it we see two groups of numerous busy figures separated by a pilaster, from which springs a sort of double arch to the left, beneath this St. Ambrose is on a galloping horse with whip in hand, vigorously driving the crowd of Arians from before him; fallen figures are on the ground. On the right of the pilaster the corresponding arch is broken away above the springing, and from the fractured stones a group of children look down upon the scene; a crowd of figures fills the remaining space, that of St. John the Baptist standing on a rocky projection high above the rest; his right arm is upraised, the cross of reeds held by the left at his side; men, women, and children, some in rather strained attitudes, listen to the preacher. The central pilaster is sustained by a weakly-defined stage, beneath which is an oval shield of arms, its upper sides terminating in volutes turned inwards; the hat is above. On either side two angels are grouped, one holding a shield, the

other a cornucopia. The inscription,<sup>a</sup> HIPPOLYTVS · ESTEN · S · MARIAE · IN · AGVIRO · DIACONVS · CAR · FERRARIEN, surrounds.

Although there is much that is admirable in this work, there is a total absence of symmetry and of repose in the whole composition; the attitudes are forced, the action over vigorous, and the general picturesque treatment of the subject is not in accordance with the true principles of art in bas-relief.

M. Plon has given us a photograph taken from the wax impression attached to a document, but in the museum at Lyons a lead cast from the seal is preserved, and is described and a photograph published by M. J. B. Giraud, in the xlii. vol. of the *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (Paris, 1882).

These seals were of silver, and Cellini received for the execution of the last 300 scudi, for the former 214.

From the foregoing observations as to style of art, as seen on the four seals, and from comparison with that which we find on the two cardinalic seals known to be Cellini's work; and, furthermore, from the relative dates of their production, I think we may fairly conclude that the seals made for—

1. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, circa 1513-14, and afterwards used by Cardinal Hippolito de' Medici, circa 1529-30;
2. Cardinal Gulielmus Raymundus de Vich, circa 1517-18;
3. Cardinal M. F. Egidius, circa 1517-18; and
4. Cardinal Andrea de Valle, circa 1517-18—

could not have been the workmanship of Benvenuto Cellini, but that, guided by the statements of that artist in his written works, and in the absence of more direct evidence, we may reasonably attribute them to Lautizio of Perugia, working at Rome.

Doubtless a search among accounts of payment and other documents in the possession of many of the Italian families might probably reveal some more positive and definite reference.

We may also, I think, admit that in this special branch of art Lautizio has proved himself, if these were his, superior in invention, in design, and in execution to the world-famed Cellini, by whom alone this humble but admirable artist in metal has been recorded.

I would also venture, before concluding, to direct attention to an oval bronze *plaque*, the subject represented on which is that of the circumcision of Our Lord.

<sup>a</sup> It may be noted that the lettering on these two seals differs from each other, and from that on the four earlier seals we have described.



There is much in the conception and treatment of the busy group, in the character and pose of the figures, and in the architectural background that reminds one of Cellini's seal made for the Cardinal Hippolito d' Este. There is however no shield of arms, and a graceful floral wreath occupies the place of an inscription round the border.

It seems to me, however, not unlikely that this may have been intended for a cardinal's seal, its form and size being so like the Este's, and that in artistic character and merit there is considerable *rapprochement* thereunto although probably of somewhat earlier time.

XI.—*On the English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers.*

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

---

Read January 21, 1886.

---

OF all the drinking vessels in use from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, none were so common and so much prized as those known to us as mazers. They occur in numerous wills and inventories under various names, such as *ciphi* or *cuppae de mazer* or *de murra*, *mazeri*, *ciphi murrei*, *mazerei*, *hanaps de maser*, and later as *murrae* and mazers, etc., on the derivations of which much valuable matter has been written.<sup>a</sup> But, under whatever name it appears, it is quite clear that the same vessel is meant, viz. a drinking bowl turned out of some kind of wood, but by preference of maple,<sup>b</sup> and especially the spotted or speckled variety which we call bird's-eye maple.

Although the term *mazer* is applied to a drinking bowl, it is from the material out of which it was formed, and not the use it was put to, that the name is derived. Professor Skeat says it is of Old Low-German origin, and merely an extended form of the Middle High-German *mase*, Old High-German *másá*, meaning "a spot,"—whence also our word "measles,"—a mazer is therefore so called from being a bowl of "spotted" wood.

The part of the maple usually preferred by the turner is the bole of the tree, or some part of the trunk where several branches meet; these portions yielding the beautiful speckled grain with which we are familiar.

The popularity of mazers during the medieval period is attested by a large number of wills and inventories, proving their use by all classes of persons, from the king downwards. The inventories of the religious houses bear witness to the same fact: thus at Canterbury in 1328 there were in the frater no less

<sup>a</sup> See *Promptorium Parvulorum* (Camden Soc. 1865) 328, note 2; *Archaeological Journal*, xvii. 259; and the York volume of the Archaeological Institute, Note upon the Mazer.

<sup>b</sup> *Acer campestre*.

than 182 mazers; at Battle in 1437 there were 32; Durham in 1446 possessed 49; and at Waltham and Westminster in 1540 we find 15 and 40 respectively.

It is unfortunate that, in spite of the number of mazers formerly existing in this country, so few should have survived to our time; but at present only about 50 examples are known, though diligent inquiry would doubtless bring to light a few more.

Despite their frequent mention in wills and inventories, the descriptions of mazers are usually so brief as to convey little or no information as to their general form and character. I have collected together as an Appendix to this paper a large number of items extending over a long period, which practically contain all the particulars we possess of mediæval mazers beyond what the few existing examples furnish.

From these items we find that the characteristics of a mazer were five in number:

- (1) The bowl.
- (2) The band.
- (3) The print.
- (4) The foot.
- (5) The cover.

The only essential part of a mazer being its bowl, it is clear that the vessel would be complete in itself if all or any of the last four features were omitted.

It is probable that to this fact we owe the scanty notices of the documents; for the cheaper form of mazer, or that in use amongst the poorer classes, would usually be but a plain bowl, while the wealthier folk ornamented their mazers with silver-gilt mounts and enamelled medallions, and occasionally with splendid feet and covers.

The bowl of a mazer is invariably plain, the beautiful grain of the maplewood being evidently considered ornamental enough in itself. Two examples in the Appendix are described as *fretté d'or*, but this probably refers to a gold network connecting the band and foot, in the same way as the straps of silver or silver-gilt found on Elizabethan mazers.

Where the mazer consists of a simple bowl only, the brittle nature of the wood is counteracted by an increase in the thickness; but in the case of a bowl mounted with metal the additional strength thereby gained allows the wood to be turned comparatively thin.

This metal mount, or *band*, as it is termed, is usually of silver or silver-gilt, and occasionally of gold. But two existing examples have gilt base-metal bands.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century the band appears to have been of a simple character, and of no great depth. Later on it developed into a deeper and very characteristic form, which is quite plain within, but has its outer face ornamented with various moldings and stamped patterns.

It is probable that these deep bands were introduced with the object of increasing the capacity of the mazer, for from the comparatively small size of the part of the maple-tree fit for the purpose the majority of the bowls produced in the lathe must have been very shallow, and by adding these broad bands the depth of the mazer was more than doubled.

At a still later period the singular tendency of medieval types to revert to earlier forms begins to assert itself in the case of mazers, and the band again becomes simpler in treatment and more vertical.

It appears from references in wills and inventories that mazers sometimes had double bands, but no examples have survived to our day.

As might be expected, the band was frequently utilized for inscriptions. The great mazer preserved in York Minster has an English legend, as also has that belonging to Mr. Whitehead. Other examples, Latin and English, will be found in the list of mazers in the Appendix, as well as on several existing examples.

It is hardly necessary to point out the value of the lettering in helping to fix the date of a mazer in the absence of hall-marks.

In the bottom of almost every mazer is to be found a circular medallion, known in fourteenth and early fifteenth century inventories as a *founce* or *frounce*, a word of obscure origin, but probably connected with the Latin *fundus*. This name occurs till about 1450, when the medallion is termed the *print*, sometimes the *boss*, names which continue in use till the Reformation.

What this print originated in it is difficult to say. It was a frequent ornament of metal bowls and dishes all through the medieval period, but it is not a structural necessity; neither can it have been added merely as an ornament. Perhaps it was inserted in mazers to conceal the marks of the lathe, before the mechanism of that machine had improved so as to allow of a bowl being turned in a chuck as now. But it may have had a much older origin, and, as our Fellow Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum suggests, was derived from the umbilical boss found in Greek paterae and early Egyptian bowls, and subsequently in fifteenth century Arabic bowls, hollowed out underneath to receive the finger when drinking.

Of the general design of the prints from time to time nothing can be learned from the documents, the only information they afford being the nature of the device. The very few undoubtedly early existing examples have a flat circular

plate of silver-gilt *repoussé* work, but it cannot be argued from these two or three instances that all the early prints were of a similar nature. Several of the Canterbury mazers in 1328 are described as having round plates in the bottom, but the greater number are given as simply *cum castone*. Dart invariably prints the noun *castore*, but, as Mr. Franks suggests, the word is clearly from the low-Latin *chasto* or *casto*—meaning a collet or socket, old French *chaston*, modern French *chaton*. The application of the word to the print of a mazer occurs only in the Canterbury list. The early date and fulness of this list render it an important guide as to the nature of medieval mazers; it is therefore given *in extenso* in the Appendix from a new transcript of the original manuscript. What these *castones* held the list does not say, but sometimes they must have contained a jewel or jewels, for several mazers are described as *cum gemma in fundo*.

In the fifteenth century, so far as the existing mazers may be taken as evidence, the print is bossed out and molded to form a socket for a silver plate, engraved with some quaint or sacred device and enamelled. This molded socket in late examples is set on a rayed and fringed plate.

The devices of the print vary considerably.

Figures of saints are found at all dates. Other sacred subjects were also popular, such as the Trinity, the Majesty, Our Lady, the Salutation, and the Vernicle. The monogram *ihs* or *ihc* was very common, and is found on several existing mazers. Enamelled shields, heraldic animals and badges occur both in inventories and actual mazers; the latter too furnish several examples of merchants' marks, as well as monograms and enamelled flowers. The Canterbury list of 1328 enumerates, *inter alia*, the Blessed Virgin Mary, a lion, a king and falcon, a shield and lion, a rose, a head, a star, a boar, a vine and winepress, also jewels and gilt plates.

Throughout the whole of the period when mazers were fashionable it was often customary to mount them on a foot. When this was of some length, mazers so adorned were known as "standing mazers." Several are given in the Canterbury list *cum pede deaurato tornatili*, and one in the royal treasury in 1337-8 is described as *cum tripode loco pedis*. Numerous instances occur in inventories of mazers with feet standing on three lions, and among the plate formerly belonging to Henry V. was *I. Maser esteant sur IIII. Anglæ*.<sup>a</sup> This foot was also sometimes moveable; thus, in the will of Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham (1388-1405), occurs—"unus ciphus masar stans super pedem argenti deaurati *mobilem* portatum super tres leones."

<sup>a</sup> *Rolls of the Parliament*, iv. 224.



And we learn from the "Rites of Durham," that the foot of a famous mazer in the frater at Durham, known as St. Bede's bowl, was "of silver and double gilt, with four joynts of silver coming down, all double gilt from the edge to the foot, to be taken asunder."<sup>a</sup>

Very many mazers originally had covers, mostly of maple-wood, with silver-gilt or metal rims and knobs, and sometimes painted and adorned with precious stones. Only three examples have survived to our day; but numerous examples will be found quoted in the Appendix.

The medieval fashion of giving names to favourite drinking cups and other articles of use was at an early date extended to mazers. Thus, at Canterbury in 1328, we find mazers known as "Bygge," "Salamon," "Broke," "Austyn," "Pylegrym," "Hare," &c. &c.; and at Battle Abbey, in 1437, a mazer called "fenix." Others at Durham are quoted below, and further examples will be found in the Appendix.

Mention is made at the beginning of this paper of mazers being drinking vessels. Why shallow bowls were preferred to the more convenient cups we cannot say, but that they were used to drink from is not only abundantly proved by contemporary writings, but the mazers themselves attest the fact.

Thus, a mazer belonging to Mr. S. E. Shirley has inscribed on the band:

**In the name of the tirnite  
fille the kup and drinke to me.**

Again, the great York bowl bears grants from two bishops of forty days' pardon

**on to all tho that drinkis of this cope.**

And the so-called "Mary Valence" cup at Pembroke College, Cambridge, is inscribed:

**✠ : sayn : denel : y<sup>e</sup> : el : me : dere :  
for = her = lof = drenk and mak : gud : cher.**

Several other existing mazers bear similar evidence.

One of the best written authorities is the valuable work known as *The Rites of Durham*,<sup>b</sup> which gives us full information as to the use of mazers, with other interesting particulars:

<sup>a</sup> *Rites of Durham*. Surtees Society, xv. 68.

<sup>b</sup> Surtees Society, xv. 68, 69.



"Within the said Frater-house door, there is a strong Ambrie in the stone wall, where a great mazer, called the GRACE-CUP, did stand, which did service to the monks every day, after grace was said, to drink in round the table. Which cup was largely and finely edged about with silver and double gilt with gold, and many more large and great mazers after the same sort. Amongst which was a goodly great mazer called JUDAS-CUP, edged about with silver and double gilt, with a foot underneath it to stand on, of silver and double gilt, which was never used but on Maundy Thursday at night in the Frater-house, where the Prior and the whole Convent did meet and keep their Maundy. There lay also in the same ambrie the goodly cup called SAINT BEDE'S BOWL, the outside whereof was of black mazer, and the inside of silver double gilt, the edge finely wrought about with silver and double gilt; and in the midst of it was the picture of the holy man Saint BEDE, sitting as if he had been writing. The foot of the said bowl was of silver and double gilt, with four joynts of silver coming down, all double gilt from the edge to the foot, to be taken asunder.<sup>a</sup> . . . . .

"And every monk had his mazer severally by himself to drink in, . . . . . and all the said mazers were largely and finely edged with silver double gilt."

It is interesting to know that one of the mazers in the collection of Mr. A. W. Franks was formerly used in their frater-house by the monks of Rochester, part of the legend on the band being—

+ CIPHVS REFECTORII ROFENSIS.

There is one more point in connection with mazers that should be mentioned, and that is their occasional possession by parishes, where they are reckoned amongst the church plate.

Thus the inventory of St. Margaret Pattens, London, 1479—1486, states—

"It' we have all so ij masers on by þ<sup>e</sup> gyfte of my lady adyrley and anop<sup>r</sup> by þ<sup>e</sup> gyfte off Wylyyam þorneton hyr s'vand,"  
and the inventory of 1511 describes them at length :

"Itm. twoo Masoures w<sup>t</sup> bondes of sylver and gylte w<sup>t</sup> booses in the myddes of theym one of theym of the gifte of Maistres Thornton with Ihuc in the same Boose and in the bonde of the same wretyn Domine salvū me fac. weying ix unces ði q<sup>rt</sup><sup>r</sup>.

"And the other Masoure is w<sup>t</sup> a Boose gylted in y<sup>t</sup> w'oute amell' and on the bonde on the oute syde of the same wretyn Of goddes hande blissed he be That

<sup>a</sup> This was of course a standing mazer.

taketh this Cuppe and drynketh to me. And on the Inne side of the same bonde<sup>a</sup> is wretyn God that suteth in Trynnye. sende us peax<sup>le</sup> and unyte. Weying xij unc' j q<sup>r</sup>t' di. bothe together poiz xxj oñz q<sup>r</sup>."'

Again, in 1524, the chantry of SS. Nicholas and Katherine at Crich, Derbyshire, possessed—

“oone olde maser w' y<sup>e</sup> Armes of y<sup>e</sup> founder,”

and in 1551, at Hornchurch, Essex, the parish had—

“a maser w' a narrow bonde of sylver.”

These parish mazers were probably used at church ales and procession times, for in 1549, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, was—

“a maser with a bordour and knop of sylver and gilt which was geven to the churche wardens to drink when they mete,”<sup>b</sup>

and no less than eight mazers are still preserved in churches.

Of undoubted mazers that have survived to our time, besides some bowls of later date which seem to carry on the tradition, there are about fifty examples known. These may be roughly divided as follows :—

Group I. Mazers probably of fourteenth and early fifteenth century date.

Bowls generally deep, with plain and narrow bands. Prints various.

Group II. Mazers from *circa* 1450 to *circa* 1540.

Shallow bowls with characteristic bands and prints.

The prints are divisible into—(A) plainly molded ; (B) those set on a rayed and fringed plate.

Group III. Elizabethan mazers.

Bowls, bands, and prints much the same as in Group II., but with metal straps connecting the band and foot.

There is also a number of later bowls, miscellaneous in character, often with a turned wooden foot, and tall cover. These, however, cannot strictly be termed mazers—many of them not being of maple, or ornamented with bands and prints. It is therefore unnecessary to say any more about them here. Several of them are described in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*.<sup>c</sup>

About one-fourth of the existing mazers belong to Group I.; and with the exception of a single example of the year 1507–8 they are all of the fourteenth

<sup>a</sup> This entry contains the only known instance of a mazer band inscribed inside.

<sup>b</sup> *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iv. 84. This mazer was sold the following year for 3*l*.

<sup>c</sup> 2nd Series, vol. vii. p. 77, and vol. xi. p. 54, *et seq.*

and early fifteenth century date. Several of them are of large size, but the bands are quite narrow, ranging from  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch to  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch. The earliest have flat plates or medallions for prints. Nearly all have a foot, but with one, or possibly two, exceptions this is in every case an addition of later date.

To group II. belong at least twenty-six mazers. They are characterised by a particular form of band which first appears, though of unusual depth, on the fine standing mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge. (See figs. 16, 17, and 20.) Nearly all the mazers of this group have the upper and lower belt of moldings on the band set with minute four-leaved flowers, but in the later examples the belts are quite plain or reeded. (See fig. 18.) The average depth of the band is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

Although the series of early mazers is not complete enough to give us a regular sequence of examples showing the transition from Group I. to Group II.: the great break between the early mazers with the plain flat band and those with the later band is partly bridged over by two exceptionally interesting examples. The first of these, in the possession of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has a plain flat band with a delicate series of upper moldings only, from which rise three small strawberry leaves to prevent the cover falling off. (See fig. 5.) The second, in the possession of All Souls College, Oxford, is very little if at all later in date, but it has a plain band which breaks out into a feathered and scalloped fringe below—separately worked, and not part of the band—the junction being concealed by a bold cable. (Fig. 10.)

About 1510 the band, while retaining its belts and fringe, becomes more vertical.

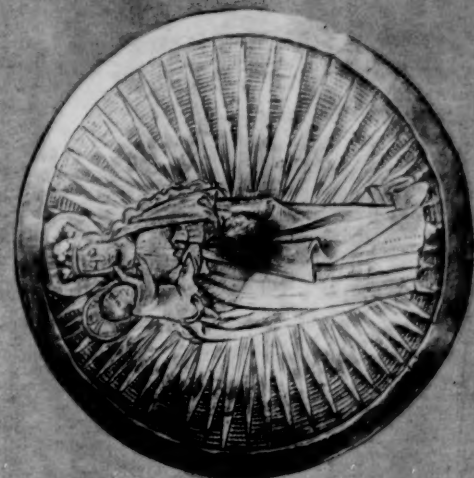
The remarks already made as to the prints of mazers are in great measure based on existing examples. (See figs. 1, 3, 4, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 23, and Plate XIII. for a graduated series from the end of the thirteenth century down to a dated instance of 1585-6.)

Of standing mazers, in which the foot is original, only three examples have survived. Engravings of two of them, at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and All Souls College, Oxford, are given in figs. 12 and 18. The third, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has not yet been properly engraved, in spite of the great beauty of its design and workmanship. In this case the foot is removeable at pleasure, like many of the mazers now lost to us. The Pembroke mazer also once exhibited the same peculiarity.

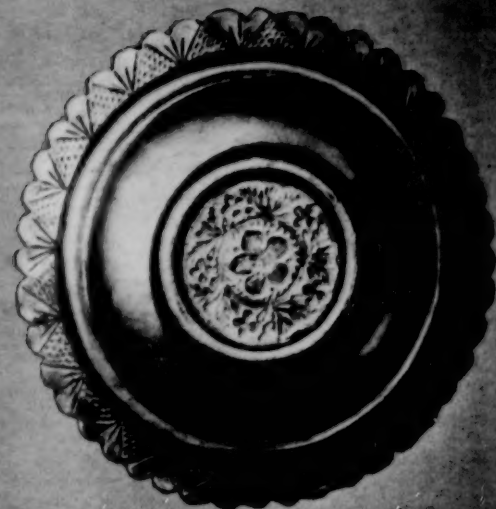
None of the mazers of this or the succeeding group have covers preserved with them. There is, however, an odd cover at All Souls College, Oxford, which



4.



3.



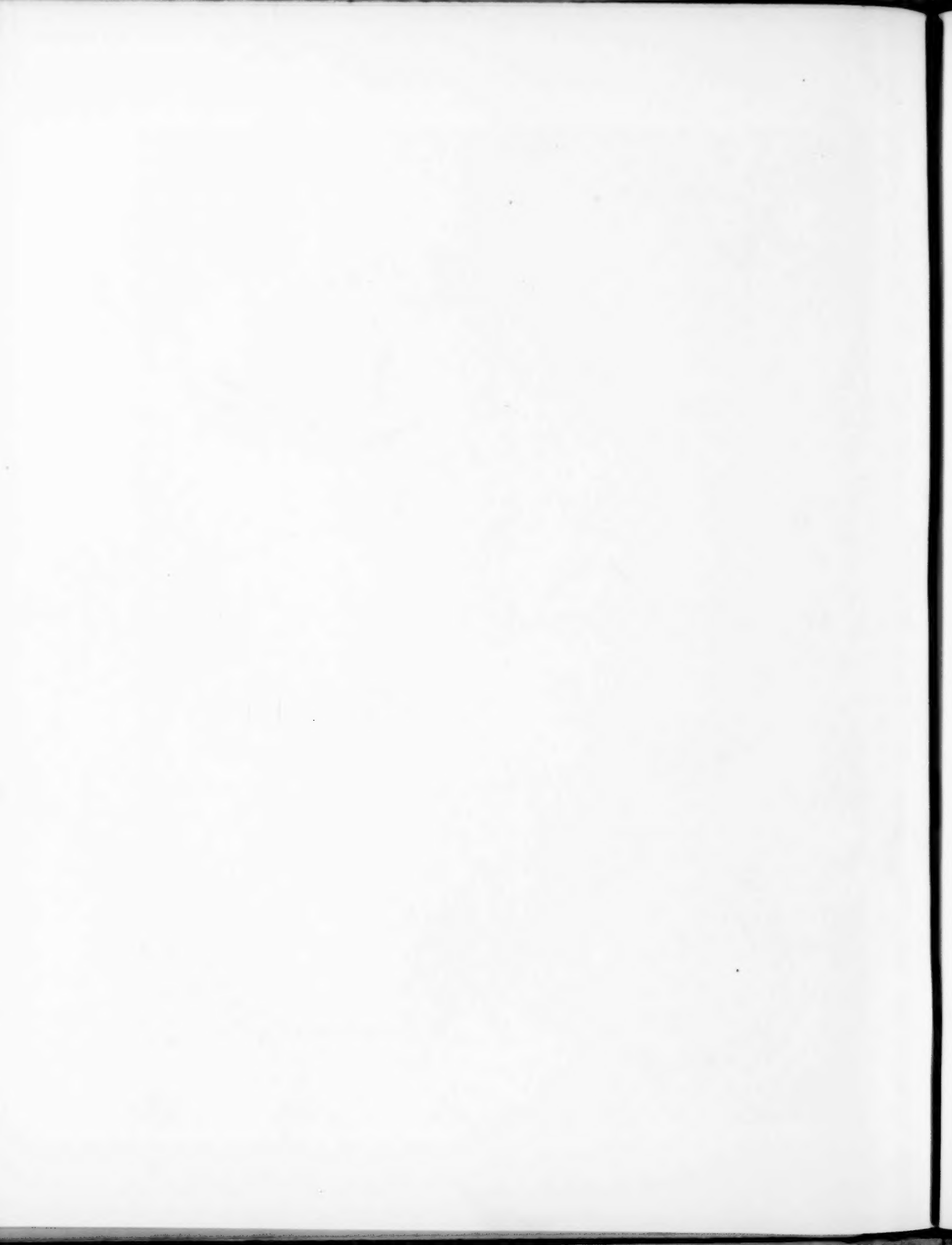
1.



THE PHOTO-TYPE CO.

EXAMPLES OF MAZER PRINTS.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Ironmongers' Company, London.                   | 4. Whiting's Hospital, Croydon, 1508-9.  |
| 2. Oriel College, Oxford.                          | 5. Epworth Church, Lincolnshire.         |
| 3. Edward VI's Almshouses, Saffron Walden, 1507-8. | 6. W. Jordane Brakenridge, Esq., 1514-2. |





once belonged to a late fifteenth century mazer. It is entirely covered with the remains of painting and gilding, now much injured, and has a defaced black-letter legend round the rim. It retains its original knob, a plain lobed one of silver-gilt.

Of Group III. only two mazers survive. The first of these belongs to the Worshipful Company of Armourers and Braziers, and is really, or was until recently, when the old bowl was renewed, a late fifteenth century mazer with an Elizabethan band, lining, and foot (added in 1579), with the original print fixed in the bottom. It has ornate straps connecting the band and foot.

The second is a highly interesting vessel belonging to the Rev. H. F. St. John. It has a band engraved with the characteristic Elizabethan woodbine pattern, but otherwise recalls some of the features of the bands of Group II. It also has an excellent print engraved with the armorial bearings of the Cotes family. (See fig. 23.) The mazer itself is well seen in fig. 22.

There remains one more vessel to notice as bringing the tradition of a mazer down to a very late date. This is a plain maple-wood cup with a foot, belonging to Mr. H. Syer Cuming. It has no print, but had a fringed band now lost. Its date is *circa* 1600.

At Harbledown hospital, in addition to the fine series of mazers with bands and prints, there are three bowls of maple-wood, destitute of bands or prints, which it is difficult to assign a date to.

I have left to the last the mention of a beautiful mazer, probably of fourteenth century date, in the possession of All Souls College, Oxford. It is much more thinly and delicately made than the majority of mazers, and has a plain gold band and ornate socket for a print. It also retains its cover, which has a beautiful gold and jewelled handle. The college also possesses an odd cover of similar style and workmanship.

Both these vessels are probably French, and should be compared with a foreign mazer of equally delicate workmanship in the collection of Mr. A. W. Franks, which retains a beautiful *cuir bouilli* case.

It has not been thought necessary to enter into the literature of mazers, as that part of the subject has been so well set forth by Mr. W. J. Cripps in his *Old English Plate*.

The following is a detailed description of every English mazer which has come under the writer's notice :—



## 1. HARBLEDOWN HOSPITAL, KENT.

Diameter,  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches; depth, 3 inches; height,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches; height of cover,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The bowl is a fine and well-preserved specimen of the mottled maple-wood from which the mazer derives its name.

The band is a very narrow silver-gilt molded one,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide, fastened on the outside  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch below the top by six pins which, inside the bowl, are covered by small quatrefoil studs. One of these studs is lost, and another has been replaced by a roughly-cut cinquefoil.



Fig. 1. Print of a mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent (full size).

The print is of two dates. (Fig. 1.) It consists of a circular silver-gilt medallion  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, representing a combat between a lioness and a dragon. The background is diapered with spirals of foliage. This clearly pertains to the end of the thirteenth century. It is held in place by a silver mount bearing a rudely-cut inscription round the rim:

BY · ME · WILIAM SMYTHE GOD · SAVE  
KINGE · IAMES THE I Anno Dom 1603.

This is not the original print, unless the central device be a portion of it, for there are the marks of a circular plate  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches diameter, which was held in position by at least thirty pins round the margin.

With this mazer is preserved a cover, which may or may not belong to it. It is a low conical one of wood, completely covered with painting in fair preservation. The subject is two lions, one in a quarrelsome attitude, separated from each other by large flowering plants. The field is painted a dark colour, spotted all over with groups of three small white spots. Round the outer margin is a plain band, and a similar band, but with a scroll-pattern, runs round the summit. The inside is painted a bright red. The cover is lifted by a small stud of plain wood, now broken and seemingly of no great antiquity.

Nothing is known of the history of this interesting mazer and cover.

## 2. HARBLEDOWN HOSPITAL, KENT.

Diameter of bowl,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches; depth,  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches; height,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch.

The bowl is of maple-wood, polished on the outside, and of slightly darker hue within. It has been repaired in eight places, five of them have the cracks crossed



Fig. 2. Early fourteenth-century mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent (half size).

by a singular series of silver straps on both sides and riveted through. These are apparently the result of some early injury, as the other places are covered by ugly strips of thin silver-gilt.

The band is  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch deep outside, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch inside. It is silver-gilt and perfectly plain.



Fig. 3. Print of a mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent (full size).

The print (fig. 3) is a nearly flat silver-gilt medallion  $3\frac{2}{16}$  inches in diameter, fastened to the bowl by forty-three pins. It bears a representation in *repoussé* work of an incident in the life of the famous Guy of Warwick, when the hero slew a dragon which was pursuing a lion, in consequence of which the lion followed him like a dog everywhere he went. The scene is most graphically described in the MS. Romance of Guy of Warwick, in the Cambridge University Library, printed by the Early-English Text Society<sup>a</sup>:—<sup>b</sup>

Gye sawe, as he dud ryde,  
As he blenchyd hym besyde,  
A lyon come towarde him werelye  
But vnnethe he myght drye.

<sup>a</sup> Extra Series, xxv. p. 110.

<sup>b</sup> MS. Ff. 2. 38.

He brayed faste and gaped wyde :  
He wyste not, where he myzt hym hyde.  
Aftur hym come a dragon,  
That folowde faste the lyon.  
Hys hed was gret and grennyng  
And his eyen, as fyre, brennyng.  
Hys tethe scharpe, his mowþe wyde :  
Hys body was grett and unryde.  
He was grymme and he was felle :  
He went, hyt had be þe deuyll of helle.

. . . . .  
Gye a spere toke in hys honde :  
Fro hys felows he hym wonde.  
He went forthe a gode spede  
To helpe the lyon at that nede.  
When þe dragon sawe Gyowne,  
He came to hym and lefte þe lyone.  
Gye sawe hym come fleande :  
He toke hys spere in hys hande.  
He lokyd, where he myzt do hym skathe,  
And he aspyed hyt sone full rathe.  
Vndur the wynghe he schett þe spere :  
Thorow þe body he dud hym bere.  
Then the dragon felle to grownde  
And dyed in a lytull stownde.  
He drewe hys swerde made of stele  
And smote of hys hedde euery dele.  
He behelde the body on grownde :  
Hyt stanke, as a pyllyd hownde.  
Gye rode to hys men warde :  
The lyon folowed hym full harde.  
He went before Gye pleying  
And wyth hys tayle hym faynyge.

etc.

In the print Sir Guy is sitting on his horse clad in mail armour, with a shield of the Beauchamp arms—a fess between six cross-crosslets—on his left arm, and piercing with a long lance the dragon, a fearful beast lying dead on its back. In front of the horse's head is the lion, playing in front of him like a dog. The background is filled with trees. The ailettes appearing on the knight's shoulders

fix the date as *temp.* Edward II. Round the medallion is the legend in Lombardic capitals :

+ GY DE WARWYD : ADAROVN :  
KHCIOCIIS : LÆ DRAGOVN :

*i. e.* Guy of Warwick is his name  
who here slays the dragon.

This mazer has been mounted on a short foot at some subsequent date, probably *circa* 1430. It is of silver-gilt and of simple design, the only ornament being a very narrow band of four-leaved flowers round the bottom.

Neither band nor foot bear any hall-marks, but for a reason already stated the mazer must date between 1307 and 1327.

Nothing is known of its history.

### 3. HARBLEDOWN HOSPITAL, KENT.

Diameter of bowl,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{5}{16}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{9}{16}$  inches.

The bowl is of maple, which, in this instance, is more streaky than usual, and, to judge from its condition, of a tougher nature, and less liable to crack.

The silver-gilt band is very narrow, measuring only just over  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch outside, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch inside. It is quite plain. One-third of its circumference is broken away and lost.

The print is formed of a large oval crystal, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch long by 1 inch high, enclosed in a simple silver-gilt setting. It stands up from the bottom  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch. This stone is commonly known as Becket's shoe buckle, and the Bishop of Dover tells me it is devoutly regarded as such by some modern Canterbury pilgrims.

At what time it was inserted in the mazer is not known, but this crystal is almost certainly the one alluded to by Erasmus in his amusing *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*. After visiting Canterbury, in describing the journey back to London, he makes Ogygius say:—

“Ad ejus viae laevum latus, est mendicabulum aliquot seniculorum: ab iis procurrit aliquis, simul atque sentiunt advenientem equitem: conspergit aqua sacra, mox offert *calcei summam partem obvinctam aereo circulo, in quo vitrum est gemmae specie*. Exosculati dant nummulum.”<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Des *Erasmii Roterod. Colloquia nunc emendatiora*. Amsterdam. Elzevir. 1662. pp. 381, 382.

Ogygius relates how Gratian, who was riding on his left hand, next to the hospital, had his sprinkling of holy water, which he patiently endured; but when the shoe was held out to him, he asked him what he wanted. To which the man replied:—

“*Calceum esse Sancti Thomae,*”

a statement which much enraged Gratian, who could not see any reason for kissing a man's shoe.

How far the tradition is true one cannot say, but there is no reason why the stone should not originally have had a place on the archbishop's sandal, and thus have come to be considered a relic of the holy martyr St. Thomas.

This mazer has no hall-marks and its date is uncertain, but probably fourteenth century.

#### 4. HARBLEDOWN HOSPITAL, KENT.

Diameter of bowl,  $5\frac{5}{8}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch; height,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and has been repaired by means of thin silver strips in two places.

The band is of silver,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch deep outside, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch inside. It is perfectly plain.

The print is a flat circular piece of silver, quite plain, with the exception of three concentric engraved circles, and is fastened to the bottom of the mazer by no less than fifty-four rivets round the edge, and one in the centre.

This mazer has no hall-marks, and from its plain character is difficult to assign a date to. I see no reason, however, why it should not pertain to the early part of the fourteenth century.

Nothing is known of its history.

#### 5. ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL, CANTERBURY.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches; height,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch; depth,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

The bowl is a very shallow one, of maplewood, repaired in two places by irregular plates of silver-gilt.

The band is of silver-gilt and very narrow, being only  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch deep outside, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch within. It is quite plain, with the exception of an engraved line round its upper edge outside.





Fig. 4. Print of a mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury (full size).

The print (fig. 4) is a flat silver-gilt medallion  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, with a representation in *repoussé* work of the Virgin and Child. The Blessed Virgin is represented crowned, and is sitting on a panelled seat. On either side is a graceful branched plant or tree, filling up the space between the figures and a double circle enclosing the whole. Outside the circles is a narrow interval  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch wide, through which pass thirteen small rivets to secure the print in the mazer. On the underside of the bowl is a thin brass plate fixed beneath the print by four pins.

Date, *circa* 1340.

#### 6. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.<sup>a</sup>

Diameter of bowl, 5 inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{3}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

Maplewood bowl, with silver-gilt band 1 inch in depth inside and outside.



Fig. 5. Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (half size).

This band is quite different from any other known example. It is nearly vertical, and has no moldings except on its upper edge, where there is a small

<sup>a</sup> The Society is indebted to Professor J. H. Middleton, for the drawings of which Figs. 6, 7, and 8 are facsimiles.

beaded and plainly molded member. From this rise three small and beautifully worked strawberry leaves, equidistant from each other, and so fixed on the edge of the band as to prevent the cover tumbling off. No cover, however, now exists.

Instead of a print this mazer has a perfectly unique arrangement (see section, fig. 7). In the bottom is fixed a circular plate of silver-gilt, with six very short projecting points. On this plate stands a hexagonal pillar,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches high, and with a minimum diameter of  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, with molded base and battlemented top. Within the latter is fixed a well-modelled figure of a swan with its neck and head bent over the parapet. In the lowest member of the base are pierced a number of holes, and a hollow tube is fixed inside, open at both ends, so that it is impossible to fill the mazer with wine,

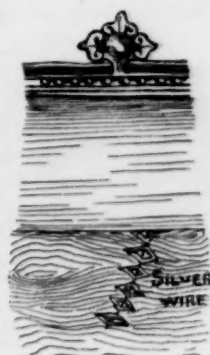


Fig. 6. Part of band of a mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (full size).

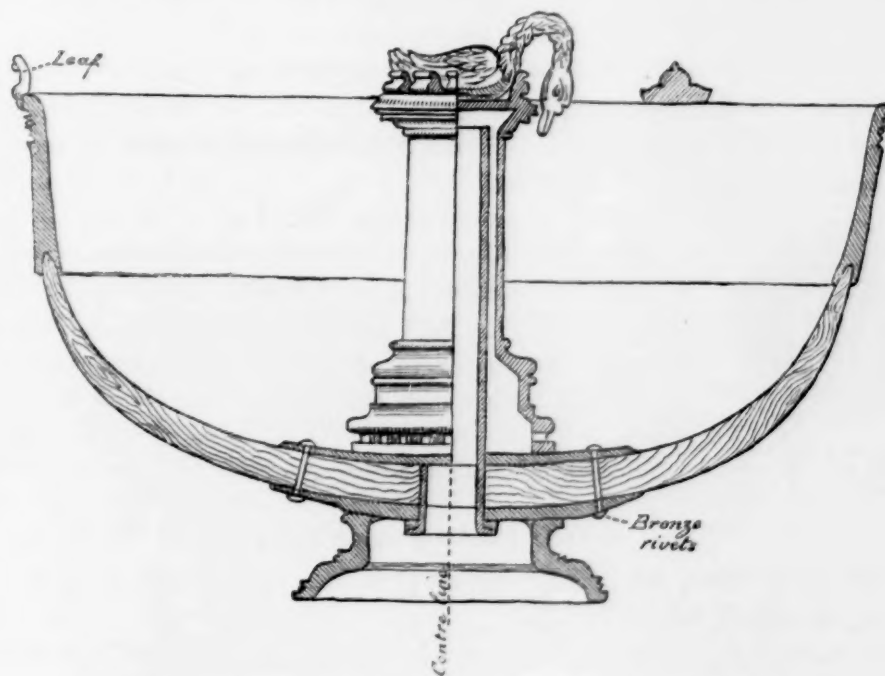
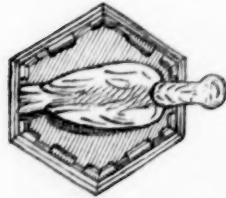


Fig. 7. Sectional elevation of a mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (full size).

as, on reaching within a small distance of the top, the liquor flows up the pillar

down the tube, and escapes through the open end in the bottom of the mazer. The whole is a most beautifully-wrought piece of metal-work.



TOP OF PILLAR

Fig. 8. Plan of top of pillar inside a mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (full size).

Under the bowl is a similar plate to that inside, to which is fixed a short circular foot with egg-and-tongue molding. The foot and plates are Elizabethan additions.

In one part of the bowl a slight injury has been made good by lacing up the crack with fine silver wire. (See fig. 6.)

This beautiful and interesting mazer was given to the college by John Northwode, who was admitted fellow before 1384; it is therefore of late fourteenth century date. It is thus described in an inventory of the college plate, etc., drawn up in the early part of the fifteenth century :

Item unum maser cum coopertorio bene apparatus cum latis ligaturis argenteis in circumferencia et pede cippi et capite coopertorii argenteis bene deauratis et in medio cippi columpna est argenti deaurati super quam sedet s' (*sic*) cygnus deauratus et fit artis expime (*sic*) ista et hec masera fuit M. Jo. Northwode.\*

#### 7. ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL, CANTERBURY.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch.

The bowl is a beautifully mottled one of maple-wood, repaired in one place by a small triangular patch of gilt metal.

The band is, unfortunately, lost.



Fig. 9. Print of a mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury (full size).

The print (fig. 9) is a circular flat button of copper,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, engraved with a large crowned heart inscribed *ih̄c*, the field being covered with a small branched pattern. All the engraved work is filled with enamel, the crown and letters with dull red, the remainder with blue-black.

Date, late fourteenth century.

#### 8. DEAN AND CHAPTER OF YORK.

Diameter of bowl,  $12\frac{5}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{6}$  inches; height,  $4\frac{5}{8}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; height,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

So much of the history of this mazer is recorded on the vessel itself that the history and description must go together.

The bowl is of dark wood, probably maple, with a simple double molding

\* I am indebted to my friend Mr. J. W. Clark, M.A., for transcribing this extract for me.

about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch below the brim. It is cracked in several places, and repaired by two rude and irregular bands—one of silver, the other of silver-gilt—one of which covers a crack extending right across the bowl.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch deep outside and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch inside. It is quite plain, except that round the outer circumference is engraved in black letter the inscription—

✠ Recharde arche beschope scrope grante on to  
all tho that drinkis of this cope xl<sup>n</sup> dayis to  
pardūn Robarte Gybsūn Beschope mosin  
grante In same forme a fore saide xl<sup>n</sup> dayis  
to pardūn Robarte strensall.

The earliest record of this mazer is in the inventory of the jewels, ornaments, etc., of the gild of Corpus Christi at York, dated October 2nd, 1465 :

“unus ciphus magnus de murro, cum ligatura plana ex argento deaurato, qui vero ciphus indulgentialis digno nomine censetur, et hac de causa : Beatae quidam memoriae dominus Ricardus Scrop, quondam archiepiscopus Ebor., vere poenitentibus et confessis qui si de hoc cippo sobrie tamen cum moderamine et non excessive, nec ad voluntatem, mente pura potaverint, quadraginta dies indulgentiae contulit gratiose. Eadem enim murra appret. xls. Quam quidem murrā seu ciphum Agnes Wyman, olim uxor Henrici Wyman, quondam majoris civitatis Ebor., fraternitati Corporis Christi obtulit, quam devote, cujus anima pace requiescat perpetua. Amen.”\*

From the joint evidence of the legend on the band and the entry in the inventory, I am inclined to think that the mazer was originally the property of, if not made by, Henry Wyman, who was an eminent goldsmith of York, and mayor in 1407 and two following years. Richard Scrope was archbishop of York from 1398 to 1405, and the “beschope mosin” is supposed to be Richard Messing, who was bishop of Dromore from 1408 to 1410. As Wyman died in 1411, he could well have obtained the grants of indulgence from both bishops. The two names of Robert Gybson and Robert Strensall have been supposed to be

\* Translation: One great cup of maple-wood with a plain band of silver-gilt, which cup is deemed by a worthy name an indulgence cup, and for this reason: Dan Richard Scrope of blessed memory, formerly archbishop of York, to those truly penitent and confessed who should drink of this cup soberly yet with moderation, and not excessively nor according to the will, (but) with a pure mind, graciously promised forty days of indulgence. The same mazer is valued at 40s. Which same mazer or cup Agnes Wyman, formerly the wife of Henry Wyman, once mayor of the city of York, most devoutly presented to the fraternity of Corpus Christi, whose soul rest in everlasting peace. Amen.

those of two unidentified members of the Corpus Christi gild. I am, however, disposed to think they were two notaries who thus testified the grants of indulgence, as a name follows each grant.

The mazer was doubtless given to the gild by Agnes Wyman after her husband's death. She herself died in 1413, so that the date of the mazer must fall within a very few years of 1400.

The gild of Corpus Christi was dissolved in 1546, at which time the mazer was probably sold. We next find it in the possession of the York Company of Cordwainers, but how or when they obtained it is not known. To them is due the addition of the foot, which is formed of a silver band supported on three cherubs' heads and inscribed

W + WALKER I + FROST + SEARCERS  
1622 + R + B + BEADEL

It also bears the following hall-marks :

- 1 and 2. The maker's, P.P. in a shield, for Peter Pearson.
3. The York mark, a fleur-de-lis dimidiating the leopard's head, in a circle.
4. A capital P in a shield, the York date-letter for 1622-3.

At a still later period, probably because the huge cracks in the wood rendered it very leaky, the bowl was lined with silver; the fact and date being recorded by the inscription :

*Searchers*  
*When this plate was done*  
*being at the Company's Charge*  
*William Penrose*  
*Jacob Lunde*  
*An° Dom 1669.*

Whether the original print was then destroyed or covered over I cannot say; but the tradition was at any rate carried on by a splendid *repoussé* representation of the Cordwainers' arms—a chevron between three goats' heads erased—with a goat's head for a crest, and bold mantling. Below the shield is the date 1669 and the initials R.T. The whole is enclosed within a circular wreath and measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches across. The date is confirmed by the following hall-marks :

1. The maker's, PM in a shield, for Philemon Marsh.
2. The York mark, a fleur-de-lis dimidiating the leopard's head.
3. A script capital M, the York date-letter for 1669-70.

The next item in the mazer's history is recorded by a second inscription, which is not quite accurate in its opening lines :

*This Ancient Bowl,  
The gift of ARCHBISHOP SCROPE  
to the Company of Cordwainers of YORK,  
Anno Dom : 1398,  
With whom it remained till 1808  
When the Company being dissolved,  
it was presented by them  
To WILLIAM HORNBY, Gentleman,  
One of the Sheriffs of the said City  
and  
Head Searcher to the Company,  
As a testimony of their Gratitude & Respect.*

It was given by Mr. Hornby to its present owners, the Dean and Chapter of York.

This mazer has pertaining to it a large black leather case, now lined with red velvet. It is ornamented with brass nails on the top and bottom ; in the latter case the nails being disposed to form the date 1740 with the initials W W and W C above and below respectively.

It is possible that the bowl of this mazer is a restoration of late Elizabethan or Jacobean date.

9. JEFFERY WHITEHEAD, Esq.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; depth,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches ; height,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The bowl of this mazer is of maple-wood, but of unusual depth and thickness. It is also furnished with a short foot.

The band is of copper gilt,  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch deep outside,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch inside, and quite plain. It is engraved with two long scrolls,  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch wide, inscribed in black letter characters :

- (1) + *Wold þowre tunge and sey þe best  
and let þowre neyþore sitte in rest*
- (2) *Woe so lustyþe god<sup>es</sup> plese  
let hys neyþore lyue in ese*



The print consists of a plainly-molded socket of gilt copper,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch in diameter, engraved with the monogram *ihc*.

The foot is part of the bowl, and quite plain. It has almost all perished from decay, but has recently been restored in composition, and protected by a plain silver rim,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter.

This mazer has no hall-marks, the band being copper only. Its date is probably *circa* 1420. It formerly belonged to John Gage Rokewode, Esq. and is described in Mr. Way's edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 328, note 2.

#### 10. MRS. J. W. SMITH, DINSDALE RECTORY, DURHAM.

Diameter of bowl,  $4\frac{9}{16}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{9}{16}$  inch; height,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $3\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch.

The bowl is of nicely-polished maple, now much cracked.

The band is of silver,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch inside. It bears the inscription, lightly engraved on a hatched ground, in good black letter:

✠ In · caritate · perfecta · cōfirmet · nos · trenitas · sc̄a

(May the Holy Trinity confirm us in perfect charity.)

The print is lost.

The foot of this mazer is an addition of Elizabethan times, and closely resembles the foot of the communion cups of the period. It is quite plain, excepting the lowest member, which has a variety of the egg-and-tongue pattern.

Neither band nor foot is hall-marked, but the lettering points to a date *circa* 1430.

This mazer was formerly used in the family of its possessor as a moist-sugar bowl.

#### 11. ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Diameter,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches; depth,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; height,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches; height,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inch; weight of mazer, 19·85 ounces; weight of cover-rim, 5·55 ounces.

The bowl of this most interesting mazer is of maple-wood, now much decayed; a condition which it has evidently been in for a long time, as the lower portion is

lined and cased with thin silver-gilt plates. It is deeper and of more globular form than usual (see fig. 10).



Fig. 10. Mazer, and ring of its cover, at All Souls College, Oxford (half size).

The band is of silver gilt,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch deep outside, and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch inside, and quite plain. It has a twisted cable and feathered fringe fixed on the lower edge.

The print (fig. 11) is a plainly molded boss,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter, inclosing an enamelled plate,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, with a finely executed shield of arms on



Fig. 11. Print from a mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, with arms and initials of Thomas Ballard (full size).

a reddish-brown ground—*sable*, a griffin segreant ermine, over which are the letters T B.

On each side of the shield the ground is diapered with scroll-work.

This mazer also retains the ring of its cover, a stout silver gilt band with an open cresting of small trefoils, now much damaged.

Sir William Anson, bart., warden of All Souls, has kindly sent me the following extract from an inventory of the college *bona et jocalia*, dated November 3, 1448, which proves, what I had already conjectured, that this mazer was the gift of Thomas Ballard:

j murrarn magnam coopertam cum armis T. Ballard' armigeri.

The Thomas Ballard here named, and whose arms and initials are on the mazer-print, was one of the Ballards of Horton, and was sheriff of Kent in 1452. He married Philippa, daughter of Thomas Walsingham of Chiselhurst, and died in 1465. His identity is placed beyond doubt by the names of himself and his wife occurring on a leaf of a service book with a list of benefactors preserved at All Souls college.<sup>a</sup>

#### 12. PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Diameter of bowl, 5 inches; depth, 3 inches; height, 7 inches; diameter of foot,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches.



Fig. 12. Standing mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge<sup>b</sup> (nearly half-size).

<sup>a</sup> *Catalogue of the Archives in the Muniment Rooms of All Souls College (Oxford)*. By C. T. Martin, F.S.A. London, 1877, page 396.

<sup>b</sup> The Society is indebted to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for the loan of this illustration.

The bowl of this fine standing mazer was originally of maple-wood; but, having at some time been broken, it has been replaced by one of silver-gilt.

The band is of silver-gilt, and unusually deep, being  $2\frac{5}{16}$  inches outside. It has plain molded bands and a broad rayed and scalloped fringe, and is inscribed in black letter:

✠ : sayn : denef : þe : ef : me : dere :  
for-her-lof-drenk and mak : gud : cher ∞

The foot, which was originally removable at will, is long and spreading, with a beautiful open cresting encircling it just above the base. This base and cresting were deliberately sawn off about forty years ago, because they were considered to be of later date than the bowl; but have since been replaced. Midway on the stem of the foot is a band inscribed—

god help atned

above which is rudely scratched the letters **bm**, for "Valence Mary."<sup>a</sup>

The print stands up higher than usual. It is a silver-gilt boss,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch in diameter, engraved somewhat rudely with a letter **m** between two sprigs, once enamelled, though no traces now remain.

In an inventory dated 1491, in the College Register, is an added entry recording the gift of two great salts by Richard Sokborn, fellow, to which has been added the following further entry referring to the standing mazer:

Item una murra argentea cum scriptura circumiente GOD HELP AT NED et cum coopertorio ligneo pilam argenteam et deauratam in summitate habente.

Item 13 coclearia argentea deaurata cum calamis cacuminatis in modum turris. Ex dono praefati doctoris Sokborn.<sup>b</sup>

It appears from this that the mazer had a wooden cover surmounted by a silver-gilt knob. This is now lost, but was in existence in 1546:

Item pecia stans cum coopertorio ligneo X my ladies cup.

The Richard Sokborn who probably gave this mazer to the college was elected fellow in 1470, and vacated in 1478. He died at Soham in 1502.<sup>c</sup> The mazer is not much earlier than his time. Its date is probably *circa* 1460.

<sup>a</sup> The foundress of the college was Mary de St. Paul, widow of Aymer de Valence.

<sup>b</sup> Quoted by Rev. J. J. Smith, in his *Specimens of College Plate*, *Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 4to. 1845. Mr. Smith also gives a plate of the mazer in its mutilated condition.

<sup>c</sup> I am indebted to the Rev. C. E. Searle, D.D. Master of Pembroke, for this information.

## 13. ST. PETROCK'S CHURCH, EXETER, DEVON.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{3}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

The bowl is, with the exception of one crack, in perfect condition, and a good specimen of maple-wood.

The silver-gilt band has the usual quatrefoil belts and fringe, but is otherwise plain. It is  $1\frac{7}{16}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch inside.

The print is a circular plainly-molded boss,  $2\frac{5}{16}$  inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate engraved with a small blank shield in the centre, circumscribed:

*A gift to the Parish of St. Petrock.*

Possibly the original plate was replaced by this in the reign of Elizabeth, on account of its bearing a figure of a saint, or some "superstitious" device. No hall-marks. Date 1480-90.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer, but it was given to the church between 1661 and 1698, in an inventory of which latter year it is described as "One shell with a large silver Bind double gilt."\* Until a short time ago the outside of the bowl was thickly covered with varnish, and the inside lined with red velvet. At my suggestion both have been removed, much to the improvement of the mazer.

## 14. CAPTAIN VYNER.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inch; height,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; weight, 6.15 ounces.

The bowl is a good specimen of the speckled maple, and quite perfect.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch inside. It has the usual minute belts of four-leaved flowers above and below, with the characteristic rayed fringe, but is otherwise plain.

The print is silver-gilt,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, and consists of a plainly-molded boss enclosing a small silver plate with a five-petalled flower enamelled red and green.

No hall-marks. Date, *circa* 1480-90.

\* I am indebted to our Fellow Mr. Robert Dymond for this information.

15. ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Diameter, 6 inches; depth, 2 inches; height,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches; weight, 5.25 ounces.

The bowl is of maple and quite perfect. It has a silver-gilt band,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{3}{16}$  inside. With the exception of the usual belts and fringe, this is quite plain. The belts are filled with small roundels, instead of the more common four-leaved flowers.

The silver-gilt print is a plainly-molded raised boss,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, enclosing a plate engraved with **ih̄c** surrounded by a glory of sixteen major and sixteen minor rays, on a field of dark blue enamel.

There are no hall-marks.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.

16. CLYNNOG CHURCH, CARNARVONSHIRE.

Diameter, 5 inches; depth, 2 inches.

The bowl of this mazer is of dark maple-wood and quite plain.

The band is of the usual late form, and measures  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in depth outside, and 1 inch inside. It is of silver-gilt, with characteristic belts of four-leaved flowers and rayed fringe, and bears the following inscription in black letter:—

**ih̄c nazarenus rex iudeorum  
fili dei miserere mei**

with leaves and foliage for stops.

The print is of silver-gilt, and consists of a plainly-molded boss  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch in diameter, enclosing a silver plate  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, engraved with a number of flowers, originally enamelled.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer. It is and always has been, as far as memory goes, used for collecting the offertory at celebrations of the Holy Communion.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.



## 17. FAIRFORD CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Diameter,  $5\frac{1}{8}$  inches ; depth, 2 inches ; height,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; weight, 5·15 ounces.



Fig. 13. Print of a mazer (with section) at Fairford church, Gloucestershire (full size).

The bowl is of some light-coloured hard wood, seemingly beech, much thicker than usual, and perhaps a restoration.

The silver-gilt band is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inch inside. It is quite plain, with the usual belts and fringe.

The print (fig. 13) is a silver-gilt plainly-molded raised boss,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, with a depressed top, in which is fixed an oval crystal (cracked right across)  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch long. This mazer was therefore probably regarded as a so-called "poison cup."

Nothing is known of its history.

There are no hall-marks.

Date, *circa* 1480-90.

18. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, COLCHESTER, ESSEX.<sup>a</sup>

Diameter,  $6\frac{9}{16}$  inches ; depth,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches ; height,  $2\frac{9}{16}$  inches.



Fig. 14. Print of a mazer at Holy Trinity church, Colchester (full size).

The bowl is of maple and almost perfect.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inch inside. It has an upper and lower belt of small quatrefoils, with an inferior rayed fringe, and bears the legend in black letter :



**Jaspar · fert · myrram (ivy sprig) tus ·  
melchior (trefoil sprig) baltazar · aurum  
(rose sprig).**

This is therefore an example of what is known as a "Three Kings" cup.

<sup>a</sup> A plate of this mazer is given in *Trans. of Essex Archaeol. Soc.* iii. Part I. page 76.

The print (fig. 14) is an admirable specimen, with good moldings, and engraved in the centre with the monogram *ih̄s*.

Date, circa 1480-90.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer, but it is probably the same as that bearing the same legend engraved in *Gent. Mag.* for 1791, p. 417, where it is anonymously described, and no clue given as to its whereabouts. It is there said to have been found near Crediton, Devon.<sup>a</sup>

#### 19. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Diameter of bowl,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch; height,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches.

Maple-wood bowl, with silver-gilt band,  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch within. The band is of the usual late form, with the moldings studded with square four-leaved flowers. It has a rayed fringe, and is inscribed with the names of the Three Kings:

**Jaspar melchior balthasar**

with beautiful open crowns, between a pair of long-pointed leaves, for stops.

The print (fig. 15) is  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch in diameter, consisting of a plainly-molded silver-gilt socket, with narrow invected fringe, enclosing a small silver-gilt plate  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch in diameter, engraved with a squirrel sitting on the back of a fish, seemingly a pike or luce; the whole being covered with translucent green enamel.<sup>b</sup>

Underneath the bowl is fixed a silver-gilt circular plate with rayed fringe, on which is a short silver socket-piece with three flanges. This fits into the upper part of a beautifully wrought foot in such a manner that a short turn converts the mazer into a standing cup, the foot being removable at pleasure.

This foot is  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, and is formed of six rounded lobes, starting from a cable-band, and gradually increasing in diameter as they descend the spread with a spiral twist. The lower



Fig. 15. Print of a mazer at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge (full size).

<sup>a</sup> It is also said to have been found on or near the site of Wolmerstone chapel, Devon, and now in the possession of the Hamlyn family. *Trans. of the Exeter Dioc. Arch. Soc.* v. 19.

<sup>b</sup> The print is engraved in Smith's *Specimens of College Plate*, p. 14, where a plate is also given of the mazer.

member is quite plain, with an ogee section. The junction of the two parts is covered by a beautifully wrought open cresting of small Tudor flowers, resting on a molded and beaded band.

It is most unfortunate that this beautiful standing mazer is not hall-marked. Its date appears to be *circa* 1490.

20. A. W. FRANKS, ESQ.

Diameter,  $5\frac{3}{16}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and quite perfect.

It has a silver-gilt band,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch within, with the usual belts of four-leaved flowers and a rayed fringe.

On the band is inscribed in black letter:

**Potum** (two ivy leaves) **et** (two ivy leaves) **nos** (two ivy leaves and berries) **benedicat** (two ivy leaves and berries) **agynos** (three ivy leaves and berries).

(*May the Holy One bless us and our drink.*)

The use of the Greek word is unusual.

The print is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, plainly molded, with a minute beaded ring, enclosing a silver plate, 1 inch in diameter, with enamelled flowers.

This mazer is well engraved and described in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. viii. page 370.

Date, *circa* 1490.

21. ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Diameter,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches; height, 3 inches; weight, 11.35 ounces.

The bowl is quite perfect, and of maple-wood.

The band is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inch inside. It bears the inscription in black letter:

✠ **Vir · racione** (leaf) **bibas** (two flowers) **non**  
(flower) **quod** (leaf) **petit · atra** (monster) **uoluptas**  
(wreathed head) **Sic** (leaf) **caro** (leaf) **casta** (four-  
leaved flower) **datur** (flower) **lis · lingue** (leaf)  
**suppeditatur.**<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> My friend Mr. W. B. Pulling, M.A. thus renders this into English:

Man, in thy draughts let reason be thy guide  
And not the craving of perverted lust,  
So honest nourishment will be supplied,  
And strife of tongue be trampled in the dust.

Above the legend is the usual small belt of four-leaved flowers, and below it another of minute roundels, with the characteristic fringe.



Fig. 16. Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford <sup>a</sup> (about two-thirds full size).

The print (Plate XIII. No. 2) is of silver-gilt. It consists of a plainly-molded boss, rising from a rayed and scalloped circle,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter, and enclosing a silver plate,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, with a circlet of flowers enamelled pink and blue.

The mazer now stands on a silver-gilt ring foot,  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch deep, ornamented with rays and a beaded circle. From its appearance, this is a comparatively modern addition, but it may replace an older one.

There are no hall-marks on this mazer. It is said to have been given to the college by John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, who died in 1476.

22. S. E. SHIRLEY, Esq.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, but has unfortunately been varnished. It is quite plain.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch within, and of

<sup>a</sup> The Society is indebted to Mr. John Murray, F.S.A. for the loan of this illustration.

the characteristic late form, with molded belts above and below, each studded with a band of small roundels arranged in three rows. It has a rayed fringe.

It bears the following inscription in beautifully-engraved black letter on a hatched ground, with elegant sprigs of foliage for stops:

**ƿn (sprig) the (sprig) name (sprig) of (sprig) the  
(sprig) tirnite<sup>a</sup> ◊ fille (sprig) the (sprig) kup ◊ and  
(sprig) drink ◊ to ◊ me ◊**

The original print has been lost, and replaced by a plain, flat plate of silver-gilt,  $2\frac{8}{16}$  inches in diameter, seemingly of late sixteenth century date.

The date of this mazer is probably *circa* 1490. It is engraved in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*,<sup>b</sup> and also by Mr. Wilfred Cripps in his *Old English Plate*, but in both cases the inscription is incorrectly given.

### 23. THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF IRONMONGERS, LONDON.

Diameter,  $6\frac{3}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches; weight, 6·4 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood, with one crack.



Fig. 17. Mazer in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers<sup>c</sup>  
(half size).

The band is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch deep outside, and 1 inch within, with plain moldings and fringe. It is inscribed in black letter:

**✠ Ave maria<sup>d</sup> gea plena dñs  
tecum bñdicta tu ī mulierib; ⁊  
benedictus fructus**

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. ii. p. 62. Oxford, 1853.

<sup>c</sup> The Society is indebted to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for the loan of this illustration.

<sup>d</sup> Sic.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 1) is a silver-gilt boss, on a rayed plate,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, and encloses a silver plate,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, with the Company's arms, enamelled in proper colours: *Argent, on a chevron gules between three gads of steel azure, three swivels or.* The shield is on a green quatrefoil with black spandrils. These arms were granted to the Ironmongers' Company in 1455.

Date, *circa* 1500.

24. THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF IRONMONGERS, LONDON.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches; weight, 7.63 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood, but a modern restoration. It has a silver-gilt band,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch within, with the usual belts of four-leaved flowers, and a rayed fringe. It is otherwise plain.

The print is a plainly-molded silver-gilt boss, set in a rayed and fringed plate,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter, and enclosing a silver plate,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inch in diameter, enamelled with the Company's arms, similar to the last-described mazer.

No hall-marks. Date, *circa* 1500.

25. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Diameter of bowl,  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

Maple-wood bowl, with characteristic late band of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch within.

The band has the usual moldings set with four-leaved flowers, and a rayed fringe, but no inscription or hall-marks.

There is no print, and it is quite clear there never was one.

Date, *circa* 1500.

26. ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches; weight, 9 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood, somewhat worm-eaten.

The band is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{9}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch inside. It has the usual belts of small four-leaved flowers and rayed fringe, but is otherwise plain.



The print is unfortunately represented by its lowest member only, a circular silver-gilt plate with rayed edge,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter, from the centre of which rises a stout iron pin tipped with lead, to which was fixed the plate originally inside the lost boss. Mutilated as it is, what remains of this print is interesting as showing the mode of construction of the later raised examples.

The pin in the centre of the print passes right through the bowl, and is much longer than usual. Adding to this the fact that the bottom of the bowl has a thick rough coating of cement of some kind, it appears that there was once a foot, constituting the vessel a "standing mazer."

There are no hall-marks.

Date, *circa* 1500.

#### 27. SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

Diameter,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and, as usual, quite plain.

The band is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch within, with the characteristic moldings and belts of four-leaved flowers, and a rayed and scalloped fringe.

The print is of silver-gilt,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter, with a rayed base-plate. The small silver plate in the top is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, and is engraved with the Holy Trinity, and enamelled. Around this, on the enclosing ring, is inscribed—

**robert chalker ꝥhesus**

I have not been able to ascertain who Robert Chalker was.

The date of this mazer is *circa* 1500.

Under the bowl has been cut—

P ✻ P  
T 1578 R

#### 28. ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, GOLDSMITH STREET, EXETER.

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The mazer which this church is fortunate enough to possess is a good example of its class, though it presents no especial features. It has a maple-wood bowl, now varnished, surmounted by a silver-gilt band,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inch deep outside and

$1\frac{3}{8}$  inch inside, with characteristic moldings set with small four-leaved flowers, and a rayed and scalloped fringe. The print is a silver-gilt boss with rayed and scalloped fringe,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate engraved with a five-leaved flower within a wreath of smaller flowers and leaves, all once enamelled.

This mazer was presented to the church in 1843 by Mr. W. R. Sobey. Of its previous history nothing is known. It has no hall-marks, but is probably of a date *circa* 1510.

29. KING EDWARD VI.'S ALMSHOUSES, SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX.

Diameter,  $7\frac{5}{8}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch; height,  $2\frac{3}{16}$  inches; weight, 9 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood and cracked in two places. The interior appears to have been varnished.

The band is a perfectly plain one of silver-gilt,  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch deep outside, and  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch inside. It has three hall-marks:

- (1.) The maker's, the head of a female saint;
- (2.) The leopard's head in a circular stamp;
- (3.) A small old-English **k**, the London date-letter for 1507-8.

These appear to be the same marks as those on a chalice and paten at West Drayton.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 3) is a circular plate of silver-gilt,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter, engraved with the Blessed Virgin and Child in a glory of long rays. It is secured to the bowl by an iron nail driven through the middle.

From the fact of this clumsy fastening and the existence of a large patch of cement under the bowl, I am inclined to think this mazer originally possessed a foot, now lost.

Of its history nothing certain is known, but one interesting item occurs in the famous Diary of Samuel Pepys. On the 27th February, 1659-60, he visited Saffron Walden and Audley End, and he says:

"In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained; a very old foundation; . . . . . They brought me a draft of their drink in a brown bowl tipt with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin and the child in her arms, done in silver."

There can be no doubt, therefore, that this mazer is the bowl Pepys drank from. It was at the almshouses in 1524, for an inventory of that date records as "In the Botre. a masyr w<sup>t</sup> sylver and gylt." Of late years the bowl has been used for the Governors to drink out of at the annual election and on some other occasions; the custom being that each person drinking out of it gave a shilling to the town crier who handed it round. It was so used quite recently, but being found leaky the practice has been discontinued. It is now used as a ballot dish and for dispensing certain money doles to the inmates of the almshouses.

### 30. WHITGIFT'S HOSPITAL, CROYDON.

Diameter,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches; weight 8·97 ounces.

The bowl of this mazer is of maple-wood and has recently been repaired and hardened by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch within, of the usual late form, with belts of four-leaved flowers and a rayed fringe. It bears the following hall-marks:

- (1.) The maker's,  $\times$  (stamped in);
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned, in a circle;
- (3.) A small black-letter **I**, the London date-letter for 1508-9.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 4) is a silver-gilt boss 3 inches in diameter, with a fringe of short rays, enclosing a silver plate 1 inch in diameter engraved with flowers, once enamelled.

### 31. A. W. FRANKS, ESQ.

Diameter,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The bowl of this mazer is of maple-wood, but a modern restoration.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch within, of the usual late form, with belts studded with four-leaved flowers and a rayed and scalloped fringe. It bears the following hall-marks:

- (1.) A small black-letter **n**, the London date-letter for 1510-11;
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned;
- (3.) The maker's, a hind's or ram's head.

The print is a silver-gilt boss  $2\frac{3}{16}$  inches in diameter, enclosing a small silver plate engraved with flowers, originally enamelled.

32. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Diameter of bowl,  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches; depth,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch.

Maple-wood bowl with silver-gilt band  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch deep outside and 1 inch within.

The band is of characteristic late form, with plain moldings and rayed fringe on its lower edge; but the lower band of moldings has a hollow member studded at short intervals with small balls.<sup>a</sup>

In the bottom is the usual print; in this case a somewhat rudely-made silver-gilt socket with rayed plate beneath,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches in diameter, enclosing a silver plate  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, engraved with a five-leaved flower with surrounding sprigs, enamelled red and green.

On the band are these hall-marks:

- (1.) The leopard's head crowned;
- (2.) A Lombardic D, the London date-letter for 1521-2;
- (3.) The maker's mark—apparently a ragged staff.

33. EPWORTH CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

Diameter,  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; height 3 inches; weight, 15·9 ounces.

The bowl of this exceptionally fine mazer is of maple-wood, but much decayed and injured. It has recently been hardened and repaired by Mr. Ready, who, in cleaning off the varnish and dirt with which it was covered, laid bare the marks of six metal attachments just below the edge of the band. These may have had some connection with a foot to the mazer of which no other traces remain.

The band is an unusually broad one of silver with traces of gilding. It is  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches deep outside and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches inside, and quite plain, with the exception of an upper and lower band of moldings set with minute four-leaved flowers. It has also a rayed fringe on the lower edge.

The print (Plate XIII. No. 5) consists of a plainly molded boss of silver, once gilt, with broad rayed fringe 3 inches in diameter, enclosing a plate  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch across, engraved with figures of St. John Baptist and St. Andrew—the latter being the saint in whose honour Epworth church is dedicated. The field bears traces of enamel.

There are no hall-marks, but the date of this mazer is *circa* 1525.

<sup>a</sup> See the description further on of Mr. Braikenridge's mazer, which has a similar ornament on the band.

## 34. ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Diameter,  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; height of foot,  $3\frac{2}{3}$  inches.

The bowl is of maple-wood, and quite perfect.

The band is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch within, and of the usual form, but with reeded belts above and below; the latter is surmounted by a cable, and has a rayed fringe underneath.



Fig. 18. Standing mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, 1529-30<sup>a</sup> (half-size).

The print, which was  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, is lost, and only the pins remain.

The foot is of silver-gilt. It consists of a short gadrooned stem, with a sort of reeded capital, and a double base, the upper gadrooned, the lower plain, with a beautiful open floral cresting, with a reeded band below, which in turn rises out of a cable.

Under the foot is scratched, "R. Douenden Custos 1571."

The band and foot bear the following hall-marks:

- (1.) The maker's, a cross between I C, in a shield;<sup>b</sup>
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned, in a circle;
- (3.) A Lombardic M, the London date-letter for 1529-30.

<sup>a</sup> The Society is indebted to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, for the loan of this illustration.

<sup>b</sup> The same maker's mark occurs on a spare cover of a cup at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1531-2.

35. ST. GILES' CHURCH, CRIPPLEGATE, LONDON.

Diameter,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches; height of foot,  $1\frac{5}{16}$  inch; diameter of foot,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches.

The maple-wood bowl is perfect.

The band is copper-gilt, with reeded moldings and rayed fringe, and of the usual late form.

The print is a copper-gilt boss, 2 inches in diameter, with a fringe of short rays, enclosing a plate  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, engraved with a merchant's mark (fig. 19).

To this interesting mazer a silver-gilt foot has been added. It consists of a vertical piece with a beautiful *repoussé* band of foliage, inscribed above :

\* IHON · BVRDE · MEAD · THIS · IN · ANNO DOMINE 1568.



Fig. 19. Merchant's mark on print of a mazer at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, London (full-size).

The base has a lightly-engraved band of birds and beasts, and a lozenge with the initials I.B.

The date of this mazer is *circa* 1530, and of its foot 1568.

36. A. W. FRANKS, ESQ.\*

Diameter,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches; height,  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches; weight, 9·8 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood; and, with the exception of one slight crack, quite perfect.

The band is silver-gilt, of the usual form, with plain moldings and rayed fringe. It is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch deep outside, and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch inside, and more vertical than those of its class. It is inscribed in Gothic lettering :

MISEREMINI MEI MISEREMINI MEI SALTEM VOS AMICI.

(At least have pity on me, have pity on me, O ye my friends. Job xix. 21.)

The print is a silver-gilt boss with short-rayed fringe,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, with a domed centre, engraved with two Lombardic A's conjoined, between four quatrefoils.

Date, *circa* 1530.

\* Engraved in Cripps' *Old English Plate*. 3rd edition, p. 212.



## 37. A. W. FRANKS, Esq.

Diameter, 7 inches; height,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches; weight, 8.5 ounces.

The bowl is of maple-wood. In one place it has a small silver-gilt strap covering a defect, and bearing part of an inscription, IEHVS.

The band is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch inside, and has simple moldings round the top and bottom, with the usual rayed and scalloped fringe on the lower edge. It bears the following inscription in Gothic lettering on a hatched ground:

+ CIPHVS ♦ REFECTORII ♦ ROFENSIS ♦ PERFRATREM ♦  
ROBERTVM ♦ PECHAM.

The print is of silver-gilt,  $2\frac{5}{16}$  inches in diameter, and consists of a plainly-molded boss with rayed and scalloped edge, enclosing a small plate  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, with an engraved and enamelled figure of St. Benedict with his crosier and book, standing between two plants.\* His identification is put beyond doubt by the addition of his name: S. BENIT.

The band and print of this mazer bear the following hall-marks:

- (1.) The maker's, an open hand;
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned (in a circle);
- (3.) A Lombardic P, the London date-letter for 1532-3.

This mazer, as its inscription tells us, was originally one of the drinking bowls in the frater of the Benedictine priory at Rochester. How it survived the suppression of the priory is not known, but it eventually found its way into the Fontaine collection at Narford Hall, Norfolk. At the sale of this collection in June 1884, it was sold for 252*l.*, and became the property of its present owner.

Robert Peckham was a monk of Rochester, and his name is appended to the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy in the Public Record Office, executed by the prior and convent in 1534.

This mazer is engraved in *Archaeologia*, xxiii. 392, and a portion of the band in Cripps' *Old English Plate*, 3rd edition, p. 211.

\* Perhaps meant for herb-bennet.

38. W. JERDONE BRAIKENRIDGE, Esq.

Diameter,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height of foot,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The bowl of this beautiful mazer is of maple, and, with one small exception, quite perfect.



Fig. 20. Mazer, with inverted tazza for a foot, in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq.<sup>a</sup> (About one-third full size.)

The band is a very fine specimen. It is silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch inside, and bears the following inscription in Gothic letters :

‡ BE (lozenge) YOW (flower) MERE (ape) AND (pig sejant)  
GLADE (hare or dog) AND (flower) SOO (hart lodged) THE  
(man sitting, holding a staff and blowing a horn) MASTERS  
(flower) TOKERYYS (hart at speed) DO (fruit) BYED  
(flower).

Above the inscription is a belt of lozenge diaper, and below it a cavetto studded with small balls, about  $\frac{2}{3}$  inch apart, with a cable above and a scalloped and rayed fringe below.

<sup>a</sup> The Society is indebted to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for the loan of this illustration.

An engraving of a portion of the band with the hall-marks is here given (full size) with a section :



Fig. 21. Portion of the band (with section) of a mazer in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. (full size).

The print (Plate XIII. No. 6) consists of a circular boss of silver, enclosing within a cable molding a silver plate,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter, once enamelled, bearing a merchant's mark with foliage round. The boss stands on a broad rayed fringe, the whole being 3 inches in diameter, standing up  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch from the bottom of the bowl.

Nothing is known of the history of this mazer.

Its date is fortunately fixed by the following hall-marks on the band :

- (1.) The maker's, a sort of double-headed pheon ;
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned ;
- (3.) A Lombardic R, the London date-letter for 1534-5.

This mazer has for a foot a fine Elizabethan tazza inverted. Were the five small pins taken out by which it is attached to the mazer, both pieces would be restored to their proper condition. This should not be delayed, as the stem of the tazza has already been crushed in through the weight of the mazer when repeatedly set down roughly.

On the outer edge of the tazza is the inscription :

Non donum Sed donatorem 16 I E 21

and the following hall-marks :

- (1.) The maker's, illegible ;
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned ;
- (3.) The lion passant guardant ;
- (4.) Apparently a small black-letter *r*, the London date-letter for 1560-1.

39. ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL, CANTERBURY.

Diameter,  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height,  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch; depth,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch.

The bowl is of maple-wood, repaired in two places, and badly cracked in a third.

The band is lost.

The print is a thin plate of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, slightly bossed up in the centre, and poorly engraved with a rose on a hatched ground. Part of one side has been broken away. The plate is now fastened down by six rivets around one-half of its circumference only.

The date of this mazer, in the absence of the band and hall-marks, is difficult to determine. The bowl has an early look about it, but the print, which may not be the original one, is clearly of sixteenth-century date, and perhaps Elizabethan.

40. THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF ARMOURERS AND BRAZIERS, LONDON.

Diameter,  $11\frac{1}{8}$  inches; depth,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches; height, 6 inches; diameter of foot,  $6\frac{1}{8}$  inches; height of foot,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch.

The bowl is modern, and was made in place of the old one a few years ago.

The band is silver-gilt,  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch deep outside, continued inside to form a lining to the bowl, and inscribed—

+ EVERERD § FRERE<sup>a</sup> § GAVE § THIS § MASER § GARNISHT  
: T: 13 : ONCES C : O: 1579 E  
§ W § SILVER § W § WAS § NEW § GARNISHED § AN § FOR § Y §  
POOR § ROGER § TINDEL φ <sup>R</sup> M φ R φ LOKSON φ I φ PASFILD φ  
: THE : KING :  
WARDENS φ FEARE § GOD § AND § HONOV<sup>R</sup>

Inside the bowl are three subjects with intermediate scrolls.

The first is a spirited representation of St. George and the Dragon. From the saint's mouth issues a scroll inscribed : PVT : ON : ALL : THE : ARMOR : OF :: GOD :

Then come two scrolls, one over the other, severally inscribed SOLI : DEO HONOR ET : GLORIA and THE : GIRDEL : OF :: TRVTHE

<sup>a</sup> Everard Frere was Master of the Company, 1460-83.

The second subject is a shield bearing on a chevron a clenched gauntlet between two pairs of swords in saltire, and on a chief a plain cross on a roundel, between two helmets close; surmounted by a helm with elaborate mantling, and the crest—a demi-man in armour holding a dagger. Above is the motto MAKE : ALL : SVRE.

Two more scrolls follow, severally inscribed THE : SWORD : OF : THE : SPIRIT and : THE : SHEELD : OF : FAITH.

The third subject is a St. George's cross within a wreath of ribbons, followed by two more scrolls inscribed THE : BRESTE : PLATE : OF : RIGHT-EOVSNES and THE : HAVLMET : OF : SALVATION, and outside this last scroll :: EPHE :: VI ::

In the bottom is the print of the original mazer, a plainly molded boss with a rayed fringe  $3\frac{2}{8}$  inches in diameter. The engraved or enamelled plate at the top has been lost, and replaced by a plain piece of metal.

The lining bears the following hall-marks:

- (1.) The maker's, G surmounted by P, in a shaped shield;
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned;
- (3.) The lion passant gardant;
- (4.) A Roman capital A in a plain shield, being the London date-letter for 1578-9.

The foot is a splendid piece of Elizabethan work. It consists of three rich bands rising from a nearly flat plate, inscribed:

‡ I ♦ FOSTER ♦ W ♦ WILLIAMSON ♦ R ♦  
SHOWIN ♦ WARDENS ♦ OF ♦ THE ♦ YEMANRIE

The band and foot are connected by four fine straps, engraved with arabesque foliage, etc., and severally inscribed ECCE QVAM BONVM, ET ♦ QVAM ♦ IOCVN-DVM, HABITARE, FRATRES ♦ IN ♦ VNVM PSALM CXXXIII.

Both straps and foot bear the same hall-marks as the band and lining.

The history of this mazer is as follows:—It was given to the Company by Everard Frere, while Master, sometime between 1460 and 1483, but, perhaps on account of an injury, was "new garnished" in 1579, by lining it with metal and adding a foot and connecting straps. The old band was replaced by a new one forming an edge to the lining, which cost 12*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.* Owing to the recent substitution of a new bowl for the original, the only part remaining of Everard Frere's mazer is the mutilated print.

41. REV. H. F. ST. JOHN.

Diameter, 7 inches; depth,  $3\frac{3}{8}$  inches; height,  $4\frac{7}{16}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $3\frac{1}{8}$  inches.

This is a remarkable fine specimen of a late mazer with some curious features.



Fig. 22. Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John (half size).

The bowl is of maple and of considerable thickness, with a real foot of its own. The upper part is vertical, with a simple double molding about 2 inches below the lip, where the under curved portion begins.

The band is of silver, 1 inch deep inside and outside. The inside is plain, but the outside is richly ornamented in a style quite different from what is usually found on mazers, but yet in a manner characteristic of its date. This is effected by dividing it longitudinally by a twisted cable, with a series of Elizabethan interlacing straps above and below, similar to those seen on church-plate. The upper strap has the loops filled with triple rows of hyphens, the lower with the woodbine pattern. On each side of the mazer is a substantial silver ring handle  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter affixed to the band.

The wooden foot is garnished with a silver mount. This consists of a flat ring with the egg-and-tongue pattern, above which is a vertical reeded portion with a cresting of triple-tongued pieces bent over on to the foot. The band and foot are connected by four reeded straps, half an inch wide, with invected edges. It would be interesting to ascertain the meaning of these straps. They certainly



are not necessary constructively, and they do not occur on earlier mazers. They may be derived from the mounting of the more fragile cups so common in Elizabethan days, formed out of cocoanut shells or ostrich eggs.

Both the band and foot of this mazer are hall-marked :

- (1.) The maker's mark, a nondescript fleur-de-lis formed of dots and drops;
- (2.) The leopard's head crowned;
- (3.) The lion passant gardant;
- (4.) A Roman capital H in a plain shield, the London date-letter for 1585-6.



Fig. 23. Print of a mazer (1585-6) in the possession of Rev. H. F. St. John (full size).

The print (fig. 23) is a plain silver boss with an encircling cable, enclosing the following armorial bearings within an engraved circle :

*(Arg.) fretty (az.) and on a canton (or) a lion rampant (sa.) with a mullet for difference in the fess point; surmounted by a squire's helmet and mantling, with a cock (or), wattled (gu.), for a crest.*

These are the arms and crest of the family of Cotes of Aylestone, co. Leic,<sup>a</sup> but it is uncertain to whom this mazer belonged. It subsequently became the property of Dr. Stukeley, from whom it descended to its present owner.

#### 42. H. SYER CUMING, ESQ.

Diameter,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; depth,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches; height,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; diameter of foot,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

This is a perfectly plain standing mazer of maple-wood, in the form of a cup on a short foot. It had a narrow silver band with scalloped edge, now lost, but no print.

It is an interesting example of a late survival of the favourite maple-wood drinking bowls.

Date, *circa* 1600.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*, iv. 35.

<sup>b</sup> See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xi. 355.

43, 44, and 45. ST. NICHOLAS HOSPITAL, HARBLEDOWN, KENT.

In addition to the four mazers already described there are preserved at this hospital three other bowls of maple-wood.

Their dimensions are :

- (1.) Diameter,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; depth,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.
- (2.) „ 7 inches ; „  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches.
- (3.) „  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches ; „  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch.

They are perfectly plain bowls without bands or prints, or any marks of them.

In the absence of metal-work or other distinctive ornament, it is difficult to assign a date to these bowls ; their shallowness is indicative of an early rather than a late date, and they may be as old as the fourteenth century.

P.S.—Since the above was in type another mazer has come to light.

46. JEFFERY WHITEHEAD, ESQ.

Diameter,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; depth,  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

The bowl of this fine mazer is, as usual, of maple-wood, but much worm-eaten, though otherwise perfect.

The band is of silver-gilt,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inch deep outside and  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inch within. It has the usual late belts above and below, studded with groups of five pellets, with a rayed and scalloped fringe, but is otherwise plain.

The print is a silver-gilt ring,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inch in diameter, with molded edge, enclosing a silver plate,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, engraved with the figure of Our Lady and Child. The Blessed Virgin is represented crowned, and sitting on a seat with buttressed side-shafts. The field is engraved with branched work, originally covered with translucent enamel, though no traces now remain.

The date of this mazer is probably *circa* 1510. It was recently purchased in Hull, and belonged to a Mrs. Lambert, a descendant of Cromwell's general of that name. It came into the Lambert family through a marriage with a Fearon.

There is an early fifteenth century mazer with English inscription on the band, and an ornate Elizabethan foot, in the possession of the Hon. Mrs. Meynell Ingram, but I have not been able to examine it.

## APPENDIX.

1295. London, St. Paul's cathedral church.<sup>a</sup>ciphus de mazerō qui fuit S. Erkenwaldi. (Bp. of London 675—*circa* 685.)

ciphus de Aunserne magnus de mazerō, cum basso pede et circulo argenteo.

cupa magna de mazerō, ornata pede alto duobus circulis et pomellis argenteis deauratis  
de dono Hervei de Borham Decani (1274-6).

## 1299. Wardrobe accounts of Edward I.

unus mazerus cum coop' cum pede et pomello argenti.

1311. Finchale priory, Durham.<sup>b</sup>

j mazer cum pede argenteo.

1315. Canterbury, Christchurch priory.<sup>c</sup>*Cuppe de Murro.*

Cuppa Sancti Thome. intra argent' et deaur' cum pede operato.

It' cuppa sine pede intra argent' et deaur'. cum cristallo super pomellum.

It' Cooperculum Cuppe argent' et deaur'. cum pomell' argent' et deaur'.

It' vetus Ciphus de murro fractus et correptus cum curto pede argent'.

It' ij. Cippi parvi de murro veteres sine pedibus circulis et castonibus.

1322. Inventory of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex.<sup>d</sup>

j mazer blaunk ove la coverele.

1328. Vasa argent' in Refectorio Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis tempore Henrici  
prioris et Rogeri de Holyngbourne Refectorarii in festo sancti Michaelis  
anno domini Millesimo. ccc<sup>mo</sup> xxviii<sup>mo</sup>.*Cuppe de Murra.*Cuppa Huberti archiepiscopi.<sup>e</sup>

Cuppa arnaldi.

Cuppa W. de Knolton.

Cuppa Thome de sancto Waler cum magnis gemmis.

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*. Ed. London. 1818, p. 315.<sup>b</sup> Surtees Soc. vi. Appendix, p. iv.<sup>c</sup> *Cott. MS. Galba E. iv. f 120 b.*<sup>d</sup> *Arch. Jour.* ii. 348.<sup>e</sup> 1200—1205.

Cuppa de camera prioris cum parvis gemmis.  
Cuppa que dicitur býgge.  
Cuppa Wyberti prioris.<sup>a</sup>  
Cuppe due cum uno cooperculo que vocantur angli.  
Cuppa Simonis de Worthe.  
Cuppa Nicholai de Bourne de nuce cum pede et cooperculo argenti. deaurato et amalato.

*Ciphi de murra cum pedibus.*

Ciphus magnus cum pede et circulo integro.  
C. R. de Kenyntoñ cum pede et circulo et ymagine beate Marie in fundo.  
C. cum pede et circulo et duabus splentis.  
C. R. Brian senioris cum pede et castone.  
C. cum pede et duabus splentis.  
C. cum pede et circulo et tribus platis in fundo.  
C. Hillañ cum pede et leone extra.  
C. cum pede . circulo et gemma in fundo.  
C. duo cum ped' et circulo . S. ducettes.  
C. Samuet cum pede et circulo.  
C. Dionis cum pede circulo et castone.  
C. Rogeri de Ieham cum pede . et circulo.  
C. R. prioris Dovoř<sup>b</sup> cum pede et circulo et fundo arg.  
C. Alexandri cum pede et . xij . splentis.  
C. R. de Coptoñ cum pede . circulo et castone.  
C. R. prioris magnus cum pede . circulo capite et pisce deaurato.  
C. cum pede et circulo . S. Scallard.  
C. qui dicitur Salamon cum . pede . circulo et leone in fundo.  
C. Willelmi fferebras cum pede . et circulo.  
C. Ricardi de Berkesore cum pede et circulo.  
C. Radulfi de Wateuyle cum pede et castone.  
C. Willelmi de Dovoř cum . pede . et circulo.  
C. cum pede . et circulo . et una plata cum rege et falcone in fundo.  
C. cum pede . circulo . plata deaurata . scuto et leone in fundo.  
C. R. prioris de la Lee<sup>c</sup> . cum pede circulo et castone et parvo scuto intus et extra.  
C. W. de Hardres cum . pede . circulo et castone.  
C. H. de Burgate cum . pede . et circulo.  
C. W. de Wenchepe . cum pede . circulo et castone.  
C. Thome de sancto Walerico cum . pede . et circulo.

<sup>a</sup> 1153—1167.

<sup>b</sup> Probably Richard de Wenchepe, 1268—1272, formerly sacrist of Canterbury.

<sup>c</sup> Roger de la Lee, prior, 1234—1244.

- C. Rogeri de ffrenyngham cum . pede . et circulo.  
 C. Matthei de Pynkeney cum pede circulo et castone.  
 C. Thome de Wynchelse cum . pede . circulo et castone.  
 C. Thome de Newesole cum . pede . et circulo.  
 C. Gauter de Bourne cum circulo et pede curto.  
 Nux . Martini de Clyve cum pede . et circulo.  
 C. Daniel' de Sufflatoñ cum pede et castone et circulo.  
 C. eiusdem cum . pede . deaurato tornatili sine circulo.  
 C. S. de Icham . magnus cum pede et circulo.  
 C. R. de Londoñ cum . pede . et circulo et gemmis in fundo.  
 Nux Hamonis de Boelonde cum gemmis . pede . et circulo.  
 C. W. de Tyerne cum . pede . circulo et castone.  
 C. J. de . Dockyngg . cum . pede . et circulo.  
 Nux Ade prioris<sup>a</sup> cum pede . et circulo.  
 C. N. de Sandwiç<sup>b</sup> . prioris . cum . pede . circulo et castone.  
 C. W. de Berkyng Junioris cum . pede . et circulo.  
 Nux eiusdem cum . pede . et circulo.  
 Nux Lamberti de Clyve cum . pede . et circulo.  
 C. ejusdem cum pede et circulo.  
 C. Anselmi de Estria cum . pede et circulo et rotunda plata in fundo.  
 C. J. de . Estria cum . pede . et circulo.  
 C. Petri de Icham cum pede . castone et circulo in fundo.  
 Nux eiusdem cum . pede circulo et castone.  
 Nux Willelmi de Cherryngg intus arg' cum . pede . et circulo.  
 C. Randulfi de Priteswelle cum pede et deaurato circulo.  
 C. eiusdem cum . pede . circulo et . iiij . gemmis in pede.  
 Nux . Roberti de Elham cum pede.  
 C. eiusdem cum pede deaurato.  
 C. eiusdem cum circulo et pede . deaurato.  
 C. R. de Wrotham cum circulo et pede curto.  
 C. W. de . Bourne cum pede . circulo et castone.  
 C. magistri . R. de . Watlyntoñ cum pede et circulo.  
 C. G. de Chileham cum . pede . circulo et castone.  
 C. Marcelli de la Lese cum pede . et castone deauñ.  
 C. Ricardi . Pykenot de plano cum . pede . castone et circulo.  
 C. eiusdem de plano cum circulo et pede curto . cum . j . splenta deaurata.  
 C. J. de Welles cum . pede . circulo et castone.  
 C. ejusdem cum pede tornatili deaurato . cum circulo et castone et rotunda plata in fundo.

<sup>a</sup> Adam de Chillenden, 1263—1274.

<sup>b</sup> Prior, 1244—1258.

- C. R. Poueyn cum circulo et castone et pede tornatili deaurato . pes ponderis . xv . 3.  
C. S. de . sancto paulo cum . pede . tornatili deaurato et circulo et castone.  
C. de murra . S. de ffaversham cum pede . circulo et castone.  
Nux eiusdem cum . pede . deaurato et diversis scutis amallatis.

*Ciphi de Murra sine pedibus.*

- C. magnus . sine pede . cum castone barr' et splent'  
C. cum rosa in fundo . qui dicitur Broke.  
C. magnus sancti Thome cum circulo.  
C. magnus cum tribus splentis deauratis et barř.  
C. magnus cum quinque splentis.  
C. magnus cum duab; splentis una deaurata alia non.  
C. magnus cum novo fundo et circulo.  
C. magnus cum tribus splentis et capite in fundo.  
C. magnus cum . ij . splentis una operata et alia non.  
C. cum . iiij . splentis non deauratis.  
C. cum quinque splentis et una plata non deaurata.  
C. cum plata rotunda in fundo intus deaurata et extra non.  
C. magnus qui vocatur austyn.  
C. cum filo argenř ligatus.  
C. cum stella in fundo.  
C. cum magna plata . et . iiij<sup>or</sup> . minorib;.  
C. parvus cum besanto . et circulo.  
C. parvus . qui dicitur pylęgrym.  
C. magnus cum circulo et plata rotunda in fundo.  
C. Simonis de Eynesford' cum leone in fundo.  
C. Thome de Westgate cum circulo et . ij . splentis et gemma.  
C. magnus . R. de Wormedale cum circulo.  
C. Elye de Thaneto.  
C. hamonis cum circulo et . iiij . platis deauratis et barř.  
C. Jordani cum circulo et castone in fundo arĝ cum cruce intus et extra.  
C. R. de ffaversham cum circulo et gemma in fundo.  
C. Elie Thes' cum circulo et fundo arĝ.  
C. Silvestri cum circulo et plata rotunda et barř.  
C. R. de . Orpyntoñ cum circulo et castone.  
C. qui dicitur Hare.  
C. qui dicitur Denys cum circulo.  
C. qui dicitur Lorechon.  
C. qui dicitur Crondale cum circulo in fundo.  
C. duo . qui dicuntur . Knoltoñ cum circul'.  
C. qui dicitur Salamon sine pede cornu.



- C. W. de . Hardres sine pede cum circulo et castone.  
 C. J. de . Wakkyngg . sine pede . cum circulo.  
 C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo et scuto.  
 C. W. de Wenchepe sine . pede . cum circulo.  
 C. Rogeri de ffrenyngham sine . pede . cum circulo.  
 C. Jeremie cum circulo et castone.  
 C. magnus . J. de . Thaneto cum circulo et castone et gemma in fundo.  
 C. G. de Romenal sine pede . cum circulo et castone.  
 C. R. de Mallyngg cum circulo et castone et splenta in fundo.  
 C. S. de Icham sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.  
 C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo et plata deaurata intus et extra.  
 C. Thome de Sellyng sine . pede . cum scuto in fundo circulo et castone.  
 C. eiusdem sine pede cum barr̃.  
 C. R. brian parvus cum Castone.  
 C. L. de sancto Augustino sine . pede . cum circulo.  
 C. J. de Bocton sine pede . cum circulo et plata rotunda deaurata.  
 C. W. de Berkyngg senioris cum splenta in fundo.  
 C. Lamberti de Clyve sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.  
 C. R. de Wynchepe sine pede cum circulo et filo auř.  
 C. W. de Thaneto sine . pede . cum circulo . castone . et . iiij . platis.  
 C. Thome de Leycestre sine . pede . cum circulo.  
 C. J. de Estria sine pede . cum circulo et castone et . ij . splentis deauratis.  
 C. W. de . Gerenhulle sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.  
 C. eiusdem cum circulo et castone.  
 C. eiusdem sine . pede . cum circulo.  
 C. J. de . Hertlepe magnus cum circulo.  
 C. magnus Petri de Icham sine pede . cum circulo et castone et ew<sup>a</sup>ng̃ in fundo  
 C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo et castone.  
 C. Willelmi vȳnche cum circulo et spleñ.  
 C. Randulfi de Priteswelle sine . pede . cum circulo et castone.  
 C. Radulfi de Apuldre sine pede.  
 C. R. de Wrotham sine pede . cum castone et apro infra deaurato.  
 C. J. de Londoñ cum castone.  
 C. eiusdem cum barr̃.  
 C. R. de Adesham cum circulo et castone.  
 C. W. de Chylyndenne cum circulo et una plata deaurata intus et extra.  
 C. eiusdem cum circulo et . iiij . platis deauratis intus et extra.  
 C. J. de Lyndestede . sine pede . cum castone.  
 C. Luē de Ospreng̃ cum circulo et castone.  
 C. Marcelli cum circulo sine castone.  
 C. eiusdem cum circulo sine castone.

- C. W. de Codelowe cum circulo . castone . et . iij . platis.  
C. eiusdem cum circulo tantum.  
C. eiusdem sine pede . cum circulo tantum.  
C. eiusdem sine circulo et castone.  
C. S. de Wortle cum circulo.  
C. Alexandri de Sandwiċ cum castone sine circulo,  
C. eiusdem sine castone et sine circulo.  
C. S. de Sancto Paulo cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
C. eiusdem cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
C. de murra . R. de Clyve cum circulo et castone.  
C. eiusdem cum circulo sine castone.  
C. eiusdem . sine circulo et sine castone.  
C. parvus . S. de ffaversham cum circulo castone et plata rotunda deaur' cum vinea  
et torculari in fundo.  
C. magnus . J. de . Gore cum circulo et castone deaur̃ . et stella in fundo.  
C. tres eiusdem unius forme cum circulis deauratis.  
C. W. de Ledebuġ magnus cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
Item . C. eiusdem minor cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
Item . C. eiusdem cum circulo deaurato.  
C. J. Everard . cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
Item . C. eiusdem minor cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
C. N. de . Bourne sine pede . cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
C. eiusdem minor cum circulo et castone deaur̃.  
C. eiusdem novus cum . ij . splentis . sine circulo et castone.

*Ciphi W. de Northwico de murra.*

- Ciphus eiusdem de murra cum castone et circulo deaur̃ et plata rotunda in fundo.  
It̃ . C. eiusdem cum circulo et magna plata deaurata.  
It̃ . C. eiusdem sine circulo et castone.

*Ciphi Johannis de Winchelese.<sup>a</sup>*

- C. j . de murra major sine circulo et castone.  
It̃ . C. eiusdem minor sine circulo et castone.  
It̃ . C. eiusdem minimus sine circulo et castone.<sup>b</sup>

c. 1333 and c. 1361. Vicars' College, Wells.<sup>c</sup>

Johannes Hywysch (Canon circa 1333), "contulit vicariis unum mazerum cum  
diversis Lapidibus ornatum pulcherrime, cum Cooperculo Argenteo deaurato."

<sup>a</sup> An interesting set.

<sup>b</sup> From *Memoriale sive registrum Henrici Prioris Monasterii Cantuariensis*. MS. Cott. Galba E. iv.  
ff. 178—180.

<sup>c</sup> *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii. 277-278.

Johannes Lombard Canonicus (c. 1361), legavit vicarijs unum pulchrum mazerum in quo scribitur **Net pe Wynd blowe.**

1337-38. In the Royal Treasury.<sup>a</sup>

Un maser dont le coverele debruse et la pie d arġ dorre pois xvij s. pris j. m<sup>ar</sup>.

Ciphus antiquus de mazero cum pede argenteo.

unus parvus ciphus de mazero cum tripode arġ loco pedis.

1339-40. In the Royal Treasury.<sup>b</sup>

Un mazer ove le pee dargent et un piler en founz du pris x. s.

1348. Will of Isabella, wife of Sir W. Fitzwilliam.<sup>c</sup>

unum mazerum cum pede argenti.

1352. Goods of Robert de Guienne, of Bristol, merchant.<sup>d</sup>

unum ciphum de mazero ligatum argento deaurato precij sex solidorum et octo denariorum.

unum longum pedem pro mazero de argento ponderis quatuordecim solidorum.

1355. Will of Lady Elizabeth de Burgh, lady Clare.<sup>e</sup>

I maser ove coverele hernoise d'argent surorre et Kernelle.

1358. Will of Thomas de la Mare, canon of York.<sup>f</sup>

meliozem parvum murreum.

1359. Will of Agnes de Selby.<sup>g</sup>

unum ciphum murreum cum quadam ymagine de Trinitate depictâ in fundo.

1365. Will of Henry de Blythe, citizen and painter of York.<sup>h</sup>

unum ciphum de murro cum uno frounce.

meliozem ciphum de murro vocatum knopmazer.

unum ciphum de murro sive (*sic*) frounce album.

1366. Will of William de Neuport, rector of Wearmouth.<sup>i</sup>

j mazereum cum coopereulo argenteo.

unum parvum mazereum cum coopereulo de mazar quod habui de executoribus domine Marie de Percy.

1390. Will of John Carlele, of York.<sup>k</sup>

unum ciphum nigrum mirreum.

<sup>a</sup> Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories*, iii. 172, 192.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant. Kal. and Inv.* iii. 201.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant. Kal. and Inv.* iii. 213.

<sup>f</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 69.

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* i. 75, 76.

<sup>k</sup> *Ib.* i. 141.

<sup>c</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. (Surtees Soc. iv.) 50.

<sup>e</sup> Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 45.

<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* i. 71.

<sup>i</sup> *Ib.* i. 81.

1391. Will of Margery, relict of Sir William de Aldeburgh, knt.<sup>a</sup>  
unum ciphum murreum, ligatum cum ligamine deaurato.  
Item unum alium parvum mirrum cum operculo de mirro ornato et deaurato.
1391. Will of Robert Savage, citizen and merchant of York.<sup>b</sup>  
cupam meam de murro cum pede argenti in le fronse in fundo cupæ, ac cooperculo  
ejusdem de argento et aurato.
1392. Will of Richard earl of Arundel.<sup>c</sup>  
un maser covere et frettez d'or.
1392. Will of John de Clyfford, treasurer of York.<sup>d</sup>  
unum ciphum murreum, parvum, coopertum cum murr.  
unum ciphum murreum cum pede cum cooperturâ argenti et armis in profundo.  
unum ciphum murreum coopertum de melioribus.
1392. Will of Matilda, wife of William Benetson, marshall.<sup>e</sup>  
Unum parvum ciphum murreum cum ligaturâ latâ argenteâ ligatum.
1392. Will of Richard de Dalton, barber, of York.<sup>f</sup>  
j murrum parvam et nigram.
1393. Will of John Fayrfax, rector of Prestcote.<sup>g</sup>  
unum ciphum de mazer cum cooperturâ et pede argenti deaurati eidem, signatum  
cum diversis litteris de bees [B].  
j mazer cum coopertura argenti deaurati.
1395. Will and Inventory of John de Scardeburgh, rector of Tichmarsh.<sup>h</sup>  
unum ciphum murr' bene ornatum, cum cooperculo de murro conformiter ornato, et  
in summitate operculi duplex W.  
j ciphum murreum cum dracone in fundo.  
unus ciphus murrius cum operculo murrio, legatus Johannæ de Welton.  
Ciphus murrius cum pede et rosa in fundo, pret. ix s., vend. pro x s.  
Ciphus murrius ligatus, cum tenea Flandrensi, pret. vij s., vend. sic.  
Ciphus murrius ligatus, cum leone nigro in fundo, legatus Aliciæ Polles, sol.  
Ciphus murrius, ligatus, fractus, cum folio columbino in fundo, pret. vj s., vend. sic.  
Ciphus murrius niger, ligatus, pret. viij s., vend. sic. . .  
Ciphus ligatus, cum Salutatione in fundo, pret. iiij s., non vend.  
Ciphus ligatus cum foramine in fundo, pret. iiij s. vj d., vend. pro v s.  
Unus godet de murro cum operculo murrio, pret. ij s., vend. pro iij s.  
unum operculum ligninum cum floribus et nodo argent', pret. viij d., vend. sic.

<sup>a</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 150.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* i. 157.

<sup>c</sup> Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 142.

<sup>d</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 168, 170.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* i. 181.

<sup>f</sup> *Ib.* i. 184.

<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* i. 188, 189.

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* iii. 1, 2, 3.

1396. Will of Walter de Brugge, canon of York.<sup>a</sup>

Unum mazerum, quem nuper emi de executoribus Domini Johannis de Bysshopeston, cum uno cooperculo argenteo deaurato ligato, in summitate ejusdem scriptum :

HO SO YS LENGYST A LYUE

TAK THIS COPE WITH OWTYN STRYFE.

Unum parvum mazerum cum cooperculo argenteo deaurato ligato cum uno voluci in summitate dicti cooperculi.

1396. Meaux Abbey, Yorks.<sup>b</sup>

Murrae duae furruratae cum argento cum pedibus argenteis ad easdam.

Ciphi murrei quinque, cum ligaturis argenteis et deauratis.

1399. In the Royal Treasury.<sup>c</sup>

Item j hanañ de maser ove le covercle de mesme le suite a guyse d almyne garnis d arġ et ennorrez et enaymett s<sup>r</sup> les sometz ove roses. pris vi.s. viii.đ.

1399. Royal Treasury of Henry IV.<sup>d</sup>

Item j. autre petit hanañ de maser ove le covercle a guyse d un pot steant s<sup>r</sup> iij. peez et garnis d arġ et ennorrez pris vi. s. viii. đ.

Itm i. mazer fieble sanz covercle garnis d arġ et ennorrez et gravez ove foitt. pris vi.s. viii.đ.

Itm i. mazer frette d or dehors pris x.li.

Item i. mazer liez d'arġ steant s<sup>r</sup> un pee ove le covercle d arġ endorrez ove trois damoyseis deinz la founce pois ii. tb.

Item j. covercle p<sup>r</sup> un grant mazer endorrez ove un leon s<sup>r</sup> le pomett. pois x. tb vii. unċ.

Item j. large maser cont' iij galons liez environ d arġ endorrez em-  
bossez en le founce

Item i. grant pee endorrez p<sup>r</sup> la dñe maser

Item j. large maser coverez garnisez d arġ endorrez ove un haute pee enorrez ove les armes le Roi E. en le founce ove iij Roys de Coleyn aymellez amont pois ij lb x unċ.

Itm un coopt'e d un maser d arġ enorrez ove un haut pee et un bende p<sup>r</sup> j masser pois ii tb ii unċ.

Itm j maser tour de nutte garnisez d argent enorrez et cov'ez.

Item j. petit maser garnisez d'arġ enorrez ove j. cerf amont.

1400. Will of Sir Thomas Ughtred, knt.<sup>e</sup>

unum mazre coopertum, ligatum cum argento et deauratum, cum pede argenti, et in fundamento duo schochins, unum de armis de Ughtred, et alterum de armis de Mawley.

<sup>a</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 209, 210.

<sup>c</sup> *Antient Kal. and Inv.* iii. 334.

<sup>e</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 244.

<sup>b</sup> *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series), iii. lxxviiij.

<sup>d</sup> *Ib.* iii. 334, 342, 352, 355, 356.

1400. Will of John Preston sen., of York, 'buclermaker.'<sup>a</sup>  
 duos ciphos de murro unum ligatum et alium non ligatum.  
 meum magnum ciphum de murro.  
 j. ciphum de murro cum j leapardo in profundo ejusdem.
1400. Will of Richard Le Scrop, lord of Bolton.<sup>b</sup>  
 unum maser vocatum Spang.  
 meliorem ciphum meum de murreo, scilicet maser.
1402. Inventory of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.<sup>c</sup>  
 Item unus Ciphus de Masero duplicatus interius cum argento cum uno pede argenteo  
 et uno monili Majestatis in profundo deaurato.
- c. 1407. Will of Walter de Skirlaw, bishop of Durham.<sup>d</sup>  
 Item unus ciphus maser, stans super pedem argenti deauratum, mobilem, portatum  
 super tres leones, cum bordurâ argenti deauratâ et ymagine sancti Johannis  
 Baptistae in fundo, cooperculum borduratum de aquilis argenti deauratis, et  
 pomellum amellatum de azuro cum j chapelletto viridi et iiij rosis albis, ponderis. . .  
*Detur Stephano Patrington.*
1410. Inventory of William de Kexby, precentor of York.<sup>e</sup>  
 De xv s. de una maser, nova.  
 De xiiij s. iiij d. de una maser.  
 De viij s. de duabus masers veteribus.
1414. Will of John de Newton, treasurer of York.<sup>f</sup>  
 unum ciphum murreum cum pede et cooperculo deauratis.  
 Unum ciphum de murro cum pede deaurato.
1415. Will of Henry, lord Scrope of Masham.<sup>g</sup>  
 unum Maserium coopertum cum pede et borduris argenteis et deauratum et blodio pomel  
 in summitate.
1415. Will of Isabella, widow of Edmund de Willoughby.<sup>h</sup>  
 unum mazer cum coopertorio, de auro.
1418. Will of Agnes Stubbard de Bury.<sup>i</sup>  
 j. antiquam murrâ.  
 j. parvam murrâ.

<sup>a</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 270.

<sup>c</sup> *MS. penes* Dec. et Cap.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* iii. 44.

<sup>g</sup> *Rymer's Foedera*, ix. 276.

<sup>i</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 3.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* i. 275, 276.

<sup>d</sup> *Ib.* i. 318.

<sup>f</sup> *Ib.* i. 367.

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* i. 382.



1422. Plate in the Royal Treasury, late King Henry V.'s.<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Maser garniz d'or, de vj Bal', iiij Saph' pris x ti.—et de xxx Perles pris le pee' vj s. viij d. x ti. pois' de Troie iiij lb xj unc', dount abatuz pur la Maser, et les Perles et Peres, v unc'; et si remaint liij unc', pris l'unce xxi s. viij d. lvij ti. x s. —en tout lxxviij ti. x s.

Les biens de  
S'r l'Escrop  
en la gard'  
du d'Garde-  
rober.

- 1 Maser esteant sur iiii Angelx garniz d'arg' dorrez. pris xxxvij s.  
1 autre Maser avec l'armes d'Escrop en le founce. garniz d'arg dorrez, pris xxvj s. viij d.  
1 autre Maser, garniz d'arg dorrez, pris xij s. iiij d.  
1 autre Maser, garniz d'arg dorrez, pris x s.

1423. Inventory of Robert de Wyclyff, rector of Rudby.<sup>b</sup>

- j murreus argentatus et deauratus coopertus, cum ligacione batilde desursum, et in summitate anulatus, stans super tres leopardos.

1433. Will of Margaret, relict of Nicholas Blakburn, citizen and merchant of York.<sup>c</sup>

- Unum maser flat cum singula liga argenti deauratum.  
Unum maser cum ymagine Sanctæ Katerinæ vocata Fronnce in fundo.

1436. Will of John Nawton, esq.<sup>d</sup>

- unam murræ, quæ vocatur cossyn.

1437. Will of John Notynggham of Bury, grocer.<sup>e</sup>

- j. ciphum murr.

1437. Battle Abbey, Sussex. Plate in the Frater.<sup>f</sup>

- iiij cuppe de murra cum cooperculo argenteo et deaurato.  
j parva cuppa de murra cum cooperculo argenti et ligata.  
vj magni cippi Haraldî de murra unde duo ligantur bene cum argento et deaurato et in fundo scutum de armis J Gaynesford et in fundo alterius ymago Sancte Marie sub cuius pede scribitur Ricardus Bryd.  
j magnus ciphus de murra qui vocatur fenix.  
xx<sup>vi</sup> cippi de murra non ligati.

1439. Regalia, etc. of Henry VI.<sup>g</sup>

- A standyng maser of silver and gilt uncovered w<sup>t</sup> parmes of *Englond* and *F<sup>a</sup>unce* and w<sup>t</sup> a poyse write *Good Edward* weyng xxi unces. p<sup>s</sup> pe unce iiii s. iiij d. Sm<sup>a</sup> lxx. s.  
Also anoþer standyng maser upon a light fote pcheryd weyng xv unces & iiii q<sup>a</sup>t<sup>r</sup> pris ye unce ij s. vj d. Sm<sup>a</sup> xxxix s. iiij d.  
Also ij litil masers called *Godardes* covered and anoþer litil maser uncoverd weyng to gydre ij lb. i. unce & di p<sup>s</sup> pe unce ii s. vj d. Sm<sup>a</sup> lxij s. ix d.

<sup>a</sup> *Rolls of the Parl.* iv. 216, 224.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* ii. 48.

<sup>e</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 9.

<sup>g</sup> *Antient Kal. and Inv.* ii. 251.

<sup>b</sup> *Test. Ebor.* i. 404.

<sup>d</sup> *Ib.* ii. 58.

<sup>f</sup> *Arch. Jour.* xli. 88.

1441. Will of William Conesby of York, carpenter.<sup>a</sup>  
unum maserband.
1442. Will of Alexander Blenkinsop, esq.<sup>b</sup>  
unum standing maser ligatum cum argento.
1442. Gild of the Holy Trinity, Coventry.<sup>c</sup>  
a maser with an ymage of owre lady in the prynte weyeth vj unce & j quarter.  
a grete maser with a vise weyeth viij unce & di.  
a maser with a vernyele weyeth viij unce & j quarter.  
an olde maser that weyeth iij unce & di.  
a maser with a **ihc** that weyeth iiij unce iij quarters save a farpyng weight.
1443. Will of Robert Esyngwald, proctor general of the Court of York.<sup>d</sup>  
Et Priori ac Conventui Sanctæ Trinitatis Ebor. j magnum ciphum murreum.
1443. Will of Sir Hugh Willoughby, knt.<sup>e</sup>  
a maser with a bande of gulde.
1446. Durham Priory. Plate in the Frater.<sup>f</sup>  
j Murra cum pede deaurato vocata **Herdebypte** cum coopereulo.  
alia Murra larga et magna vocata **Abell** sine coopereulo.  
una alia Murra pro alta mensa in Refectorio, cum coopereulo.  
unus Ciphus vocatus **Beda**.  
xij Murrae magnae et largae cum uno coopereulo; quorum iij cum pedibus.  
xxxij Murrae usuales, et una Nux cum ij coopereulis.
1447. Will of Thomas Wymbyssch of Rochester.  
unum ciphum vocatum a masour cum uno ligamento argenti deaurati cum magno boreello in medio.
1448. Will of Thomas Morton, canon of York.<sup>g</sup>  
meam parvam murræ coopertam cum parvo pede stante super tres leones cum coopertorio deaurato scripto in capite **Marca**.
1448. Inventory of Thomas Morton, canon of York.<sup>h</sup>  
De j murra cooperta, deaurata, cum signis in capite, pond. xlix s. iiij d.  
De j murra cooperta, ligata, cum coopertorio, stante, pond. xvij unc. et di. xl s.  
De j magna murra pond. ix. unc. xxxij s. iiij d.  
De j murra cooperta, stante super leones, cum ratione in coopertorio, pond. xij unc. xxvij s. vj d.  
De j parva murra, sine coopertorio, pond. vij unc. xij s.

<sup>a</sup> *Test. Ebor.* ii. 81.

<sup>c</sup> *Proc. S. A.* 2d S. v. 122, 123.

<sup>e</sup> *Ib.* ii. 131.

<sup>g</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iii. 107.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* ii. 85.

<sup>d</sup> *Test. Ebor.* ii. 91.

<sup>f</sup> *Surtees Soc.* ii. 94

<sup>h</sup> *Ib.* iii. 113.

1448. Inventory of Robert Morton, gent.<sup>a</sup>

Item, vij lytell masers with duble bondes, *pond. xlj unc. di. at 2s. 4d., iiij li. xvj s. x d.*

Item v masers with sengyll bondes, and an olde blak nutte with a cover, with iiij knoppys for couerynges of masers, *pond. xliij unc. at 2s. 2d., iiij li. xv s. iiij d.*

1452. Will and Inventory of William Duffield, canon of York, Southwell, and Beverley.<sup>b</sup>

meam optimam murrām, alte stantem, cum tribus leonibus in pede depictis, cum cooperculo ejusdem.

ciphum murreum cum columba in fundo depicta.

De lv s. de pret. j murræ stantis, cum cooperculo, et dracone in summitate cooperuli.  
*pond. de troy, ij. b. iiij unc. di. unc. pret. unc. ij s.*

De xxxij s. viij d. de pret. j. murræ altæ, stantis, cum longo pede argenteo, cum j knop rotundo, *pond. de troy xliij unc. pret. unc. ij s. iiij d.*

De xij s. iiij d. de pret. j murræ bassæ, cum columba in medio fundi, deaurat, *pond. vj unc. di. unc.*

De xvijs. vjd. de pret. j murræ bassæ, nuper domini Walteri Erythornes, *pond. vij unc. di. unc. pret. unc. ij s. iiij d.*

De xxxvj s. ij d. de pret. j parvæ murræ coopertæ, cum leone in summitate cooperuli, emptæ de domino Thoma Skelton, *pond. de troy xv unc. di. unc. pret. unc. ij s. iiij d.*

1454. Gild of St. Francis, Lynn.<sup>c</sup>

a Maser with a prynt of seynt Johns hede in the bothome, with a cover to y<sup>e</sup> same, written with

Soft words swageth ye fyre (?)

Suffyr and have thi desyre.

1454. Will of Robert Low, of Newark.<sup>d</sup>

unam maser harnasiatum cum argento et deaurat' cum uno rose prynte.

1457. Will of Lady Ela Shardlowe.<sup>e</sup>

j. murrām cum cooperculo.

c. 1459. Will of John Dautre, of York, gent.<sup>f</sup>

unam murrām vocatam Crumpuldud.

1463. Will of Eufemia, relict of Sir John Langton, knt.<sup>g</sup>

unam murrām cum uno fronte de nomine Jhesu.

j aliam murrām coopertam habentem in summitate castellum deauratum.

<sup>a</sup> *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiii. 321.

<sup>c</sup> Richards' *History of Lynn*, i. 479.

<sup>e</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 14.

<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* ii. 259, 260.

<sup>b</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iii. 127, 131, 132.

<sup>d</sup> *Test. Ebor.* ii. 179.

<sup>f</sup> *Test. Ebor.* ii. 232.

- j aliam murrām stantem super tribus leonibus cum pede argenti et coopertorio argenteo deaurato.  
j murrām stantem deauratam infra et extra.
1463. Will of John Baret, of Bury.<sup>a</sup>  
my maser with a beend and a foot of siluir and ovir gilt.
1471. Will of Henry Holme, of Beverley, esq.<sup>b</sup>  
unam murrām secundariam.
- c. 1476. Will of John Lathum, canon of Beverley.<sup>c</sup>  
j novam murrām stantem super pedem deauratum.
- c. 1478. De bonis Domūs ablatis per Ricardum Bell, Episcopum Karliolensem.<sup>d</sup>  
ij murræ stantes cum cooperculis de murra cum knopps et pedibus argenteis et deauratis.  
Item una nova murra stans super tres leones argenti et deaurati cum cooperculo ligneo habente unum knopp argenteum et deauratum.
1480. Will of Sir Richard Hamerton, knight.<sup>e</sup>  
Item I bequeth to the abbot and convent of the monastery of Sallay a standing maser, covered and gilded, to pray for me.
1486. Will of Isabell Wilton, of Hull.<sup>f</sup>  
a maser, the printe of a nemyng of Seynt George.
1488. Will of Thomas Richard of Prittlewell.<sup>g</sup>  
Unam murrām stantem cum coopertorio et pila deaurata pertinente eidem.  
Unam planam murrām.
1490. Will of Thomas Pereson, sub-dean of York.<sup>h</sup>  
unam murrām cum j frounce, et Jhesus insculpt<sup>7</sup> in eodem.  
unam murrām cum Jhesu in fronce, et j plate in latere.<sup>i</sup>  
unam murrām cum scriptura in vinculo, *Jhesus est amor meus*.  
unam murrām cum fronce fracto.
1491. Inventory of Merchant Taylors' Company.<sup>k</sup>  
a maser, couered, w<sup>t</sup> an Image of Saynt Kenelme, weying 9 vneces.  
a stondying maser, w<sup>t</sup>oute couer, weying 11 vneces.  
a grete maser, w<sup>t</sup> a couer with Floure of syluer on the Knop . . . 17 vneces.

<sup>a</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 35.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* iii. 175.

<sup>e</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iii. 258.

<sup>g</sup> *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 287.

<sup>i</sup> Probably a repair.

<sup>b</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iii. 193.

<sup>d</sup> *Surtess Soc.* vi. xxxi. (pref.)

<sup>f</sup> *Ib.* iv. 17.

<sup>h</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iv. 54.

<sup>k</sup> *Clode's Memorials*, 82.

1496. Will of Johan Brette of Bury, widow.<sup>a</sup>

a maser "called the maser with the grette bonde."

1496. Will of William Came of Newark.<sup>b</sup>

a maser w<sup>t</sup> a playne band sylver and gilte.

a standing nutte of maser w<sup>t</sup> a foote of silver and overgilt w<sup>t</sup> a coveryng to the same w<sup>t</sup> iij estrich fedders of silver and ovirgilt.

a great maser that in the bothome of the same is grawed the name of Jhesu, silver and gilte.

a maser that hath in the bothom the figor of Saint Katerine.

1497. Craft of Founders of London.<sup>c</sup>

ffirst a maser w<sup>t</sup> a boos of the gifte of a widowe called . . . . . weyng viij oñz iij pt.  
Itm a maser w<sup>t</sup> a boos and an hert of silu' ou' gilted of the gifte of Robt. Reynolds weyng ix oñz.

Itm a maser w<sup>t</sup> a boos of the gifte of henry pendlowe weyng vj oñz di qrt.

Itm a maser w<sup>t</sup> a boos of the gifte of John Seykyn weyng iv oñz di and di pt.

Itm a grete maser harnessed w<sup>t</sup> siluer gilte of the gifte of John Betenden otherwise called Wayte weyng xvj oñz pt.

Itm a gret maser harnessed w<sup>t</sup> siluer gylt of the gifte of John Pynchebek weyying xj oñz.

It' a maser of y<sup>e</sup> gifte of some unknown wydow waying

The following entries have been subsequently added to the inventory in which the above occur :

Itm layd to pleche to John Hamond and John Beyrs a Masar w<sup>t</sup> a Boyssse pryntyd and Graveyn weyng xv owncees pris the ownee ij s ij d sm ys xxxij s x d payd.

Itm layd to pleche to Thomas Rayllton and John Seytcoll a maser w<sup>t</sup> a holow boyss pryntyd w<sup>t</sup> a hewar weyng xvj ounces half pris the ownee ij s ij d y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>m</sup> xxxv s ix d.

Itm layd to pleche to Mr Swetyng a Masar wyth a holow Boyss pryntyd w<sup>t</sup> a coke weyng xvj owncees saue halfe a pt pris the ownee ij s ij d s<sup>m</sup> xxxij s.

Itm layd to pleche to Mr Grybby a Masar w<sup>t</sup> a byss pryntyd w<sup>t</sup> a colombyn flowyr weyng viij owncees and a spon weyng a ownee and di qr s<sup>m</sup> xx s x d.

Itm layd to pleche to Edward Collyngwod a Masar w<sup>t</sup> a Boys weyng ix and a halfe pris ij s ij d s<sup>m</sup> xx s j d.

Itm layd to pleche to Wyttm Weeks a Masar weyng vj owncees and a q<sup>r</sup> pris the ownee ij s ij d s<sup>m</sup> xiiij s viij d.

Itm layd to pleche to Jayms Sewyn a Masar w<sup>t</sup> a harte in the boyss inamyll weyng ix owncees q<sup>u</sup> pris the ownee ij s ij d s<sup>m</sup> xx s.

<sup>a</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 246.

<sup>b</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iv. 117, 118.

<sup>c</sup> *Arch. Jour.* xliiii. 165, 167.

1498. Will of Katherine, widow of Thomas Mountford of Doncaster, alderman.<sup>a</sup>  
the greatest maser of viij<sup>th</sup> . . . the beste masser w<sup>t</sup> the prynt in the bothom . . . a  
masser w<sup>t</sup> out a prynt in the bothom . . .
1501. Will of Robert Wooderove, citizen of Norwich, cook.<sup>b</sup>  
a maser w<sup>t</sup> a brode bonde, and a prynt of Jhus in the botom.
1504. Will of John Hedge of Bury.<sup>c</sup>  
to my iiij chylderñ yeh of them a maser bownd w<sup>t</sup> sylu' & gylt.
1506. Will of John Gardener of Bury.<sup>d</sup>  
j maser with iij feet silver and gilt.
- 1506—7. Will of Robert Plumpton of York.<sup>e</sup>  
a maser standyng w<sup>t</sup> a ymage of Saint John Baptist in the frons . . . and the last  
maser next y<sup>e</sup> pardon maser.<sup>f</sup>
1512. Inventory of Merchant Taylors' Company.<sup>g</sup>  
a standyng maser with a cover and a lowe fote of the gyfte of Roger Duket preste. As  
it appereth on the fote of the same maser, pois 14 vnc. 1 quarter.
1526. From Cardinal Wolsey's plate.<sup>h</sup>  
Item oone standing Masar gylte withoute a cover xiiij oz.
1528. From plate given by Cardinal Wolsey to his College of Ipswich.<sup>i</sup>  
Item oone standing Masar withe a cover and foote silvar and gylte standing upon iij  
Lyons poz. xx oz. d.  
Item a greate Masar with iiij small Masars and a cover of wood poz. xxxviij oz.
1533. Will of Robert Garrard of Ixworth.<sup>k</sup>  
I bequethe to the seyd John my grette masere.
1534. Inventory of the goods of the Gild of St. Mary, Boston.<sup>l</sup>  
A stondyng maser w<sup>t</sup> a cou' & shell w<sup>t</sup> all weyng xxvj unces di.  
one great Maser w<sup>t</sup> a sngle band w<sup>t</sup> a prynt in the bothom gilt w<sup>t</sup> an ymage of  
Allmyghti God sittynge at the iugement in the myddes of iiij evangelistes of the  
gift of Jamys barbor weyng xlix unces di.

<sup>a</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iv. 155.

<sup>b</sup> *Norfolk and Norwich Arch. Soc.* i. 121.

<sup>c</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 100.

<sup>d</sup> *Proc. of Bury and W. Suffolk Arch. Inst.* i. 329.

<sup>e</sup> *Test. Ebor.* iv. 259.

<sup>f</sup> Probably a mazer with an inscription granting to the user so many days of pardon, like the great York mazer.

<sup>g</sup> Clode's *Memorials*, 91.

<sup>h</sup> *Collect. Curiosa*, ii. 329.

<sup>i</sup> *Ib.* ii. 338.

<sup>k</sup> *Proc. of Bury and W. Suffolk Arch. Inst.* i. 108.

<sup>l</sup> Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, 192, 194, 195, 197, 198.



an other maser w<sup>t</sup> a double band w<sup>t</sup> a prynt in the myddes w<sup>t</sup> a plate of syluer & gilte witten w<sup>t</sup> these wordes "deum nrm" weyng xij unces.

a masar w<sup>t</sup> a sengle band w<sup>t</sup> a prynt in the bothom of the passion of saynt Thomas the martir & a plate of sylu' & gilte w<sup>t</sup> an Ape lokyng in an urinall written w<sup>t</sup> these woordes "this wat' is polows" weyng xv unces di.

a masar w<sup>t</sup> a dowble band & a prynt in the bothom of sylu' & gilte w<sup>t</sup> a rose in the same prynt of the gift of John lawes mchaunt weyng xiiij unces iij q'ters.

a Masar w<sup>t</sup> a sengle band w<sup>t</sup> a prynt of the v'nacle in the bothom weyng vij unces iij q'ters & di quarter.

a masar w<sup>t</sup> a syngle band w<sup>t</sup> a prynt in the bothom of silu' & gilte of the salutacion of ovr lady w<sup>t</sup> a lili pott w<sup>t</sup> a plate of silu' & gilte weyng vij unces j q'ter.

a masar w<sup>t</sup> a litill band w<sup>t</sup> no prynte in the bothom of the gift of John Smyth beidman weyng vij vneces di.

an other masar w<sup>t</sup> a double band w<sup>t</sup> a prynt in the bothom Emanuel gilt & gravyn w<sup>t</sup> Jhūs weyng xj unces di'.

1534. *Maison de Dieu, Dover.*<sup>a</sup>

v grete masers with small bonds of sylver and gilt, and a littell olde nut with a bonde of sylver and gylt, and a littell bonde of sylver and gylt, waying in all lx unces.

iiij masers, whereof iij of them be with gylt bonds, and the fourth with a sylver bonde, dailye occupied, waying xxiiij unces.

ij masers with brode bands, sylver and gylt, and a litell maser with a fote and a small bande, sylver and gylt, waying xviii unces.

ij small masers with brode bands of sylver and gilt, waying lx unces.

1535. *Priory of Minster in Sheppey, Kent.*<sup>b</sup>

Dame Agnes Browne's chamber.

a lytill maser with a bryme of silver and gylt.

The Frayter.

j maser with bryme of sylver gilt.

My Lady Piores chamber.

another lesse standing maser with a cover, the fote gylt.

ij grete and ij lesse masors with brymmys and rosys in the botome, save j lacketh a roose.

1536. *Sawtre Abbey, Northants.*<sup>c</sup>

iiij masers garnisshyd with sylver and gilt xvij oz.

A standing maser garnysshed with silver and gylt with a acorne yn the cope of sylver wood and all xx oz.

<sup>a</sup> *Arch. Cant.* vii. 275.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* vii. 296 *et seq.*

<sup>c</sup> *Archaeologia*, xliii. 239.

1537. Will of Sir Robert Cooke, vicar of Hawley, Suffolk.<sup>a</sup>  
to Marget my sister my maser.
1538. Will of Alice Harvy of Bury.<sup>b</sup>  
ij masers wyth bonde sylver and gylte.
1540. Waltham Holy Cross Abbey, Essex.<sup>c</sup>  
a Sarpentyne cuppe fassheon with a cover of a masor garnysshed with sylver.  
a Standing Masor, with a cover garnysshed with sylver gylte.  
v masors, garnysshed with sylver gylte.  
ix masors, garnysshed with sylver gylte.
1548. Gild or Fraternity of Prittlewell, Essex.<sup>d</sup>  
ij masers of silver w<sup>th</sup>out the wood xij oz. at xij oz.
1550. Hornchurch, Essex—belonging to the church.  
Itm a maser w<sup>t</sup> a narrow bonde of sylver.
1557. Will of Richard Brereton.<sup>e</sup>  
a greate maser bounde aboute w<sup>th</sup> silver.
1558. Inventory of Richard Brereton.<sup>f</sup>  
one great maser bole bounde w<sup>th</sup> silv<sup>r</sup> by estymacion xxxv<sup>th</sup> ounce comonly called  
St. Worburge bowle . . . viij li.
- 1562—3. Will of Antony Calveley.<sup>g</sup>  
a masar bole w<sup>th</sup> a border of sylver and gilt aboutt ytt.

<sup>a</sup> *Bury Wills and Inventories*, 130.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* 136.

<sup>c</sup> *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 262.

<sup>d</sup> *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 135.

<sup>e</sup> *Lanc. and Chesh. Wills* (Chetham Soc. xxxiii.), 168.

<sup>f</sup> *Ib.* 173.

<sup>g</sup> *Ib.* 141.



XII.—*On Archaic conceptions of property in relation to the Laws of Succession ;  
and their survival in England.* By G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A.

---

Read February 18, 1886.

---

PRIMOGENITURE, aided by legal powers and by the strong necessities of feudal polity, has become in this country the dominant form of succession to title and estate, and has consequently thrust out of consideration many other forms which exist here and there. Two of these other forms, Gavelkind and borough-English (so called), have received some attention from lawyers and legal antiquaries, and they obtain in many localities as the legal form of succession ; but there are other customs which have been altogether neglected, and which obtain in only a few isolated localities. The lawyer at the bidding of statesmen has striven for the furtherance of the right of primogeniture, and every other custom has had to prove its case before it could obtain recognition. Therefore, in a certain sense the law has never recognised any other form of succession than primogeniture. But what I shall have to point out in the following pages is that in the annals of rural England there are many conceptions attached to the holding of property, which, though succumbing in law to primogeniture, have left a history behind which is well worth examining. Before Mr. Elton dealt with primogeniture and junior-right as common descendants from one parent, an examination of the right of primogeniture never led the inquirer beyond the area bounded by feudal history. But by examining the two forms of succession together it has been shown that we arrive at the archaic family. But even this is not enough. The very first question which comparative science has to ask, is—why should we seek to ascertain the origin of the laws of succession by an exclusive study of two forms only? It is necessary to base one's inquiry not upon an examination of some

special forms, however widely prevalent, to the exclusion of all others, however narrowly limited; but upon an examination of all the forms of succession which have survived the exigencies of successive waves of political requirements. The process is somewhat tedious, perhaps, and somewhat speculative, but at almost every stage we are assisted by the important comparison which Hindu law and custom presents. In India the forms of succession have passed through varying stages of development, and fortunately under the eyes of English lawyers and students of archaic customs, and thus we have a compact body of evidence of the utmost value. It is only by such aids as comparative history can afford us that we may hope to fathom the darkness of our own early legal history, for, as Sir Francis Palgrave long ago remarked, "we have not a single law, and hardly a single document from which the course of the descent of land can be inferred."<sup>a</sup> Something has been recovered since Palgrave's time, it is true; but it has been recovered by the light thrown upon old documents by living archaic custom elsewhere. It seems worth while, therefore, to turn once again to the subject of succession, and endeavour to ascertain whether archaic polity, as made known to us by Hindu and other primitive customs, cannot account for some of the peculiar customs known to obtain in Great Britain, and find out their place of relationship to the well-known forms of primogeniture and junior-right.

Now the modern laws of succession appertain to property passing from an individual owner to his individual successor; and the first question we must ask ourselves, is—what is the original relationship of *individuals* to *property*? To put it broadly, it might be said that the progress towards civilization has been a progress towards the recognition of individual rights and individual status. Mr. Spencer has said, and there is much evidence to support his statement, that the savage lacks the extended consciousness of individual possession, and under his conditions it is impossible for him to have it. Beyond the few rude appliances ministering to his bodily wants, the primitive man has nothing that he can accumulate—there is no sphere for an acquisitive tendency.<sup>b</sup> This is at the very beginning of things, but its principle lasts down to the dawn of civilized history. Thus when we come to the primitive group, forming an integral portion of the Aryan village community, we see that one of its most distinctive features is represented by an axiom well known to modern lawyers—joint in food, worship, and estate. This formula is most interesting, first in its character of a survival;

<sup>a</sup> *English Commonwealth*, vol. i. p. 59.

<sup>b</sup> *Spencer's Principles of Sociology*, vol. i. p. 68. Cf. Tylor's *Anthropology*, p. 420.

secondly, from its giving the starting point to all researches into the history of property and its attendant rights. Although it will take us a little far afield, it is necessary for one moment to glance at the evidence of the existence of the curious features of this famous formula.

1. *Joint in Food*.—The details of the system of common rights of food are most interesting, and Mr. Morgan, in his *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*, has worked out this subject to some length. All the Indian tribes, he says, who hunt upon the plains observe the custom of making common stock of the capture (p. 69). In Australia the same fact is to be observed, Messrs. Fison and Howitt noting that there was "a common right to food in the family."<sup>a</sup> So among the Kaffirs of Natal "food is regarded as common property."<sup>b</sup> Similar evidence is to be obtained from other parts of the savage world.<sup>c</sup> Among Aryan people the continuity of the custom is proved by the customs of India, Sir John Phear telling us that it is the universal habit in Bengal for the members of a family to live joint.<sup>d</sup> In Russia, even at the threshold of disintegration, we see the South Slavonian house-communities absorbing the profits earned by members of the family at a distance from their home, into the family chest.<sup>e</sup> Among the tribal communities of Wales the principle was observed to exist by Giraldus Cambrensis, who says "none of this nation ever begs, for the houses of all are common to all" (cap. x.). And finally I have ventured to trace the survival of the same archaic notions of joint living in many of our own local and manorial customs, in the gild constitution of the middle ages, in the leet-ales, clerk-ales, bid-ales, bride-ales, and other rural feasts.<sup>f</sup> Mr. Elton, too, has added very significantly that the modern house-warming following the change of residence is a survival of joint living, based upon the archaic theory of blood-relationship.<sup>g</sup>

2. *Joint in Worship*.—The primitive group of kinsmen is knit together under the protection of the family deity, and its integrity is sacred against all comers. Thus among the Samoans the house is built by directions of the family god. It

<sup>a</sup> *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 207.

<sup>b</sup> *Shooter's Kaffirs of Natal*, p. 226.

<sup>c</sup> A good instance may be mentioned among the Andaman Islanders, see *Journ. Anthropological Inst.* xii. 328, 349.

<sup>d</sup> *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*, p. 76; Mr. J. D. Mayne in his *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 188, sets forth the connection of joint-living with the origin of property very plainly.

<sup>e</sup> Maine's *Early Law and Custom*, p. 252. Cf. Wallace's *Russia*, i. 135.

<sup>f</sup> See *Folk-Lore Relics of Early Village Life*, p. 157.

<sup>g</sup> *Origins of English History*, p. 404.



could never, under any circumstances, pass from the family.<sup>a</sup> Among the New Zealanders, again, houses are accounted sacred to the use of the persons for whom they are built, and rarely after a battle, when every savage enormity has been perpetrated, are the houses of the murdered proprietors made use of by the rulers.<sup>b</sup>

This is a widely-spread and interesting belief and custom; and just to carry on the thread from savage people to our own land, it is perhaps sufficient to ask the significant question—was it not this self-same phase of belief which dictated to the English conquerors of Britain the desire to destroy and leave the stone buildings of their Roman predecessors, and to live in their own “wattle and daub”?<sup>c</sup> There is some evidence of this interesting fact to be obtained from folk-lore; but without detailing that here, we may note the curious passage from Beda, who says that King Ethelbert of Kent would not receive Augustine and his companions in any house lest, according to ancient superstition, magical arts might be imposed upon him.<sup>d</sup> If this be compared with savage beliefs, it is clear that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had a wholesome fear of the malignity of the house-gods of their enemies, and there is very ample evidence in the survivals preserved by folk-lore to restore, in outline, at all events, the main features of the domestic hearth-religion of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon races of Britain.<sup>e</sup> This domestic worship sees the family united by the sacred bond of worshipping at the family altar, the ancestral family deity.

3. *Joint in Estate*.—If the rights of food are held in common, and the sacred rites of religion bind all together in a common home, there is not much room for the individual acquisition of property; and in fact we see in the plainest fashion that the right of property dwelt in the collective group. When this archaic group settled down into agriculture the same collective idea of property is observable. As the products of hunting were held in common, so are the products of agriculture, and so in course of time are the lands which produce such products. Thus we arrive by very well marked stages of development at the village composed of separate families, each of which is settled within its own

<sup>a</sup> Pritchard's *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 109.

<sup>b</sup> Polack's *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, vol. i. pp. 204, 216.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Wright suggests that frequently the Anglo-Saxons occupied the Roman Villa, but I see little evidence of this, and the best authorities are against it.

<sup>d</sup> Beda, *Eccl. Hist.* Bk. I. chap. xxv.

<sup>e</sup> The exact evidence of this I have tried to trace out in my *Folk-lore Relics of Early Village Life*, and cf. Elton's *Origins of English History*, pp. 210 *et seq.*

homestead, and in virtue of such homestead, partaking in common with other similarly situated families, of rights in the surrounding village-lands, from the cultivation of which the whole group subsist. Now in this village group legal rights and status exist, not as between individual and individual, but as between family and family.

It is to this ancient family, joint in food, worship, and estate, that we must now turn our attention. It has gained its rights and its collectiveness (if the word is admissible) by the growing powers of the domestic religion which invested the homestead in the family—inalienably in the family. The members of the family had severally no rights within it. Their provisions, their clothing materials, their industrial utensils, their lands, belonged to the collective group. So long as this group of kinsmen kept together each member would share in the property accumulated in the homestead, would partake of its rights and privileges, would seek its protection and incur its responsibilities—the question of succession would in fact never occur. Only when such a homestead died out through want of male members would the question of its relationship to the village generally be raised; and in the social disgrace and religious misfortune with which such a catastrophe was regarded in ancient Rome and in modern India we can discover the principal cause of the various methods adopted in early society to prevent this state of things.\*

Now it will be evident that a time will come when this group of kinsmen, so strictly bound together in the homestead, must split up, the increase of its members under favourable circumstances of existence becoming too great for its welfare or its capacity to exist. As a matter of fact one cannot of course imagine an indigenous group which has never undergone this splitting-up process. The picture of such a group as I have just ventured to depict represents a family perfect and intact it is true; but the right to so represent this is due to the fact that the archaic family does not suffer from the process of splitting-up. It gets rid of its departing members or section and it then closes in again to resume its old course, the new section also closing in and becoming in its turn a perfectly intact family group. It is not at this stage that the real question of succession would arise, and this can be best shown by a few examples of the formation of new groups.

A quotation given in Laveleye's *Primitive Property* (p. 7), from M. de Play, well illustrates the process of archaic disintegration. "Among the nomads (of

\* This is fully discussed in Mr. J. D. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*.

Russia) the direct descendants of one father generally remain grouped together; they live under the absolute authority of the head of the family in a system of community. We may say that nothing is the subject of separate ownership, except their clothing and weapons. When the increase of a family no longer admits of all its members remaining united, the head of the family directs an amicable separation, and determines the portion of the common possessions that should be given to the branch which is separating from the stem. On the other hand the community often holds together after the death of the head of the family." The same system is observable among the settled tribes who live under the organization known as the *mir*. "When the mother village became overcrowded," says M. Laveleye,<sup>a</sup> "a group was detached which advanced towards the east into the profound forest and vast steppes, where they found themselves face to face with the nomadic hunting tribes," and where, as M. Laveleye goes on to say, the strict organization of the *mir* enabled them to combine and conquer. In India the same thing occurred, according to the evidence of Mr. Tupper.<sup>b</sup>

That this self-same kind of process must have gone on in England during the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlement requires little or no proof. It is discoverable in the curious distribution of clan names in our names of places, which "accords with the supposition that the Saxon rule has gradually extended over the western and central districts by the cadets of families already settled in the island, and not by fresh immigrants arriving from abroad."<sup>c</sup> Mr. Kemble has pictured the process going on,<sup>d</sup> and Mr. Seebohm in his *English Village Community*, p. 171, has rescued from a MS. in the British Museum a portion of one of Alfred's treatises which allows us to obtain a vivid little glimpse of the possible growth of new communities. So long as there was enough land, daughter-communities would be continually sent forth to relieve the congestion from over-population, and no question of succession would yet have arisen. It will be seen hereafter that this phenomenon of history has left its mark upon the history of succession.

But there was another method of relieving the congestion of society arising from the pressure of population, and it will be necessary to notice this, for it, too, has, I venture to think, left its trace upon the laws of succession.

<sup>a</sup> *Primitive Property*, p. 34, and consult Wallace's *Russia*, vol. i. p. 255.

<sup>b</sup> *Punjab Customary Law*, vol. ii. p. 40, and cf. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 180; Lewin's *Wild Tribes of S. E. India*, p. 257.

<sup>c</sup> Taylor's *Words and Places*, 6th edit. p. 86, *et seq.*

<sup>d</sup> *Saxons in England*, vol. i. pp. 65, 70.

M. Kolben speaking of the Hottentots says, "When persons of either sex become superannuated or in short unable to perform the least office for themselves, they are then, by the consent of the kraal, placed in a solitary hut, at a considerable distance, with a small stock of provisions within their reach; where they are left to die of hunger or be devoured by the wild beasts."<sup>a</sup> This really points to the death of the aged when the means of subsistence falls short, that is when the *property* of the group ceases to support. But the curious point to note is that this barbaric custom has close parallels within the ken of our own archaic history.

In the first place it certainly can be traced in a part of the history of the Valhalla of the early races of Europe. Mr. Duchailu has noticed that "a few miles from Karlshaum there is a beautiful spot called Valhalla made of gigantic boulders piled one upon another, which form in one part a grotto. This was in heathen times an *ättestupa*, that is a place from which the people when old and infirm used to throw themselves, it being considered shameful to die in bed or of old age."<sup>b</sup> And this I connect with "an old countrie story" which Aubrey mentions under the title of "the holy mawle." This was a hammer which "(they fancy) hung behind the Church dore, which when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effete, and of no more use."<sup>c</sup>

It will be readily admitted that the English "countrie story" is a very archaic form of this savage practice of killing the aged and infirm. But the important part of this subject for our purpose is that this country custom discovered by Aubrey is connected by unquestionable evidence with the descent of property. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1850 (Pt. i. pp. 250-252) Mr. W. J. Thoms gave an explanation of the holy mawle, identifying it with the hammer of Thor, and in the course of his most interesting researches he gives some curious facts which will be worth while noting.

Mr. Wright, in his volume of Latin stories published by the Percy Society,<sup>d</sup> prints one story in which an old man surrenders all his property to the husband of his daughter. It is important to note in passing that this surrender can be archaically accounted for by the practice of appointing a daughter to bring an heir. But in the medieval Latin story the father gets ill-treated and at last

<sup>a</sup> Mavor's *Collection of Voyages*, iv. 41.

<sup>b</sup> *Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii. 438.

<sup>c</sup> *Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme* (Folk-lore Society), p. 19.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. viii. 29.

driven out of the house. He gets taken back again, however, and at the point of death, as it is graphically stated, "antequam totaliter expiraret, ad cistam currentes nihil invenerunt nisi malleum, in quo Anglice scriptum erat

Wyht suyle a betel be he smyten,  
That al the werld hyt mote wyten,  
That gyfht his sone al his thing,  
And goht hym self a beggyn.

In this Latin story, softened down to meet the tastes of medieval storytelling, we see traces of Aubrey's "holy mawle" custom in operation, and it is a singular coincidence that in several of the cities of Silesia and Saxony there hangs at the city gate a mallet with this inscription :

Wer den kindern gibt das Brod  
Und selber dabei leidet Noth  
Den schlagt mit dieser keule todt.

which may be Englished thus :

Who to his children gives his bread  
And thereby himself suffers need,  
With this mallet strike him dead.

Of course, in these variants we have lost the original significance which is preserved in Aubrey's record of the custom in England. But the German scholar Nork has proved that "the English construction must necessarily, as the earlier, precede the German," and Dr. Guest supplies some information, which to my mind helps to confirm this opinion. We not unfrequently, he says, find an axe traced on the slabs used in the construction of ancient sepulchral chambers ; and in a certain Breton tomb (*Arch.* xxv. 232) the axe is sculptured in relief on the underside of the covering slab, immediately above where the body lay ; and there are many inscriptions on Gaulish tombs erected during the first three centuries which contain the formula "sub ascia."<sup>a</sup> Is not this axe to be identified with the "holy mawle" of Aubrey, thus bringing the whole group of customs into close connection with that ancient practice of killing the aged and infirm rather than break up the family ?

<sup>a</sup> *Origines Celticae*, ii. 85.



Not only does this curious survival help us to understand the permanence of archaic ideas, but it seems to be closely connected with another set of customs, which show the setting aside of the father when old age comes on; and thus we get a kind of development from the actual killing of the father.<sup>a</sup> Some examples of this will be interesting and instructive.

By the custom of the country of Spiti, the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age, and has taken unto himself a wife . . . on each estate there is a kind of dower-house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there he is called the Káng Chumpa (small-house man).<sup>b</sup> The Scandinavian parallel to this has been described by Mr. Du Chaillu, in a passage which I think contains portions of the old formula and rights attending the ceremony. "On a visit to Husum, an important event took place, when, according to immemorial custom, the farm was to come into the possession of the eldest son. The dinner being ready, all the members of the family came in and seated themselves around the board, the father taking, as is customary, the head of the table. All at once, Roar, who was not seated, came to his father and said: 'Father, you are getting old; let me take your place.' 'Oh no, my son,' was the answer, 'I am not too old to work; it is not yet time: wait awhile.' Then with an entreating look Roar said, 'Oh, father, all your children and myself are often sorry to see you look so tired when the day's labour is over: the work of the farm is too much for you; it is time for you to rest and do nothing. Rest in your old age. Oh, let me take your place at the head of the table.' All the faces were now extremely sober, and tears were seen in many eyes. 'Not yet, my son.' 'Oh yes, father.' Then said the whole family: 'Now it is time for you to rest.' He rose, and Roar took his place and was then the master. His father, henceforth, would have nothing to do, was to live in a comfortable house, and to receive yearly a stipulated amount of grain or flour, potatoes, milk, cheese, butter, meat, &c."<sup>c</sup> In this curious narrative it is important to note how the formula adopted for the carrying out of the ceremony leads us to suppose that the occasion is a very painful and trying one to the family, and it suggests itself to my mind that in the old formula we have traces of the still older customs of the Valhalla. Similar customs existed in

<sup>a</sup> A passage in Polack's *New Zealanders* (i. p. 27) suggests that as soon as the son was born, he, "boasting of an additional branch to the ancestral tree," is superior to his progenitor.

<sup>b</sup> Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. p. 188.

<sup>c</sup> Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, i. p. 393.



Bavaria<sup>a</sup> and in Württemberg,<sup>b</sup> and I think some old Celtic customs occurring in Kinross, Ireland, and in Cornwall are to be referred to the same origin.<sup>c</sup>

From the customs we have just examined, existing among uncivilized people and in our own country, we have the proposition before us that before the question of succession to property either moveable or immoveable could have arisen the process of migration to new settlements must have come permanently to a close, and the practice of killing the aged and infirm must have ceased. When society had reached this stage, there arose for the first time what must have been a most momentous problem in primitive politics—how is the homestead to be preserved with all the sacred traditions of the ancestral hearth-worship clustering around it, and to whom was to be intrusted the sacred duty of carrying on the family and performing the religious duties to the deceased father or head?

The first answer given to this question was undoubtedly that the homestead must *not* be divided, never mind by what social risks or impoverishments such a course would be attended. How sturdily the question has been fought, and how largely the influence of a priestly religion has been brought to bear against this archaic position of absolute impartibility may be ascertained so far as India at all events is concerned by a study of Mr. J. D. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, where it is laid down that originally partition of property was entirely unknown (p. 191) until the influence of Brahminism was brought to bear upon the family, and which "has only been exerted for the purpose of breaking it up" (p. 5).<sup>d</sup>

It will be unnecessary to detail the history of the influences of the Christian priesthood on the law of property in Europe, for it is well known that its effect has been parallel to that of Brahminism in India.<sup>e</sup> But it is worth while pointing out how in face of this influence the old rules of society have survived in the many significant facts which have long affected the laws of succession in England. They are curious and deserve some investigation, and the result will prove, if I

<sup>a</sup> See *Cobden Club Essays—Primogeniture*.

<sup>b</sup> Tapper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. 188.

<sup>c</sup> I will merely refer my readers to Ure's *Agriculture of Kinross*, 997, p. 57; and cf. Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 209, and Carew's *Cornwall*, p. 38.

<sup>d</sup> But the idea spreads far beyond India. In Burmah, says Colonel Phayre, "it is considered that land cannot be alienated from the family it belongs to: there appears to be almost a religious objection to parting finally with it"—*Ethnological Society*, vi. 228; and one of our greatest difficulties in the Transvaal arose from the native idea that land was not saleable. See Correspondence, Parliamentary Paper, 1885 (c. 4588), p. 45.

<sup>e</sup> This has been touched upon in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 73.

mistake not, that in this branch of our local law we have traces of that older Aryan society which believed in the absolute impartibility of the homestead and the social unit within it.

The impartible nature of property can be shown to have existed in our own land by some curious examples of the long survival of joint-ownership, itself a development from the old family rights. Only lately M. Fustel de Coulanges, in his *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire* has had occasion to point out that the slight glimpses of the German law of inheritance afforded by Tacitus indicate that land was the joint property of the family, and that it was indivisible.<sup>a</sup> "When brothers share their patrimony" is the significant formula of the Welsh laws.<sup>b</sup> In Ireland "sometimes the co-heirs did not divide the land but continued to occupy the land in common."<sup>c</sup> In Domesday Book there are some few instances of males holding in co-parceny, or as it is there expressed *in paracio*. It is impossible here to go into the curious evidence which Domesday supplies of group-holding, but in the cases where the township was held as a joint property by a small body, Sir Francis Palgrave can only suppose that inheritances when divided were partible amongst the male heirs.<sup>d</sup> But joint-property held by the township community is a direct descendant from the joint-property of the village community.\* In Scotland I have succeeded in discovering several instances of joint tenancies, where the property has remained impartible down to modern times, though, of course, at the present time it possesses more of the characteristics of modern legal holdings than of the archaic family holding.<sup>f</sup>

In Scotland, too, there is another interesting fact which enables us to grasp how strong was the feeling against the splitting up of the homestead. It is that some estates are to be seen, as for instance in North Uist,<sup>g</sup> and in the Island of Harris in 1795, held in a kind of joint ownership by the chieftain and his descendants. Of old, says Sir John Sinclair, the chieftains planted their younger sons about them upon their own property and gave them portions of

<sup>a</sup> Cf. also Hampson's *Origines Patriciae*, p. 343; and in that unsatisfactory work, Ross's *Early History of Landholding among the Germans*, ample evidence is collected from the laws proving the original indivisibility of family property.

<sup>b</sup> See *Leges Walliae*, quoted by Mr. Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 137.

<sup>c</sup> See Sullivan's *Introd. to O'Curry's Lectures*, i. p. 182. Also *Brehon Law Tracts*, vol. iv. p. cv.

<sup>d</sup> *Hist. Eng. Com.* i. p. 66.

\* See my paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. xlv. pp. 403-422.

<sup>f</sup> I have duly discussed the archaic nature of these joint tenancies in my address to the Glasgow Archaeological Society, November 1884.

<sup>g</sup> See Sinclair's *Stat. Acc. of Scotland*, vol. xiii. 310.

land for small yearly rents which were continued with their descendants from one generation to another. Under such a system as this the old chief homestead was preserved and the clan became settled in the lands around forming an integral property which in relation to the chief homestead had not been split up and divided. Each little section was doubtless subject to its own rules of descent according to the modern laws, but in its origin the formation of the estate was archaic, and it answered at the time the question we are now discussing, namely, what was to be done when migration to new settlements was permanently stopped.

In English manorial customs we meet with evidence which is illustrative of this portion of our inquiry, and which is a sort of counterpart, under other influences, to the Scottish customs just noticed. In Lancashire and some parts of Cumberland the lord of the manor is compelled to grant a piece of ground for a house and garden to a newly-married tenant.<sup>a</sup> Clearly as regards the so-called tenant-lands, there could be no question of succession. But the struggle of the archaic family to hold its own in England is still to be traced in English law.<sup>b</sup>

I think the impartible nature of property is shown in the later history of the guild and the freedoms of municipal boroughs. Much has been written upon the origin of the guild; but one thing stands out very clearly, namely, that at one time it was a band of relations holding property in common, that is, the property was impartible, and succession took place by birth within the guild organization. This was the case at Totnes so late as 1260, and in many other places. When the guild organization gave way before commercial ideas the archaic rules became extinct; but I think the true history of this process may be traced by a comparison between the later influences of locality against the archaic influences of kinship, a comparison which, in the case of early Greek institutions, has been very ably dealt with by Mr. Fison. In the same way succession to municipal freedoms was frequently down to modern days by kinship, the enjoyment of the common property being conveyed by this tie.

The full force and significance of this objection to the partition of ancestral property in early society has not, I think, been sufficiently taken into account when endeavouring to elucidate points in early law and custom. Certainly Mr. Seebohm has missed the point when he argues that the holders of yard-lands, or bundles of recognised strips of land in the open fields, were villeins, because,

<sup>a</sup> Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, i. 289. The same curious custom existed in Scandinavia. See Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, vol. ii. p. 251.

<sup>b</sup> *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 72; Elton's *Tenures of Kent*, p. 137; Spence's *Court of Chancery*, vol. i. 148-149.

among other characteristics, their holdings were indivisible." "The very possibility," he says, "of this permanent succession, generation after generation, of a single holder to the indivisible bundle of strips called a yard-land or virgate, . . . seems to have implied the servile nature of the holding. The lord put in his servant as tenant of the yard-land, and put in a successor when the previous one died. This seems to be the theory of it." No doubt from Mr. Seebohm's point of view this theory fits in with the rest of his researches; but when we consider that the non-partition of a homestead and holding is the archaic rule, and that it held its own against great forces far down into modern times, the evidence seems to suggest that the villagers of King Ine's time, who were holding their yard-lands from generation to generation, were doing so not in obedience to the lord, but in accordance with a usage which was once sacred in their eyes, and which had still all the traditional reverence of immemorial custom—a usage sanctioned by authority far more powerful than a lord or chieftain in Anglo-Saxon times would have attained. This usage in point of fact takes us back to the "ancestral shares" of the free village community and absolutely identifies Anglo-Saxon custom with the customs of archaic, and hence unromanized, society.<sup>b</sup> Further, it must be noted that Mr. Seebohm adopts the language of the modern lawyer when he speaks of a "single holder" of the indivisible bundle of strips. The single holder has at his back the family group occupying the homestead, from which he simply stands forth as representative.<sup>c</sup> And the question as to how this group was to subsist when it became too large for its holding was answered in later Saxon times, when daughter-communities had ceased to colonize, by a process which can be shown to be perfectly archaic. This was the large influx of men into towns when commerce began to demand such recruits, and whom archaic law refused to recognise (as "landless" men) unless they put themselves under the legal protection of some lord. Thus we find

<sup>a</sup> *English Village Community*, pp. 176, 419.

<sup>b</sup> It is curious to note that this idea seems to have occurred to Mr. Seebohm himself, for at p. 77 of his work he says, "They (the villani) possessed all the unity and indivisibility of an entailed estate and were sometimes known apparently for generations by the family name of the holders. But the reason underlying all this regular devolution was not the preservation of the family of the tenant but of the services due from the said land to the lord of the manor."

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Seebohm admits this when dealing with the Irish tribes, see p. 217. But indeed it is shown by many valuable examples. Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 539, says, the possession of a house was the source of all other rights; and in English law municipal rights are in many places attached to the house.

that to many of the Domesday manors are said to belong so many burgesses—"huic manerio pertinent 6 burgenses in Crichelade" are the words with reference to Aldeborne in Wilts. But these burgesses retained in the towns the duties and rights of their own family homesteads, just as in Russia members of the village community frequently go into the towns to work but still retain all their old archaic relations with the *mir*.

Having thus far dwelt upon the obstacles which barred partition of family property we will next consider the state of things when partition began to be recognized. It will be found that several legal limitations were enforced, and some of these may be mentioned.

In India, where the objection to the partition of property exists in full force to the present day—in fact where property is considered to be joint unless proved to the contrary—one of the limitations to partition is with reference to the house-mother. "There seems," says Mr. J. D. Mayne,<sup>a</sup> "to be no doubt that originally the right of brothers to divide the family estate was deferred till after the death of the mother. . . . According to the Thesawaleme this is actually the rule. When the father dies leaving children, the mother takes all the property and gives the daughters their dowry but the sons may not demand anything as long as she lives." The Thesawaleme here alluded to is a description of the customs of the Tamil inhabitants of Jaffa, on the island of Ceylon, and Mr. Mayne goes on to give corroborative evidence from Naroda and other Hindu law writers. I think some rules of descent in English manors may be interpreted by the same archaic standard. In Somerset, the well known case of Taunton Deane, the widow succeeds "as next heir unto her husband."<sup>b</sup> At Braunston in Northamptonshire the widow succeeds upon the performance of a particular custom;<sup>c</sup> at Orleton in Herefordshire;<sup>d</sup> at Southwell in Nottinghamshire;<sup>e</sup> at Stockwood in Dorset;<sup>f</sup> and in other places the widow succeeds for her life, the property then going to the heirs of the husband. Now this in archaic law is simply a deferring of the partition until the death of the widow, a reading of the evidence which is confirmed by the fact that the provision for the chastity of the widow obtains in India as well as in England. Mr. Mayne says that the archaic explanation of this is that originally the widow succeeded so that she might raise up issue for her husband and that of course the male relations would have a strong interest in inducing a widow to

<sup>a</sup> *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 194. Compare the custom of the Andaman Islanders recorded in *Anthropological Institute*, vol. xii. p. 141.

<sup>b</sup> Shillibeer's *Customs of Taunton Deane*, p. 42.

<sup>c</sup> Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land*, p. 37.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* 236.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* 289.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* 298.



refrain from exercising her right and she would have a specially strong interest in availing herself of it; the obvious compromise to this being to allow her to succeed at once to a life estate in the property provided she waived the privilege of producing a new owner.<sup>a</sup>

In these cases the absolute impartibility of the property, that is of the family homestead, is the underlying basis of archaic thought which has given rise in various ways to customs still to be found extant in all branches of the Indo-European race. In the oldest days it was a question of migration to new settlements, or the death of the aged and infirm, and of infants, which decided the limits which a family community put upon itself for the support of all its members and the keeping together of the homestead. And even when commercial ideas had so far got the better of traditional ideas, that family properties became alienable, though not necessarily partible, there existed a law which again illustrates the strong force which archaic custom has upon even the most progressive of societies. This is known as the right of pre-emption, that is, the right of any member of a family to re-purchase property, which, having once belonged to the family, had, owing to some circumstance or other been sold or otherwise parted with; for in the words of Mr. J. D. Mayne, "as long as the land held by a family was only proportioned out by the community for their use, it is evident they could not dispose of it to a stranger without the consent of the general body,"<sup>b</sup> and this restriction was extended to the right known as pre-emption, when the land became saleable. This right exists all over the Punjab,<sup>c</sup> and in many other places,<sup>d</sup> but it will suffice if I point out its survival among English customs. It is mentioned in express terms in Ine's and Alfred's Laws, from which I will quote the following extracts, as they are little known in connection with the important subject they illustrate.

In Ine's Laws (c. 38) it is provided, "If a ceorl and his wife have a child together, and the ceorl dies, let the mother have the child and feed it; let them give her . . . shillings for support—a cow in summer, an ox in winter. Let the kin hold the homestead until it (the child) be grown up."

In Alfred's Laws (§ 41), it recites that "if a man have land, and his kin left it him, then we declare that he must not sell it out of his kindred if there be writing or witness that the man forbade who first acquired it, and those who granted it to him, that he might not."

<sup>a</sup> Mayne's *Hindu Law*, p. 447.

<sup>b</sup> *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 187.

<sup>c</sup> Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, vol. ii. p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> For the Scandinavian evidence, see Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, ii. 290.



A charter of 804 (Cod. Dip. clxxxvi.) is an example of the grants which subsequently were embodied in this law. Æthelric comes before the synodical council "cum libris et ruris . . . . . quod propinqui mei tradiderunt mihi et donaverunt." A charter of Offa's, of still earlier date (776), contains a limitation to the family in terms "post se suae propinquitatis homini cui ipse vo[luerit]" (Cod. Dip. cxxxvii).

In Domesday the right of pre-emption is expressly mentioned in the record relating to Lincoln, and there are other instances of it. Nottingham, Preston, Salford, Winchester, Fordwich, are among the boroughs which I have been able to identify as possessing this archaic provision relating to property, and it is found frequently in manorial law.<sup>a</sup> In Ireland the custom is shown to exist most curiously, as the subjoined note will illustrate.<sup>b</sup>

These few examples have illustrated the impartible nature of the archaic homestead and its attached rights of property, by showing what took place at the time when the question of partition was first presented to the members of the primitive community. And we have established, if my reading of the evidence is correct, that the self-same class of action which arose in India under these conditions exists, or has existed, in England. In India this action and its consequent legal notions are demonstrably archaic, and they live in a society where primitive politics is the governing force; and from hence we may argue that the parallel customs in England originated in the same condition of things, and hence illustrate the same phase of primitive life. We have now to apply ourselves to the final portion of our inquiry—what relation do these archaic notions of property, isolated and peculiar as they stand in English law, bear to the more fully recognised customs of succession—primogeniture and junior-right?

Both primogeniture and junior-right are known to the most archaic types of society which the modern inquirer is able to discover; but they are known, not as

<sup>a</sup> Elton's *Origins of English History*, p. 404.

<sup>b</sup> In Hardeman's *Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings chiefly relating to Landed Property* (Dublin, 1826, p. 54), it is stated that "the consent of the entire tribe or family was necessary before an individual could alienate any part of the Inheritance. Deed No. xix. is a mortgage of lands belonging to Donald MacShane to Donald O'Slattery. The conditions between Donald O'Slattery and Donald MacShane are that it shall not be in the power of any person to redeem that land from Donald O'Slattery, except Donald MacShane himself, his son or grandson. The green of Killeen is the place charged with his mortgage as is attested by Donald [ ] i.e. Sheeda and his children Finian and MacCon, and Mera, daughter of Bryan in like manner, and the children of Commeadha MacLoughlan, and many others of the race, who have given their permission and consent at both sides, A.D. 1502, this covenant has been entered into between them."

customs governing the right of succession to property, but as governing the right of succession to chiefship. This is an important distinction. Long before the question of the partition of property arose, there was need of some law of succession to the headship of the family, or the chiefship of the clan.<sup>a</sup> It was this head, or chief, who performed the funeral rites and the religious ceremonies at the sacred hearth to the manes of the deceased chief and his ancestors, and that this duty was a vastly important one in all branches of the Aryan family there is plenty of evidence to prove.

In India, where the house-religion and house-altar at the domestic hearth have not been disturbed, the question of succession to the headship of a family is almost inextricably mixed up with the question as to who should succeed to the right of offering funeral oblations to the deceased chief. And Mr. Mayne significantly quotes from Dr. Mayr, that "in later times when partition was resorted to, it became necessary to define who should offer the funeral cake, and naturally this duty fell upon those who took the inheritance."<sup>b</sup>

This, then, shows us the connection between succession to chiefship, and succession to property. It comes about at the stage in the history of society when property has lost its ancestral nature and has become partible.

The first instinct when once property became partible was to divide it amongst all the sons, corresponding to the more archaic practice of dividing the common property equally when the family was separating off to form new communities in different homesteads. And so when we come to consider where it is that this equal division takes place, we find it to exist in those places which retain most strongly the relics of early tribal organisation as distinct from village organisation. This is an important feature. But there also exists evidence to show that this partition was originally most fully and completely guarded by a long process. In Ireland, for instance, "the division of property took place in this way; each son was entitled to an equal share of the cattle and land, but not of the houses and offices, the pots, the brewing vats, and other vessels and implements, which went to the elder brother, together with the houses and offices. But in consideration of this special inheritance he was bound to accept the responsibility of entertaining the retinue of the king, a bishop, or a *Sai*. He was the stem of the family, and until his brothers became of age was responsible before the law for them, and the assertor of their rights; the guardian of his sisters and other members of the family; and plaintiff and defendant in all suits of law. During the first year of their co-occupancy, a temporary staking

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 435.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*

of the several shares of the land took place; and in the second, an exchange of lots, in order that each should know the quality and capabilities of the land of the other. In the third year the land was measured by poles and ropes to determine boundaries. In the fourth year the boundaries were conformed so as to bar litigation thereafter, and each brother gave security to maintain his fences. The *Ail* or boundary was begun to be made around it at the end of the fifth year, and should be finished within the tenth year, with the exception of a comb or capping of blackthorn, which need not be finished before the end of that year. One month after the completion of the fence the division of the land and establishment of the boundaries were legally proclaimed." "The woods, bogs, and waste continued common."<sup>a</sup>

The position of the elder brother in this interesting record is the position which is assigned in India to the son who takes upon himself the religious duties to the deceased ancestor; and it is this position which decides alike the origin of both primogeniture and junior-right.

Reeve, in his *History of English Law* (i. 76) says that "as low down as the reign of Henry I. the right of primogeniture was so feeble that if there was more than one son, the succession was divided, and the eldest son took only the *primum patris feodum*: the rest being left to the younger son or sons." Mr. Elton has pointed out that in gavelkind as in junior-right, it was customary to "let all the sons divide the heritage equally . . . but the hearth-place shall belong to the youngest son . . . and as far as forty feet round the hearth-place."<sup>b</sup> Thus the oldest forms of both primogeniture and junior-right lead us back to archaic notions of property, namely, that the homestead is sacred and impartible, that so long as the family remains together the possessions attaching to the homestead are also impartible, and that so soon as partition is admissible, equal division takes place, the homestead, however, going intact to a specially selected heir. "Property," says Mayne in relation to Hindu law, "which is in its nature impartible, can of course only descend to one of the issue, which that one is to be will depend upon the custom of the family."<sup>c</sup>

This factor in Hindu law enables us to ask, with reference to English law, is it archaic family custom which in one place allows the eldest son to succeed to the headship of the family, and in another place the youngest?<sup>d</sup> It is at this

<sup>a</sup> Sullivan's *Introduction to O'Curry's Lectures*, vol. i. pp. clxxx-clxxxii.

<sup>b</sup> *Origins of English History*, p. 190. The portions omitted from this quotation do not affect my argument.

<sup>c</sup> *Hindu Law and Usage*, 462.

<sup>d</sup> Lewin in his *Wild Races of S. E. India* gives an instance where eldest and youngest inherited to the exclusion of others, p. 280.

point that it becomes necessary to note that the family or group we are now dealing with has passed through the stages where kinship is only reckoned through females and has become a kindred reckoning its rights of membership through male descent. Turning to an example of such a kindred we may be guided by the curious evidence afforded by Kafir law, as to the answer to be given to our question: for it is the Kafir practice for the chief to have several wives, and when in old age he has a child by his favourite young wife, it is this child, the son of his youngest wife, and hence probably his youngest son, who succeeds to the chieftainship.<sup>a</sup> On the other hand, in India, where primogeniture is the general rule, the question as to who is the eldest son does not depend upon the seniority of the mother, but on priority of birth—the eldest son is the son who was born first, not the first-born son of a senior wife.<sup>b</sup> But the comparatively late form of individual succession in India, aided as it has been by English legal ideas, cannot shut out the much earlier rule that the position of the mother materially affects the laws of succession, even after kinship has ceased to be reckoned through females.<sup>c</sup> It is therefore important to note that mother-right has by no means disappeared from the customs of rural England. In the fishing town of Staithes, in Yorkshire, the children are all called by their mother's names,<sup>d</sup> in some parts of Ireland,<sup>e</sup> in Wales,<sup>f</sup> and in Scotland<sup>g</sup> the same practice obtains. If these examples be considered, together with all that Mr. McLennan has advanced, as to the wide-spread influence of the system of female kinship, we may well suggest that the fact of mother-right not even now being dead amongst us, shews it must have exercised considerable influence upon family custom within historical times.

If that influence tended in any way to sanction the practice of junior-right, or to familiarize men with the idea that the succession of the youngest was an admissible custom in certain circumstances, there was one other great event in the history of the family settlement in England which threw all its weight into the scale in favour of establishing such conditions as would make the recognition of the rights of the youngest inevitable in certain districts. This was the nature

<sup>a</sup> Maclean's *Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 26.

<sup>b</sup> Mayne's *Hindu Law*, p. 462.

<sup>c</sup> In Polack's *New Zealanders* it is related how a certain chief, proposing to bring home a new wife, the old wife objected until the chief promised "before her relations that her children only should have the inheritance," vol. i. p. 50.

<sup>d</sup> Notes and Queries. [I have lost this reference, but am certain of the fact].

<sup>e</sup> Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland*, i. 48.

<sup>f</sup> Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, p. 406.

<sup>g</sup> Burt's *Letters from the Highlands*, i. 63.

of the settlement itself. Mr. Isaac Taylor in his *Words and Places* has an instructive table, showing from an arrangement of place-names what proportion of "original settlements" to "filial colonies" each county possesses. It is found that the names of the former class—original settlements—are chiefly to be found in the south-eastern districts of the island, where the earliest Teutonic settlements were formed, namely, Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Beds, Hants, and the adjacent counties, and that these original Teutonic settlements gradually diminish in frequency as we proceed towards the northern and western counties, until in the semi-Celtic districts of Derbyshire, Devonshire, and Lancashire, they are wholly, or almost wholly, wanting. Now this instructive piece of history shows which counties, possessing original settlements, sent daughter-communities to settle in the more distant lands; and it is exactly in those same counties (where we find that in early Saxon times the village communities split up, and sent sections to form village communities elsewhere) that we find also the prevalence of the custom of junior-right, namely, Kent (the whole county), Sussex (140 manors), Middlesex (16 manors), Essex (14 manors), Norfolk (12 manors), while to the north of a line drawn between the Humber and Mersey the usage appears to have been unknown. Can we resist the conclusion, therefore, that the communities in settlement in the districts of Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, Essex, and Norfolk sent forth their eldest members to form new settlements in the yet unconquered country, leaving the youngest sons to take up the duties of family chief in the villages at home? The old associations of mother-right would thus be added to the newer necessities of settlement, and would gradually enforce a custom that youngest sons should inherit the homestead.

We have now gone through the evidence, which shortly, as it is stated here will, I hope, enable us to understand how greatly archaic family custom has affected the laws of succession in England. It is this family custom which gave the initial step towards the creation of certain modern established local rules, the most prominent being primogeniture, or junior-right. And, flowing from this archaic family custom, we have discovered a vast quantity of ideas attached to the conception of property which have in more ways than one affected the growth of laws, or rules, or customs, relating to succession.



XIII.—*Documents relating to the death and burial of king Edward II.*

*By* STUART ARCHIBALD MOORE, *F.S.A.*

---

Read April 8, 1886.

---

THE task I have set myself in this paper, a task in which I fear I shall hardly succeed, is to endeavour to wipe away from the pages of our national history one of the foulest blots that stains them, viz., the legend, the unproved rumour, of the hideous detail of the murder of king Edward II. in Berkeley Castle.

I suspect I am not the first inquirer on this subject, for I find the wardrobe account of 1 Edward III. which I shall presently refer to has been “galled,” probably for the purpose of making a copy of it.

I can find no better authority for the story of king Edward's murder than the chronicle of Adam Murimuth, who tells the tale of how the deposed king was taken to Kenilworth, and thence to Berkeley, and to Corfe, and back again to Berkeley. And that about the feast of St. Matthew the Evangelist (September 21) he was murdered by Maltravers and Gurney by the insertion of a red-hot spit into the intestines. Murimuth states that although many abbots and priors and burgesses of Bristol and Gloucester were called to see the body they only looked upon it superficially, and that it was commonly said (*dictum tamen fuit vulgariter*) that by the order of Maltravers and Gurney the king was placed under a heavy door to prevent his moving, and that a horn having been inserted in the *anus* the hot spit was thrust through it into the intestines in order that the murder might be committed without leaving marks of violence upon the body.

The account of Murimuth has been enlarged, elaborated, and varied by De la More, and later historians have improved on his account, Rapin going so far as to say that his body was immediately buried without any funeral pomp in the abbey church of Gloucester; and the tale appears to have been generally



received as authentic history unto the present time, Lingard stating it as actual fact.

Bishop Stubbs in his introduction to the second volume of the *Life of Edward II.* appears to doubt the tale, and remarks that the statements of De la More, being recorded full twenty years after the event, are susceptible of some criticism if any conflicting statements can be brought against them, and further says it is not to be wondered that, as the whole treatment of the king was secret, there should be a great mystery about his end. He corrects the error that he was buried hastily, and states (correctly) that he was buried at Gloucester with sufficient pomp, but there were suspicious "marvellous circumstances" about the whole matter. He prints the curious letter from Manuel Fieschi, purporting to contain the confession of Edward II. after his escape from Berkeley and certain mysterious adventures which had ended in his finding a resting-place in Italy. The tale of escape is that Edward changed dresses with his servant and escaped to Corfe castle, and thence to Ireland, and subsequently to Italy; but Bishop Stubbs appears to think that the letter was either a political trick devised in the French court at the beginning of the great war to throw discredit on Edward III., and possibly to create disaffection in England, or that it was the invention of an impostor or the confession of a madman; but, carefully criticising its contents, although he doubts its authenticity, he says that there "the fact remains at present, inexplicable."

The documents to which I am about to refer may, I think, help us to throw some little light on the subject, and will, I think, utterly disprove the tale of the king's escape; but the history of his death is a dark one, and one entry in these documents to which I shall presently refer more particularly gives ground for surmises with respect to the story which cuts both ways.

We have first on the Chancellor's Roll of 1 Edward III. the account of Thomas de Berkeley and John Maltravers of the moneys received by them and expended for the expenses of king Edward II. while they had the custody of him living, and the custody of his body after his death, from 3 April, 1 Edward III., on which day they "were assigned to be in his company" at Kenilworth, until 21st September, when he died at Berkeley, and thence to 21st day of October, when they delivered his body to the Abbot of St. Peter of Gloucester, at Gloucester. They account for the receipt of 700*l.* and take credit for their payments for his expenses for 201 days at 100*s.* a day, viz. 1005*l.*, and so their expenditure exceeded their receipts by 305*l.* This balance I find from the records of the Exchequer was allowed to them in discharge of certain debts owing by them for custodies of lands due in the

Exchequer. Of the particulars of the account, unfortunately, there is no record, nor do the accountants refer to any such particulars; so that we have nothing to check the tale of the king's illness, which has been told by the chroniclers. Rewards and grants were showered lavishly on Maltravers after the death of the king; and in 3 Edward III. we find him as steward of the household to queen Isabella, and receiving a grant of several manors forfeited by John Giffard.

We have on the Chancellor's Roll of 6 Edward III., amongst the records of the Court of Exchequer, the enrolment of the account of Hugh de Glaunvill, clerk, who was assigned, by patent dated 22nd October, 1 Edward III. to cause the body of the king to be brought from Berkeley castle to the abbey of St. Peter, Gloucester, and to pay the wages of those who were to stay with the body, and to pay other expenses for the keeping of the said body. And he accounts for payments made from 21st September until 20th December, when the body was buried. He accounts for various sums received from various quarters, amounting to 77*l.* 12*s.*, and takes credit for the following payments among others: To the bishop of Llandaff, who was ordered by the king to stay with the body at Gloucester until the funeral, viz. 13*s.* 4*d.* a day for his expenses from 21st day of October, when the body was taken from Berkeley to Gloucester, until the 10th November following; and for a further payment to the said bishop of 26*l.* for staying there from the 10th November to the 20th December. He paid to Robert de Hastang, knight, 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for staying with the body from the 20th October to the 23rd November, and a further sum of 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for staying on until the 20th December. There are similar payments to Edmund Wasteneys knight; Bernard de Burgh, the king's chaplain; Richard de Potesgrave, called Byfleet, the king's chaplain; Bertrand de la More and John de Enfield, the king's serjeants-at-arms; and to Andrew, the king's *candelarius*; all these payments dating from 20th October. The body was given up by Berkeley and Maltravers on 21st October, and was brought to Gloucester on that day.

The next item of this account however dates back to the day of the king's death, viz., 21st September, and is a payment to William Beaucaire, the king's serjeant-at-arms, for staying at Berkeley and Gloucester with the body of the king (*juxta corpus regis*) from 21st September—the day of his death—until 20th December.

Now we have seen that Berkeley and Maltravers had the custody of the body from 21st September until the 21st October, during which time it must have been embalmed. Berkeley and Maltravers had their wages for the care of the king's body during this time, and we should have expected that they would have pro-

vided for the attendance of the body, and paid the wages of those who attended it. But here, in this account, we find that Beaupre must have been at Berkeley with the king at the time of his death, and that he was a royal officer apparently independent of Berkeley and Maltravers, and if this were so, some doubt is thrown upon the suggestion that the unfortunate king was left wholly unprotected and unattended, at the mercy of his keepers, as the historians have stated. In the next item in the account, Glaunvill takes credit for his own wages from the 23rd October to the 20th December. He then further claims for four days after the burial of the king, when he was accounting with the king's ministers, and returning from Gloucester to Worcester, "bringing a certain woman who disembowelled the king to the queen by the king's order, for two days, staying there one day, and thence returning to York for four days"; and he refers for the item to the roll of particulars delivered by him into the Exchequer. Now this roll of particulars exists, and it is remarkable that the item for the journey to Worcester with the woman is entirely omitted from it. This, of course, may have been a purely accidental omission, which he may have corrected at the passing of his account; but the omission has a suspicious appearance, and it would look as though the suppression of the item was intentional. In the roll of particulars he charges for the four days after the funeral as spent in accounting with the king's ministers, and then charges for seven days going thence to York. Now, seven days is too long a period for such a journey, and it is just possible that the Barons of the Exchequer at the audit of the account may have inquired how those seven days were spent, and thus have elicited from the accountant that he spent two days taking the woman to Worcester. The alteration is suspicious. The motive for suppressing the fact is still more so, and gives rise to much speculation. Longman, in his *History of Edward III.*, p. 20, says that it is nearly certain that no suspicion that the king's death was caused by violence was entertained at the time, for the young king took no steps to inquire into the cause of his father's death; but this entry goes to show that he did take steps to inquire, and we may fairly surmise that a rumour having reached the king that his father had been barbarously murdered in the manner suggested by the historians, he had made inquiries—possibly at the instigation of the queen, and had sent the woman—who must have known the truth, if the tale of the historians is true—to prove to the queen the untruth of the story. It is impossible to conceive, if the result of his inquiry was to prove the truth of the hideous tale, that the king would have deliberately suppressed the fact; or, that if he had found it necessary to suppress it, he would have suborned the woman to perjure herself to the queen, when the simple course lay open to

him to get rid of the woman, and to assure the queen that no barbarous violence had been used. The other supposition must be, that the woman had deceived the king under threats from Gurney and Maltravers, and that the queen was *particeps criminis*, and wished to know the details of the king's death. Many other suggestions might be made. But on the whole, I think it is extremely difficult to suppose that if the queen was cognisant of the murder she would have run the risk of the discovery of her complicity in its guilt by this unknown woman, with whom she seems to have desired to hold converse. Of course, silence might be imposed upon such a woman by various means, but the danger of her knowledge leaking out was very serious, and the chance of her talking on the subject was greatly increased by her having been brought specially into the royal presence. Again, when the inquiry as to the murder of the king was made three years after in parliament, in 4 Edward III., this woman's evidence (supposing her to be still alive) would have been sought to procure the condemnation of the murderers, but there is no trace of it nor any reference whatever to the manner of the murder, so far as I can discover. It is merely said that Thomas Gurney and William de Ocle falsely and traitorously murdered him, and the only evidence that we have of the horrible tale is the gossip of the chronicler, told by him only as gossip, and the amplification of that gossip by Thomas de la More written twenty years after. Thomas de la More's tale smacks strongly of romance. The story that the keepers tried to shave the king with ditch water, and the small joke that the king cried out that he would have hot water whether they liked it or not, and then began to weep profusely, seem too ridiculous. It reminds one much of the narratives of the miracles of saints, and numerous similar tales may be found in the Polychronicon. It would be interesting to discover whether there was such a person as William Bisshop, on whose testimony this tale is given, but whether there was such a person or not, unless the spiritualists will produce his ghost, I for one decline to believe it. Again, De la More's description of the message sent to Gurney and Maltravers in the ambiguous phrase "*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*," and the suggestion of what may be called a slip in punctuation whereby the king's keepers interpreted it into an order to kill him is another specimen of that species of medieval witticism with which old chronicles and tales abound, and cannot I think be taken as serious history by anyone; nor is it likely that anyone would have dared to write on such a subject, even in enigmas. Again, De la More's tale that the king was shut up in a chamber full of foetid smells with a view to cause his death smacks strongly of the romancer. De la More moreover differs in two particulars from Murimuth's



tale, for he says that the king was smothered with great bolsters and heavy weights, and murdered by the insertion of a red hot plumbing iron through a tube passed into the *anus*, whereas Murimuth states that *dictum fuit vulgariter* that he was placed under a heavy door and killed with a heated spit, *veru*.

The inflated and pompous style of De la More does not add greatly to the credibility of his narrative. Whether he took the tale from the *vulgariter dictum* or how this *vulgariter dictum* came to be spread it is impossible to tell, but it is worthy of remark that one of the serjeants-at-arms who attended the king's body a month after his death was Bertrand de la More. I cannot discover that there is any connection between this person and William de la More. All that I can find about him is that in 20 Edward III. before the king's deposition, a pension of ten marks out of the fee-farm of the city of London was granted to him for good service. He may have heard the *vulgariter dictum* and may have told it "with advantages" to Thomas de la More assuming that they were connected. That the king was murdered in some way hardly I think admits a doubt. The fact of his body remaining for a month in the hands of Berkeley and Maltravers in the care of only a single serjeant-at-arms (Beaukaire), during which period it was secretly embalmed, and embalmed by a woman and not by the king's physicians, shows almost conclusively that there was good reason to conceal a crime, but that this crime was committed in the horrible manner which rumour has reported is I think scarcely credible. The art of poisoning, and secretly poisoning, was we may be assured as well understood at this period in England as in Italy, and the chance of detection in the then condition of medical knowledge was infinitesimal. We are told that many knights and burgesses of Gloucester and Bristol were called to view the body, but we are not told that the face of the corpse showed signs of the horrible and violent death which is assigned to it. On the contrary, historians have said that the face was peaceful in its expression. The object of the murderers was secrecy, and their desire was to produce every appearance of natural death. It is, I think, inconceivable that they would have had recourse to a form of torture which must have left unmistakeable marks of agony on the face of the deceased when their end might well have been attained by the administration of a simple narcotic. That Murimuth was right in saying that the rumour of the cause of death was spread gains in credence from the discovery of the before-mentioned account, but that it was anything but a rumour is, I think, not proven. If De la More's narrative be rejected, and I think after what I have said its credibility is rudely shaken, we have only Murimuth and his imitators to fall back upon, and he goes no further than that *vulgariter dictum fuit*.

We have no distinct evidence in these accounts that the knights and burgesses came to view the body, nor as to when they did so. It is clear, however, that it is meant that this inspection took place at Berkeley, but we have, unluckily, no particulars of Berkeley and Maltravers' account. In Glaunvill's account he charges for four great pieces of oak fit to be sawn into bars to resist the pressure of the crowding people, with the wages of the carpenters sawing them; but this seems to refer to something taking place at Gloucester, although it is not so actually stated.

There is one other fact in this mysterious case that must not be forgotten, viz. that Glaunvill's account was not passed in the Exchequer until 8 Edward III., seven years after the death of the king, and four years after the condemnation of his murderers. This circumstance is worthy of remark, but too much must not be made of it, as innumerable instances of accounts not passed for many years after they had been closed can be shown on the Exchequer rolls.

There is a legend that queen Isabella was buried at the Grey Friars, London, with the heart of her murdered husband on her breast. If this be true, it offers another solution of the visit of the woman to the queen, but hardly accounts for the king's order to send her.

As to the statement of historians that the king was buried secretly, this is a piece of romancing and imagination which is not to be laid at the door either of Murimuth or De la More, and the account of the keeper of the great wardrobe for 1 Edward III. will sufficiently refute that portion of the story.

The account of Thomas de Useflet, the supervisor of the great wardrobe for the year 1 Edward III. shows us very fully that the funeral of king Edward the Second was conducted with great pomp. There are charges for quantities of gold leaf for decorating with leopards the harness, four standards, and twenty pennants for the king's funeral. More gold leaf for decorating the coverings of the horses. Eight hundred gold leaves was used for the covering lying upon the body of the king at Gloucester. There are charges for robes of knights, and tunics. Also for four great lions made by the hands of John de Eastwick, painter, of the best gilt, with mantles upon them of the arms of the king of England, to be carried on four sides of the hearse, together with the making of four images of the Evangelists standing upon the hearse. Also for the making of eight angels censuring with gold censers, and with two great lions rampant, otherwise called volant, *nobiliter deaurat.*, standing outside the hearse. There are large charges for the carriage of necessaries from London to Gloucester.

A careful perusal of the account shows the elaborate nature of the funeral. Sir John Darcy, knight, was appointed to provide and supervise the things



necessary for the obsequies, and was paid his wages at 13s. 4d. a-day from 22nd November to 21st December. The hearse appears to have been hired at London from Andrew, *candelarius*, but another seems to have been made between 24th November and 11th December.

Forty shillings was paid for carving a wooden image in the likeness of the deceased king, and a copper gilt crown for the same cost 7s. 3d. The sewing of the vestments in which the king was buried, together with a German coverchief, are charged for, but the account is decayed and I cannot read the amount. The account has been marked with gall, and has probably been referred to by some previous inquirers. It is marked as enrolled, but I have not discovered the enrolment.

I regret that I have not the leisure to work out the records relating to this period more carefully. Some future labourer may I hope be instigated by this attempt to complete the work. I cannot claim to have elucidated this difficult question to a very great extent, but I have appended to this paper copies of those accounts that remain on record as a guide to future students. I devoutly hope that further research and criticism may at last absolutely demonstrate that this awful tale of barbarous murder is only a "vulgariter dictum."

---

## APPENDIX.

## Chancellor's Roll, 1 Edw. III.

Compotus Thome de Berkele et Johannis Mautravers Philippi de Norwico attornati prefati, Thome sicut continetur in Memoranda de anno secundo Regis huius pro eodem Thoma de denariis eis pro expensis domini E. nuper Regis Anglie patris Regis huius liberatis de tempore quo iidem Thomas et Johannes in comitiva dicti patris extiterunt dum vixit ac etiam de tempore quo custodiam corporis sui post mortem suam habuerunt a tercio die Aprilis anno primo quo die iidem Thomas et Johannes assignati fuerunt esse in comitiva dicti Regis patris apud Kenilworth usque xxj diem Septembris proximo sequentem quo die idem Rex E. pater obiit apud Berkele et ab eodem xxj die Septembris usque xxj die Octobris proximo sequentem quo die liberaverunt corpus dicti defuncti Abbati Sancti Petri Gloucestrie apud Gloucestriam per breve Regis inter communia de anno secundo irrotulatum in Memoranda de eodem anno termino Sancte Trinitatis datum xv. die Maij dicto anno secundo per quod Rex mandavit Baronibus quod ipsi computent cum prefatis Thoma et Johanne de pecuniarum summis pro expensis dicti regis E. patris eis liberatis et eis C.s. quolibet die de tempore quo in comitiva ipsius patris dum vixit extiterunt et custodiam corporis sui post mortem suam habuerunt allocatis.

Iidem reddunt compotum de D. li. receptis de Johanne de Langeton per ipsum Thomam de Berkele super expensis dicti regis patris de quibusdam denariis nuper existentibus in Castro de Kaerfilly in custodia ipsius Johannis remanentibus sicut continetur in compoto eiusdem Johannis de denariis predictis et de quibusdam bonis et catallis in dicto Castro inventis in hoc Regis primo rotulo compotorum. Et de lxvj li. xiiij s. iiii d. receptis per ipsos Thomam et Johannem de Thesauro Regis videlicet de Thesaurario et Camerario de Scaccario per manus Ricardi de Harsefeld vellecti predicti Thome xvj. die Julij dicto anno primo super expensis predictis. Et de xl li. receptis de Abbate de Chirburne de fine pro servicio suo in exercitu Scotie anno primo Regis huius per breve eidem Abbati super hoc directum. Et de lx li. receptis de Abbate Glaston de consimili fine pro servicio suo de dicto exercitu per consimile breve de Scaccario. Et de l. marcis receptis de Willelmo Trussel nuper Escaetore Regis ultra Trentam de exitibus ballive sue super eisdem expensis per consimile breve.

Summa. DCC. li.

De quibus iidem computant in expensis dicti Regis Edward patris a tercio die Aprilis anno primo regis huius quo die predicti Thomas et Johannes primo devenerunt in comitivam Regis apud Kenilworth usque xxj. diem Septembris proximo sequentem quo die obiit apud Berkele et ab eodem die usque xxj. diem Octobris proximo sequentem quo die corpus dicti defuncti liberatum fuit apud Gloucestriam Abbati Sancti Petri Glouc quo die iidem Thomas et Johannes ulterius habuerunt custodiam corporis dicti defuncti per ccj. dies primo die computato pro quolibet die C.s. per predictum breve. Mf. v li.

Summa expensarum mf. v li. Et habet de superplusagio cccv li.

De quibus allocantur dicto Johanni in rotulo sequente in Item Suht xxx ti. pretextu brevis Regis inter communia de anno tercio et considerationis Baronum annotata in memoranda de anno tercio inter Recorda de termino Pasche. Et eidem Johanni in rotulo tercio in Suht in firma Manerii de Alvyngtoñ xxx ti. pretextu brevis predicti.

Enrolment on the Chancellor's Roll, 6 Edw. III. No. 125.

Original MS. Exchequer Q. R. Wardrobe N.  $\frac{5}{4}$ .

Compotus Hugonis de Glaunvill clerici assignati ad corpus Regis E. patris Regis huius defuncti duci faciendum de Castro de Berkele vsque ad Abbatiam Sancti Petri Gloucestrie et ad solvenda vadia illis qui in comitiva dicti corporis proficisci deberent et morari et ad alias expensas factas que pro conservatione dicti corporis fieri oporteret per breve Regis patens datum xxij. die Octobris anno primo per visum et testimonium Ricardi de Byffet quem Rex assignavit ad dictas expensas supervidendas contrarotulandas et testificandas videlicet de vadiis solutis et aliis expensis necessariis per ipsum Hugonum factis a xxj. die Septembris dicto anno primo quousque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequentem quo die corpus dicti domini Regis sepeliebatur ibidem.

Recepta.

Idem reddit compotum de C. s. receptis de Thesaurario et Camerario ad receptum Scaccarii xxiiij die Octobris anno secundo incipiente super expensis et vadiis solvendis illis qui juxta corpus dicti Regis morabantur apud Gloucestriam sicut continetur in pelle memorandorum ad eandem receptum de termino Sancti Michaelis eodem anno et etiam in rotulo de particulis quem liberavit in Thesaurario. Et de xxviiij ti. vj s. viij d. receptis de Thoma de Rodburne vicecomite Glouc super consimilibus expensis per breve regis de Scaccario eidem Thome de maiori summa directum et acquietanciam dicti Hugonis eidem factam sicut continetur ibidem. Et de xiiij ti. receptis de Ricardo Panos et Thoma de Rossele collectoribus veteris custume et noue in portu Bristoll super consimilibus expensis per aliud breve Regis de Scaccario eisdem collectoribus directum et acquietanciam dicti Hugonis eisdem factam sicut continetur ibidem. Et de xiiiiij ti. receptis de Thoma Fairday et Henrico Lovecok Collectoribus custume Regis in portu Exon super consimilibus expensis per tercium breve de Scaccario eisdem Collectoribus directum sicut continetur ibidem. Et de vj ti. x s. receptis de prestito garderobe de Roberto de Wodehous custode garderobe Regis per manus Roberti de Scorland apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris in perpacionem vadiorum domini Edwardi de Wastenys pro mora sua juxta corpus Regis apud Gloucestriam sicut continetur ibidem. Et de viij ti. xiiij s. iij d. receptis de prestito garderobe Regis de eodem Roberto in perpacionem vadiorum domini Roberti de Hastanġ morantis juxta corpus Regis apud Gloucestriam per manus eiusdem Roberti predicto xxvj. die Decembris, sicut continetur ibidem. Et de xliij s. receptis de prestito garderobe de eodem Roberto per manus Willelmi de Hillom apud North. xv. die Maij pro vadiis domini Bernardi Bergh de Kyrkeby sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa Recepta lxxvij ti. xij s.

Expense.

De quibus idem compotat in solutione Johanni Landavensis Episcopo ordinato per dominum Regem ad morandum apud Gloucestriam juxta corpus dicti Regis patris usque ad funeracionem eiusdem percipiendam per diem xiiij s. iij d. pro expensis suis iuxta ordinacionem consilii apud Nottingham quam diu moraretur ibidem videlicet a xxj. die Octobris quo die dictum corpus duce-

batur de Berkele ad Abbatiam Sancti Petri Glouc' usque x. diem Novembris proximo sequentem per xx dies utroque die comp xij li. vj s. viij d. per literam Regis de privato sigillo et ij. acquietancias dicti Episcopi receptionem dictorum denariorum testificantes sicut continetur in dicto rotulo de particulis. Et eidem Episcopo commoranti ibidem a predicto decimo die Novembris usque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequente per xxxix. dies capienti per diem ut supra pro consimilibus expensis suis xxvj li. per computum factum cum eodem apud Gloucestriam xxiiij. die Decembris anno primo sicut continetur ibidem. Et Roberto de Hastangs militi moranti ibidem per ordinacionem supradictam capienti per diem vj s. viij d. a. xx. die Octobris anno predicto usque xxij. diem Novembris proximo sequentem per xxxiiij. dies primo die computato xj li. vj s. viij d. per literam Regis de privato sigillo et iiij. acquietancias dicti Roberti receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Roberto pro consimilibus expensis suis a predicto xxij. die Novembris usque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequente per xxvj. dies per manus Roberti de Wodehous custodis garderobe Regis apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris de qua summa dictus Hugo oneratur supra inter receptum denariorum viij li. xij s. iiij d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et Edmundo Wasteneys militi moranti ibidem iuxta ordinacionem supradictam capienti per diem v s. a xx°. die Octobris anno predicto, usque xxij. diem Novembris proximo sequentem per xxxiiij. dies primo die computato viij li. x s. per supradictam literam Regis de privato sigillo et acquietanciam dicti Edmundi receptionem dicte summe testificantem sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Edmundo a predicto xxiiij. die Novembris usque xx. diem Decembris proximo sequentem per xxvj dies per manus Roberti de Wodehous custodis garderobe Regis apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris de qua summa dictus Hugo oneratur supra inter receptionem denariorum capiens per diem ut supra vj li. x s. sicut continetur ibidem. Et Bernardo de Bergh capellano Regis moranti ibidem per ordinacionem supradictam capienti per diem iiij s a xx°. die Octobris anno predicto usque quintum diem Decembris proximo sequente per xlvj dies utroque die computato vj li. xviiij s. per supradictam literam Regis de privato sigillo et iiij acquietancias dicti Bernardi receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Bernardo a predicto v. die Decembris usque xx. diem eiusdem mensis proximi sequentis per xiiij dies primo die computato per manus Roberti de Wodehous custodis garderobe Regis apud Wygorñ xxvj. die Decembris de qua summa dictus Hugo oneratur supra inter receptionem denariorum capiens ut supra xlij s. sicut continetur ibidem. Et Ricardo de Potesgrave dicto Byflete capellano Regis moranti per ordinacionem supradictam a xx°. die Octobris anno predicto usque v. diem Decembris proximum sequentem per xlvj dies utroque die computato capienti per diem iiij s. vj li. xviiij s. per supradictam literam Regis de privato sigillo et iiij acquietancias dicti Ricardi receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem Ricardo moranti ibidem a predicto v. die Decembris usque xx. diem eiusdem mensis per xiiij dies primo die computato xlij s. per computum cum eodem factum apud Glouc' xxij. die Decembris anno predicto sicut continetur ibidem. Et Bertrando de la More et Johanni de Enefeldt servientibus Regis ad arma et Andree Candelario Regis morantibus ibidem iuxta corpus Regis per ordinacionem supradictam a predicto xx. die Octobris anno predicto usque x. diem Decembris proximum sequentem per l. dies utroque die computato quorum quilibet cepit per diem xij d. per supradictum tempus vij li. x s. per supradictam literam regis de privato sigillo et ix. acquietancias eorundem receptionem dicte summe testificantes sicut continetur ibidem. Et eisdem morantibus

ibidem capientibus ut supra a predicto x. die Decembris usque xx. diem eiusdem mensis proximum sequentem per x. dies ultimo die computi xxx s. per computum factum cum eisdem apud Gloucestriam xvij. die Decembris anno predicto sicut continetur ibidem. Et Willelmo Beukaire servienti Regis ad arma moranti apud Berkeley et Gloucestriam iuxta corpus Regis a die Sancti Mathei videlicet xxj. die Septembris quo die Rex obiit usque xx. diem Decembris proximum sequentem anno predicto capienti per diem xij d. per ordinacionem supradictam per iiij s. x. dies utroque die computato iiij ti. x s. per literam Regis de priuato sigillo et acquietanciam eiusdem receptionem dicte summe testificantem. Et predicto Hugoni de Glaunvill clerico assignatur per Thesaurarium et Barones ad soluciones et expensas predictas faciendas pro vadiis suis a xxij. die Octobris anno predicto quo die recessit de Eboraco versus Berkele et Gloucestriam eundo et morando ibidem circa sepulturam corporis Regis predicti usque xx. diem Decembris proximum sequentem per lx. dies utroque die computato x ti. percipienti per diem iij s. iiij d. per consideracionem Baronum sicut continetur ibidem. Et eidem moranti apud Gloucestriam ad computandum cum ministris Regis per iiij s. dies post sepulturam corporis dicti Regis et redeundo de ibidem usque [Wygorn ducendo quandam mulierem que exviceravit Regem ad Reginam precepto Regis per duos dies morando ibidem per unum diem et abinde redeundo usque Ebo<sup>a</sup> per iiij s. dies capienti vt supra xxxvj s. viij d. sicut continetur ibidem]. Et cuidam garcioni deferenti breve Regis et literam dicti Hugonis de Gloucestriam usque civitatem Oxon Thome Fairday et Henrico Loucok collectoribus veteris et noue custume ibidem pro denariis ab eisdem habendis eundo et redeundo per x. dies ex conventionem certa facta cum eodem iij s. vj. sicut continetur ibidem. Et cuidam garcioni eunti de Gloucestria usque Bristoll ad deferendum breve Regis et literam dicti Hugonis pro consimili causa eundo et redeundo per iij. dies vj d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et cuidam garcioni deferenti literam dicti Hugonis de Gloucestria usque Ebor Thesaurario et Baronibus de Scaccario ad certificandam eos de apparatu et ordinacionibus factis ibidem pro corpore Regis eundo et redeundo per x. dies xx d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et cuidam garcioni deferenti literam Regis de Gloucestria usque London Thome de Vseffete custodi magne garderobe Regis pro apparatu et alijs rebus ordinatis festinandis pro sepultura corporis dicti Regis et ducendis de London. usque Gloucesteriam eundo et redeundo per vij. dies xiiij d. sicut continetur ibidem. Et in iiij. magnis lignis de quercu aptis ad sarrandis ad barras factis pro claustra circa corpus Regis ad resistendam oppressionem populi irruentis una cum stipendis carpentariorum et sarratorum viij s. ix d. sicut continetur ibidem.

Summa expensarum cxviij ti. vij s. xj d. Et habet in surplusagium xl ti. xv s. viij d.

Attached to the original account is a writ dated York, 10 May, 8 Edward III., addressed to Richard de Potesgrave, called Byfleet, ordering him to attend before the Barons of the Exchequer with his controlments, and all other things touching the account of Hugh de Glaunvill, to assist in passing the said account in the Quinzaine of Trinity the next to come. Richard de Byfleet's controlment roll is attached to the original account, and is a copy of it.

\* The original account reads, in place of the words within brackets, as follows:—

Ebo<sup>a</sup> p vij. dies cap ut sup<sup>a</sup> xxxv. s ix d.



XIV.—*Some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini.* By F. M. NICHOLS, F.S.A.

---

Read June 24, 1886.

---

Hic LOCUS EXIGUUS, qui sustinet ATRIA VESTAE,  
Tunc erat intonsi REGIA magna Numa.

OVID.

DURING my stay in Rome in the early part of this year I found time to examine and make some plans of a part of the excavations of the Forum, which had not before, so far as I know, been subjected to any very careful study; though the site is one of the most interesting and important even in that interesting locality,—the ground which immediately surrounds the remains of the temple of Vesta, the central hearth of the Roman people, and the place of deposit of their most venerable and sacred treasures.

The principal part of this ground has been excavated for some ten or twelve years, and is occupied by ruins belonging to various epochs; some of which are remains of tufo walls of a very remote antiquity, others constructions of concrete and brick ascribable to the later centuries of the empire or to a time when the ancient monuments were already in ruin; others, as will be seen, belonging to the time when Roman art was at its best; but all so fragmentary and confused that no one has hitherto had the patience to analyse them or to attempt to explain their history.

A slight extension of the excavation in a south-eastern direction led in 1882 to the discovery of the residence of the Vestal virgins, of which Professor Middleton has communicated to our Society a detailed description.\* The

\* *Archaeologia*, vol. xlix. p. 391.



complete revelation of the Vestals' House has placed in more striking contrast our ignorance respecting the ground more immediately surrounding the temple; and it is upon a part of this subject that I shall hope this evening to throw some light.

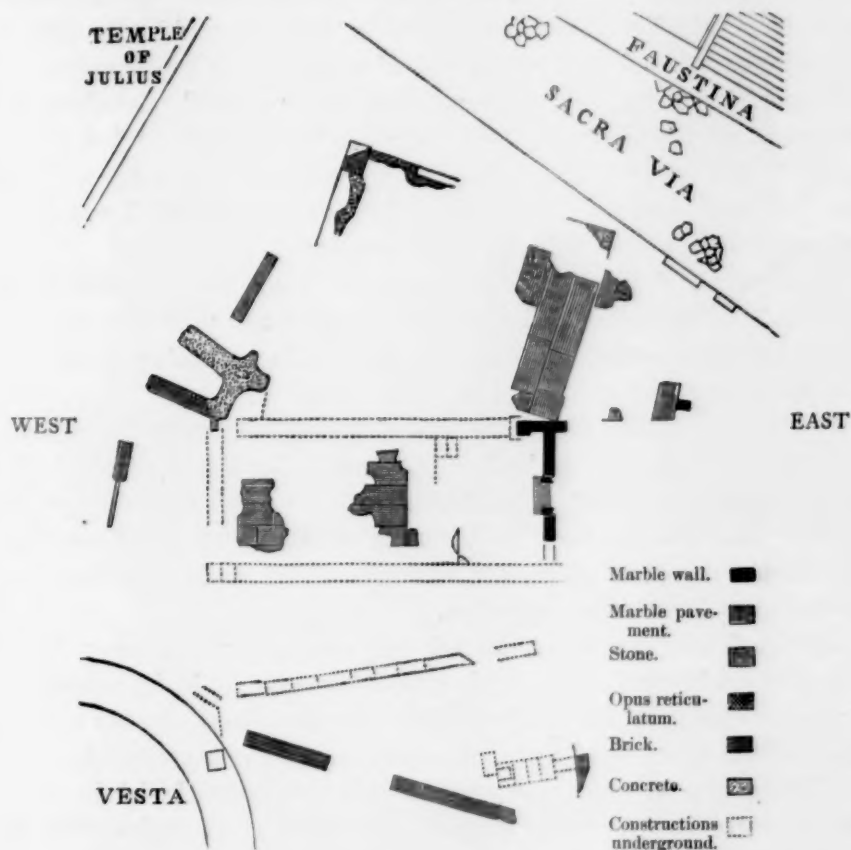
My first investigations were directed to the locality lying to the north-east of the Vestal temple, between that ruin and the temple of Faustina; and after a slight examination my pains were rewarded by a discovery which, if I mistake not, has turned out of considerable interest and importance. In this locality are the remains of a building, the most striking peculiarity of which is that it was constructed with walls of solid marble, and in this respect is unique among the existing remains of ancient Rome. The emperor Augustus is said to have boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble: but it is well known that this exotic material was usually employed in Rome as a veneer over walls of stone or concrete; and even in monuments of the best time and most costly construction, as in the cell-wall of the temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus himself, the blocks of marble were only introduced in horizontal bands inserted in a wall of stone, which was covered in other parts with a stout facing of marble slabs.

When we consider the value and the facility of removal of the materials of the building which I have mentioned, we cannot be surprised to find that but a small part of its walls remains in position. Enough, however, has been found to indicate the plan of what appears to have been its principal room, and to give us some idea of the form and character of some adjoining apartments. The parts of which traces remain are the following:—

i. An area measuring (in the interior) 20 Roman feet by 50;\* the four sides of which face the four cardinal points of the horizon, the longer sides being to the south and north. On the east side there remain the greater part of the lowest course of a marble wall and one stone of the second course, with a doorway in the middle 4 Roman feet wide, of which we still see the marble threshold and portions of marble jambs. At the north-east corner the lowest course of marble masonry is continued to the extent of about 3 feet on the north side. The walls on both these sides appear to have been the partition walls of a building, and not external walls, since they were only from 18 to 20 inches thick. The material is white marble, I believe of Lucca or Carrara. Within the space formerly included in these walls are considerable remains of a pavement formed of grey marble. Part of the pavement extends to a distance of 47 feet from the east

\* I take the Roman foot at .296 met. or 11.65 inches English.

wall, near which point the room appears to have ended, as there are remains of a foundation, beyond which the level of the ground falls about 3 feet.



Plan of ruins between the Temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way. Scale 1:300.

At the north-west corner is a small fragment of *opus quadratum* in travertine, which is parallel to the east and west sides of the room. This fragment is connected with a short wall of *opus reticulatum* of an early date (that of the commencement of the empire),<sup>a</sup> which runs off to the west in an oblique direction, and at a lower level than the principal ruin.

<sup>a</sup> On the north side of this wall (in the upper part, to the left) may be found some of those brick-shaped blocks of tufo which were employed as a framework to the *opus reticulatum*, before the use of bricks for this purpose.

ii. To the east of the area which I have described there appears to have been another room of the same width and of uncertain length, the former existence of which is shown by the extension of the north partition wall beyond the corner of the first room, (the line of which wall may be further traced by the edge of the pavement of area iv.) and also by the east of a part of its south wall which has been left upon the concrete of a later wall of the time of the decadence.<sup>a</sup> The small fragment of the north wall of this room is composed of five courses of marble, and is the most perfect sample which remains of the construction of the building. This will be hereafter described. The two areas i. and ii. communicated with each other by the door which has been mentioned.

iii. To the north of the area first mentioned is a space still partially paved with large slabs of white marble,<sup>b</sup> having on its north and west sides some traces of the foundations of walls, those on the north side not being parallel to the partition wall on the south.

iv. To the north of the site of the second room is another space with remains of a pavement of grey marble, having on its east side a wall, of which the only remaining trace consists of a fragment of the marble jamb of a door, with some faint lines of a moulding on it. To the south no vestige of a wall remains. On the west side the pavement appears to have joined that of the space last described (iii.), without any intermediate partition.

iii. and iv. These two areas, though not rectangular, appear to have been originally covered in with roofs. This must have been so, if the marble wall, of which a part remains to the south of them, was, as I have already suggested, a partition, and not an external wall. The divisions of the pavement crossing each other at right angles in space iii. appear to have been parallel with its north and west walls; those in space iv. were parallel and at right angles with its east wall, and are not parallel with those in space iii.

The character of the wall-construction is, as I have already mentioned, best seen in the fragment remaining at the north-west corner of the second room. This interesting relic of marble masonry has been preserved by the erection over it of a wall of brick and concrete at a time when the original building was already in ruins. Its condition at that time is shown by the brickwork being used to fill up the defects already existing in the masonry, and being continued on the top of the remaining courses of marble. The existing fragment is 8 feet 7 inches high,

<sup>a</sup> The more recent wall is omitted in the plan. Its remains extend in a direction from north to south over the ruins of the marble building. This is seen in the accompanying illustration.

<sup>b</sup> This pavement resembles in its material that on the east side of the temple of Faustina.



FRAGMENT OF MARBLE WALL.



TUFO SUBSTRUCTION OF MARBLE BUILDING.





composed of five courses, each block being from 22 to 23 inches in height, and the lowest course bedded about 8 inches below the surface of the pavement.<sup>a</sup> The blocks are all placed lengthwise, and vary from 44 to 46 centim. ( $17\frac{1}{2}$  to  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches) in width across the wall,<sup>b</sup> presenting an even surface towards the north and an uneven surface to the south. The north side still retains some traces of a thin coating of original stucco. The joints are accurately worked, as in the best Roman masonry; and on the smooth side, towards the north, the horizontal joints are marked with a band  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch wide, slightly sunk, along the bottom only of each block. No mortar was used.<sup>c</sup> Those who are familiar with Roman construction will recognise, in the description I have given, the character of the best period.

Another indication of the age of this building is furnished by the line of the axis of its principal apartment. The walls of the rectangular area to the south are not parallel to the Sacred Way, nor to the walls of the Vestals' House or the neighbouring constructions of the second or later centuries, but are parallel to those of the more ancient buildings at a lower level, between the Sacred Way and the Vestals' House, which were described by Mr. Middleton in his valuable paper to which I have already alluded. What relation those buildings had to that with which we are now dealing, I shall have to consider hereafter.

The remains which I have described are sufficient to show, that at least as early as the first century of the empire a monument of unusually costly construction occupied the narrow but important site between the temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way. These scanty remains were all that was visible when I called attention to this subject in Rome last March, and they are all that is visible now. But, in the meantime, a fresh excavation has been made, which has been since again covered in, and the results of which I must now proceed to explain.

I had pointed out that, in my judgment, a careful examination of this ground was unfavourable to the opinion—which had found considerable support among the Italian and German antiquaries, and which has also been accepted by our distinguished colleague Professor Middleton—that the Sacred Way, or its continuation through the Forum, passed at the close of the Republic and for some time later in front of the temple of Castor, and by the side of that of Vesta,

<sup>a</sup> The heights of the five courses, from the pavement, are 34, 58.5, 56, 56.5, and about 56 centimetres, the last being broken at the top.

<sup>b</sup> The length of the blocks cannot be given, owing to the small size of the fragment preserved.

<sup>c</sup> On re-examination, Jan. 1887, I find traces of a thin coat of fine cement in one of the joints. On one of the loose marble blocks of like dimensions lying near, there is not only the sunk band along the bottom, but also a vertical band (or false joint) across the face of the block.



instead of being diverted, as we now see it, across the Forum. My friend Professor Henry Jordan, our great authority on Roman topography, was one of those who had confidently adopted this opinion, and when he came to Rome a little later, he was anxious to test at once by a more searching exploration the accuracy of my conclusions. At his instance, therefore, some further excavations were made, commencing to the south of the ruins to which I had called attention, upon the line where the Sacra Via was supposed to have passed. The result was to satisfy everybody that no road had passed in that direction, and to reveal the existence, below the surface upon its supposed line, of several ancient tufo walls belonging to buildings the plan and purpose of which remained for the most part obscure. One of them, however, was a long wall running from east to west at a distance of from 14 to 18 feet from the south side of the principal room of the building I have described, and touching at its western end the outer circle of the ruins of the Vestal temple. This may not improbably have been an ancient wall of inclosure of the *sacrum* of Vesta. Of this wall, built with blocks 55 centim. (about  $21\frac{1}{2}$  inches) wide and 55 centim. high, and from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 feet long, placed lengthwise, three courses still exist for a length of about 40 feet, the top of the highest course being about 3 feet below the later surface of the ground. The position of this, and of the other walls, is indicated in the plan.

The excavations having been continued on the site of the marble monument, the first result was to confirm the ground plan of the building as it had been laid out upon the evidence of the scanty relics which existed above ground. For on the north, south, and west sides of the principal rectangular area (i.) nearly the whole length of a foundation wall was disclosed, constructed with large blocks of tufo. The top of this wall was 85 centim. (about 2 feet 9 inches) below the pavement. Its construction was best shown on the south side, where not only the top course (as in other parts) was seen, but the outer face was exposed to view, consisting of three courses of well-jointed tufo masonry, composed of blocks, 89 centim. (3 Roman feet) long, 59 centim. (2 Roman feet) wide, and 42 centim. ( $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches) high, all the blocks being placed with their lengths across the wall, and the face of each block somewhat bossy, with grooves carried along all the joints. It will be remembered that on this side the whole of the wall above ground had disappeared. Its position had been conjectured from slight indications, one of which was supplied by a fragment of the pavement which terminated on this line.<sup>a</sup> It is worth while to observe that the face of the

<sup>a</sup> This piece of pavement, which is shown (but with the shading omitted) in this place (p. 229), has been lost in the excavation.

underground wall was only about 69 centim. (2 feet 3 inches) in advance of the edge of the pavement which marked the limit of the interior of the room. If this wall had been originally built as the foundation for the external wall of the marble room above, we might have expected to see its face more advanced, since the wall above would probably have had a thickness of more than two feet; and the foundation, which now extends 20 centim. (about 8 inches) under the pavement, would rather have been brought out in front of the foot of the wall. This consideration, and, I may add, also the character of the tufo construction,<sup>a</sup> make it probable that the underground walls formed originally the base of an earlier building, having the same ground plan as the marble monument, for the foundation of which they were also used.<sup>b</sup> On the top of these three courses of tufo, both here and throughout all the foundation, was spread a thin layer of hard concrete of an uniform pinkish-purple colour, made of red tufo, which appears to have formed the commencement of the later building. The blocks of travertine or marble which were placed over this concrete have been generally removed; but at the north-east corner the lowest marble block was seen to rest upon a block of travertine 70 centim. (2 feet 3½ inches) long, 35 centim. wide, and 56 centim. (22 inches) high, placed crosswise on the bed of purple concrete. The underground wall at the west end extended under the fragment of travertine masonry, which has been mentioned as existing at the north-west corner.<sup>c</sup>

Besides these foundations, which completed the circuit of the principal area (i.) (the remaining side on the east having its wall distinctly marked above), remains were also found of a tufo wall at the same level, crossing the area at a distance of 4.77 metres (15 feet 7 inches, or 16 Roman feet) from the east wall. This appears to indicate that the space, which we have hitherto spoken of as the principal room or area (i.) was divided into two parts by a partition wall carried across it in this line. And that this arrangement belonged to the later, as well as to the more ancient disposition of the space, is made probable by the form of the remaining pavement, in which the slabs of grey marble were arranged in longitudinal bands, the transverse divisions occurring generally at irregular intervals. At this part, however, two parallel continuous lines of division appear

<sup>a</sup> The material did not appear to me to resemble the tufo generally used in the public buildings of the time of Julius and Augustus; and the height of the blocks is not that which was usual at that time, about two Roman feet.

<sup>b</sup> It may be conjectured that this fine tufo masonry belonged to the rebuilding of the Regia which took place, A.U. 544, B.C. 209, after the fire of the year before. (Liv. xxvii. 11.) See further on, p. 243.

<sup>c</sup> See before, p. 229.

to have been carried across the area, at about equal distances on each side of the underground wall. The lines are 2.38 metres (7 feet 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches) apart, of which about 20 inches may have been occupied by the partition; there would therefore remain about a yard on each side to be filled by slabs of pavement arranged transversely along the edge of each compartment.

I have said enough of these excavations to show their general results and their bearing upon the character and plan of the marble building. A more detailed account of them is being prepared by Professor Henry Jordan, and will appear shortly in the *Bulletin* of the Archaeological Institute of Rome.

I may now at last proceed to the question, whether the building whose remains I have described can be identified with any known monument of antiquity.

It will not, I think, require much argument to show that these remains of an early date and sumptuous construction, situated at the end of the Sacred Way, between that road and the temple of Vesta, and immediately behind the temple of Julius, must have formed part of the Regia. That this monument was one of the group of buildings surrounding the temple of Vesta is shown, among other evidence, by Plutarch's statement that Numa built the Regia near the temple of Vesta,<sup>a</sup> and by Ovid's often-quoted description of the locality—

Hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem :  
Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.<sup>b</sup>

That it stood on the edge of the Forum and at the bottom of the Sacred Way, and was in the time of the Republic the first building abutting on that road as it was entered from the Forum, is shown by the passage of Festus in which the Sacra Via, in its ordinary sense, is defined as extending *from the Regia* to the house of the Rex Sacrificulus, while in the corresponding passage of Varro the same stretch of road is described as reaching *from the Forum* to the first hill.<sup>c</sup> Another distinct evidence as to its position shows that it was close to the temple of Julius. For the historian Appian tells us that the body of Caesar was burnt

<sup>a</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ διακόσμησι τὰς ἱεροσύνας, ἐδείματο πλησίον τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ τὴν καλουμένην Ῥηγίαν, οἷόν τι βασιλείων οἶκημα· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτόθι διέτριβεν ἱεουργῶν . . . οἰκίαν δ' εἶχεν ἑτέραν περὶ τὸν Κυρίων λόφον. Plutarch, *Numa*, 14.

<sup>b</sup> Ovid, *Trist.* iii. l. 29.

<sup>c</sup> Ut vulgus opinatur, Sacra appellanda est [via] a Regia ad domum Regis sacrificuli. Festus, ed. Müll. 290.

Huius Sacrae Viae pars haec sola volgo nota est, quae est a foro eunti primore clivo. Varro, *L. L.* v. 47.

in the Forum, where the Romans had their ancient Regia; and that the temple of Julius was placed on the same spot.<sup>a</sup> There is one site only that answers these descriptions, and that is the position of the ruins which I have described.

The Regia was rebuilt in the time of Augustus by Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus, who devoted to it the greater part of the *aurum coronarium*, which he received on account of his Spanish triumph (A.U. 718);<sup>b</sup> and there can be little doubt that the marble edifice belonged to this restoration. We have the evidence of Tacitus that it was burnt with the Vestal temple in the fire of Nero. But these monuments were on the limit of the conflagration, the buildings to the east being destroyed and those to the west saved; and there is reason to believe that some of the walls at least of the building of Calvinus survived uninjured until the close of the Roman empire.<sup>c</sup>

No antiquary will be surprised to hear that, when I had ascertained the existence and character of this unique building with its walls of marble, my attention was at once directed to the question, whether these walls were those upon which the Capitoline Fasti were originally inscribed, the principal fragments of which were discovered in the sixteenth century in this part of the Forum. These famous records, which contain lists of consuls and of triumphs, composed, as appears from internal evidence, in the time of Augustus, are incised, not on slabs but on blocks of marble which evidently formed part of the walls of some public edifice; and the character of their contents has led some of the ablest

<sup>a</sup> 'Ες τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐθις ἦσαν [τὸ λῆχος τοῦ Καίσαρος] ἐνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοις ἱερὸν βασιλεῖον, καὶ . . . ἐξῆψαν . . . Ἐνθα βωμὸς πρῶτος ἐτίθη, νῦν δ' ἱερὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 149.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸ δὲ δὴ πλείον [τοῦ χρυσίου] εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον [ἀνήλωσιν]. Κατακαυθὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀνυποκόμῃσσι καὶ καθάρωσιν, ἄλλοις τέ τισι λαμπροῖς κοσμήσας καὶ εἰκόσιν ἅς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς καὶ ἀποδώσων ᾔτήσατο. Dion. Cass. xlviii. 42.

<sup>c</sup> Now that we have discovered this important edifice built of solid marble, we are led to inquire, what other monuments were built in the same way. There is no reason to suppose that the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, dedicated by Catulus A.U. 685, had walls of marble. The first great temple built with Greek materials appears to have been that of Venus Genetrix, dedicated by Cæsar about A.U. 710, and it is not improbable that its walls were, after the Greek fashion, of solid marble. Ovid calls it *factum de marmore templum* (*Ar. Am.* i. 83); and Palladio speaks of the vast quantity of marble found in its ruins (*Architettura*, lib. iv. c. 31). The next great temple was that of Divus Julius. We have no sufficient evidence of its construction. This temple and the Regia were both dedicated A.U. 718. The next great temple was that of the Palatine Apollo, dedicated by Augustus A.U. 726. Ovid's description of its glittering exterior, *intonsi candida templa dei*, leaves its construction uncertain; but Prof. H. Jordan has called attention to the fact, that Servius attests its being built *de solido marmore*. (Serv. *ad Aen.* viii. 720.) The later temples of Augustus, if we may judge by that of Mars Ultor, had their walls cased only with marble. One antique building of uncertain date, the round temple near the river commonly called the temple of Vesta, has its cell-wall of solid marble.

of recent archaeologists to conjecture, that the building on which they were inscribed was the Regia. This opinion appears to have been first suggested by Piale in 1827. It has in late years been supported by the high authority of Detlefsen, of Henzen, and of Henry Jordan; while on the other hand a distinguished Roman antiquary, Professor Lanciani, has lately maintained that the original position of these marbles was on the podium of the temple of Julius.<sup>a</sup>

The Regia was the official quarters of the college of *Pontifices*. It was there that they held their meetings;<sup>b</sup> and it was doubtless there that they kept their archives, which included not only the records of the proceedings of the college (*acta pontificum*), and the *decreta* and *responsa* given by the pontiffs upon questions of religious and ceremonial law (*commentarii pontificum*);<sup>c</sup> but the materials also of the Roman calendar, part of which consisted of the *Fasti Consulares*, or lists of consuls, who gave their names to each year. It was a known practice with the ancients to inscribe on the external walls of their public buildings some records connected with the purpose to which they were devoted. I need hardly refer, as a Roman example, to the Arval records, which were found inscribed on the walls of the round temple of the Dea Dia, belonging to the college of *Fratres Arvales*.

The history of the discovery of the principal marbles of the Capitoline Fasti is soon told. In the middle of the sixteenth century those parts of the city in which it was known that important ancient buildings had stood were systematically and by public authority converted into quarries for the sake of the old materials. The marble blocks and fragments which came to hand were used, according to their size and quality, either for statuary, for architectural decoration, or for making lime, the smaller pieces being naturally devoted to the last purpose. In an excavation of this kind, made in 1546 in front of the temple of *Faustina*, some of the savants of the time fortunately observed that among the pieces of marble which were being carried off to the lime-kiln were several inscribed stones, which were found to contain parts of lists either of consuls or of triumphs. The work of destruction was stayed, and the Cardinal Alexander Farnese was induced to direct a careful search to be made and trenches to be dug, for the purpose of collecting all that could be found of these important records. At the cost of the same cardinal the marbles which were recovered were, under the direction of Michael Angelo, arranged and built into the marble wall, which still forms one side of the room of the Fasti in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitol.

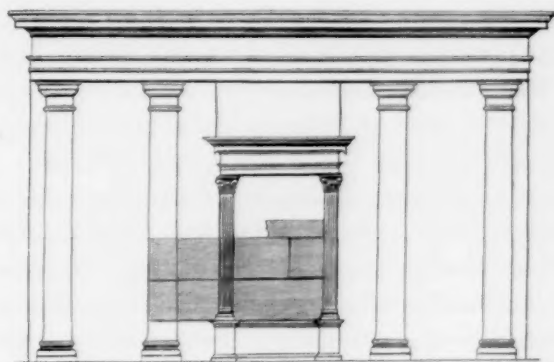
<sup>a</sup> Piale, *Terme Traiane*, p. 20; Lanciani, *Atrio di Vesta* (1884), p. 46.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11.

<sup>c</sup> Cic. *pro domo sua*, liii. 136. See Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 287.



On examination of these marbles it is seen that, while a great number of them are mere fragments, an important part consists of several massive blocks, measuring about 2 Roman feet in height, and the largest of them from 7 to 9 feet in length, which form together a coherent portion of the original wall, and which we may therefore conjecture to have been discovered *in situ*. This



Marble wall of the Stanza dei Fasti. Scale 1:100.<sup>a</sup>

supposition is confirmed by the evidence of an eye-witness, Panvinus, who expressly asserts, that the fragments which remain of the third table of consuls had not before been moved from their original position, and that skilful architects were thus enabled to make a draft of the original architectural design. This draft supplied in some measure the material for the restoration now seen in the Stanza dei Fasti.<sup>b</sup> Pirrho Ligorio, another eye-witness, also states that the excavations disclosed part of the building *in opera*; and, he adds, that they were continued until all the walls were removed down to the foundations.<sup>c</sup>

Fortunately the portion of wall which has been preserved in a compara-

<sup>a</sup> In the illustration above, the shaded part represents some of the original blocks of marble.

<sup>b</sup> Ea fragmenta, ruderibus ante templum Faustinae inter forum et Sacram viam (ut nunc in urbe mos est) egestis, casu inventa sunt, anno MDXLVII. In quibus quae ex tertia tabula supersunt fragmenta loco antiquo adhuc mota non fuerant; unde et ipsarum tabularum haec descriptio a peritissimis architectis formata fuit. Panvinus in praefat. ad Comm. in Fastos.

<sup>c</sup> Si scopersero le piante e parte delle rovine scritte a terra, e parte in opera. Per questo restarono a spiantare fino alli fundamenti il rimanente. (Ligorio, MS. cited by Fea, *Illustrazioni sui Fasti, Roma*, 1820.) Ligorio gives the precise date of the discovery as follows: Scoperto il dì xv. di Agosto del M.D. xlvi. e finito di spiantare infra giorni xxx. (Title to plan, *Antichità*, MS. vol. 15, p. 125.) See p. 246.



tively perfect state is sufficient to furnish us with the dimensions of the compartments into which the original wall was divided and some of their architectural details; and from these materials, combined with calculations founded on the length of the records for which space was to be found, the form and arrangement of the walls on which the Fasti were inscribed has been conjectured with considerable approach to certainty. This subject is ably discussed by Professor Henzen in his preface to the Fasti in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. To sum up as shortly as possible the conclusions which have been arrived at—the Fasti Consulares were inscribed in four tables, inclosed within architectural frames composed of two small Corinthian pilasters with an entablature above; and the triumphs were inscribed upon four pilasters (which had Roman-Doric capitals) placed on either side of the frames of consuls. The existing specimen of the original wall exhibits part of the third frame of consuls and of the pilasters on each side of this frame, the architectural compartment thus formed measuring 13 feet in width, including both pilasters. But in any attempt to reconstruct the entire wall it is necessary to observe, that the pilaster found to the left of the third table of consuls appears to have been inscribed with the earliest triumphs. It follows from this circumstance that there was no pilaster of triumphs on either side of the first table of consuls, while to the right of the fourth table (supposing this to be placed next to the third with one intermediate pilaster) we have to find place for two inscribed pilasters.

In order to form a judgment whether any of the walls of the building which has been described were the original walls of the Fasti, I proceeded to compare the dimensions of a wall constructed according to the data already mentioned with the length of the walls of the principal area on the south side of the building.

The north and east walls of that area were, as I have shown, partition walls. But those to the west and south were external walls, since the building, having regard to the position of the temple of Vesta and other circumstances, cannot be supposed to have extended further in those directions. And these walls were those which faced the Forum. On comparing their dimensions with those obtained from the remains of the Fasti, it is found that a wall containing four architectural compartments, such as those containing the Fasti, with the pilasters on each side of them, would occupy nearly the length of the south wall. But, as the fact that there were three pilasters to the right of the third table of consuls implies that one of the later compartments was occupied, not by a table of consuls, but in some other way—probably by a door—the four tables of consuls cannot all have found place on this wall. If, however, it be assumed that the first table

of consuls was placed on the west wall, and that the series was continued in three compartments on the south, the external door of the building being in the last compartment in the direction of the Vestals' house, the length of the two external walls would be well adapted to their supposed purpose. The supposition that the first table was placed by itself on the west wall may in some measure account for the list of triumphs not being commenced on either side of it.<sup>a</sup>

It should be observed that the height of the pilasters used on the wall of the Fasti—about 14 feet including the base and capital—which would be unsuitable for a large edifice, is well adapted to the architecture of a building of the dimensions suggested by the remains on the ground.

I may add here that the cast of a part of the southern wall, which I have mentioned as existing on a later work of concrete, shows the blocks used in it to have been two Roman feet in height, a dimension which agrees with that found in the blocks of marble preserved in the room of the Fasti; and that the kind of marble used for the wall of the Fasti appears to have been similar to that of the remains existing upon the ground.

I do not suppose that any doubt will remain in the minds of those who have taken the trouble to follow these observations, that the marble building which was so carefully excavated in the sixteenth century in front of the temple of Faustina, and from which the marbles of the Fasti were taken, was the same as that of which I have described the scanty ruins which now remain *in situ*. It will be remembered that Ligorio states that the building was then dug out and removed, down to the foundations. The present condition of the ruins shows the literal truth of this statement. The tufo foundations remain, but every block of marble and of travertine has been removed from them, with the exception of those which appear to have been protected by the later brick wall. To the accident of this wall having been built across the ruin in an early period of its decay we now owe the possibility of identifying the site and recovering in some measure the design of one of the most interesting monuments of ancient Rome.

The conclusion to which these comparisons naturally lead is in harmony with the opinion of those archaeologists who, upon what may be called *a priori* reasoning, have conjectured that the *Fasti Consulares* were inscribed on the Regia; and if the probability of this conjecture is admitted, the same conclusion serves on the other hand to confirm the identification of the building.

<sup>a</sup> See the attempted restoration at p. 247.

We may now return to consider more precisely what was the character of the building called the Regia. The Regia, in its proper sense, was the public office and sanctuary of the *pontifices*, and contained, as far we know, the following particulars:

i. A room used as a place of meeting by the pontiffs; of which use we have evidence of the time of Domitian.<sup>a</sup>

ii. A *tabularium* or registry for the custody of their records.<sup>b</sup>

iii. A *sacrarium* or chapel of Mars, in which were deposited the "spears of Mars," the mysterious movement of which was a prodigy requiring an expiatory ceremony.<sup>c</sup>

iv. A *sacrarium* of the goddess Ops Consiva, into which no one but the Vestal virgins and the pontifex was permitted to enter.<sup>d</sup>

v. In some part of the precinct were two sacred bay trees.<sup>e</sup>

The *sacra* included were probably of small dimensions, and the whole building appears to have occupied a very limited space. This fact is pressed upon our attention by Ovid, whenever he mentions the Regia. He says in the *Tristia*<sup>f</sup>:—

Hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae.

And in another poem he describes the whole site as "a tiny spot"—

Hic locus exiguus, qui sustinet Atria Vestae,  
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.<sup>g</sup>

It need scarcely be said that the word *magna*, in this connection, implies the reverse of its proper sense.

The several rooms which I have mentioned may all have been included in the marble building, which evidently consisted of several chambers of moderate size, the distinct uses of which may perhaps be hereafter conjectured. It is an interesting speculation, whether the principal room, on the walls of which the Fasti were probably inscribed, witnessed the *cenae pontificum*, alluded to by Horace. Macrobius has preserved an account of one of these banquets, at which Caesar was present, not as Pontifex Maximus, but as one of the college, and four vestals with two other ladies sat at the third *triclinium*.<sup>h</sup>

Beside these several apartments, it has been commonly assumed that the name of Regia was also applied to the house occupied by Caesar as Pontifex

<sup>a</sup> Plin. *Epist.* iv. 11.

<sup>d</sup> Varro, *L. L.* vi. 3 (57).

<sup>g</sup> Fasti, vi. 263.

<sup>b</sup> See before, p. 235.

<sup>e</sup> Inl. Obseq. 19.

<sup>h</sup> Macrobius iii. 13, 11.

<sup>c</sup> Anl. Gell. iv. 6.

<sup>f</sup> *Tristia*, iii. l. 30.

Maximus, and that the chapter-house of the college of *Pontifices* and the residence of the chief pontiff were parts of the same building.

It is an obvious remark, that a building which contained not only the offices and *sacraria* which have been mentioned, but also the residence of a personage of the habits of Caesar, at a time when the palaces of the principal Roman nobility were remarkable for their grandeur and magnificence, could not have stood on the site with which we have been dealing; nor, indeed, could it have occupied a *locus exiguus* in any position. And when we consider the extreme jealousy of the Romans about everything connected with the title of Rex, it is not, *a priori*, probable that they would permit the house of the Pontifex Maximus to be called by the name of Regia, especially as the titular office of Rex, though preserved for certain special sacred purposes, was, apparently for reasons of policy, not united with that of Pontifex.<sup>a</sup>

It is during the pontificate of Caesar that the official dwelling-house first becomes known to history. Suetonius tells us that Caesar had dwelt in the Subura in a house of moderate size, but that after he became Pontifex Maximus he lived in the Sacred Way, at the official house (*domo publica*).<sup>b</sup> In the letters of Cicero, and in the orations attributed to him, Caesar's residence is called *domus pontificis maximi*,<sup>c</sup> or *domus Cuii Caesaris*.<sup>d</sup> So Plutarch, in relating the scandal of Clodius, calls it *οἰκία Καίσαρος*; and Pliny records the fact of Caesar having spread an awning over the Sacra Via and the Forum "from his house" (*ab domo sua*) to the Capitol, on the occasion of a gladiatorial entertainment which he gave in the Forum.<sup>e</sup> If this house had been generally known as the Regia, it seems probable that in some at least of these places it would have been called so.

The principal authority, the only authority, I think, in any classical writer,

<sup>a</sup> It is worth while upon this point to look back at the passage of Plutarch in which he describes the foundation of the Regia. (See note before, p. 234.) He says literally: "When Numa arranged the priestly services, he built him, near the *sacrum* of Vesta, the Regia, so called as a sort of royal mansion; and for the most part he passed his time there performing his religious duties; but he had another dwelling-house on the hill of Quirinus." We cannot doubt that Plutarch had in his mind the Regia of his own day, when he pictures Numa's Regia rather as a place where he attended to the duties afterwards assigned to the Pontifex Maximus, than as a palace for habitation.

<sup>b</sup> *Habitavit primo in Subura modicis aedibus: post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra via domo publica.* Suet. *Caes.* 46.

<sup>c</sup> *Cic. de har. resp.* iii. 4; *pro domo sua*, xxxix. 104.

<sup>d</sup> *Cic. ad Att.* i. 12, 4; *apud Caesarem*, *ib.* i. 13, 3.

<sup>e</sup> *Plin. H. N.* xix. 6. We may observe in passing, that the Regia was certainly on the edge of the Forum, and the passage of Pliny appears to indicate that Caesar's house was somewhat further up the Sacred Way.

which has led us hitherto to believe that the residence of the Pontifex was called Regia, is the letter of Cicero to Atticus, in which, writing after the battle of Pharsalus, when the opponents of Caesar were forced to court his protection, the writer says that he hears his correspondent had been seen at the Regia.<sup>a</sup> This has been naturally understood to mean that Atticus had been to pay his respects at Caesar's house; and therefore that the *domus publica*, at which, as we know from Suetonius, Caesar lived, was the Regia. Two other interpretations, however, are possible; one, that Caesar received his ceremonial visitors, not at his dwelling, but at the Regia; the other, that Cicero, alluding to the house of the Pontifex Maximus, which was in the Sacra Via, and not improbably the next building to the Regia, used the latter name in an invidious sense, which would be easily understood by his correspondent.<sup>b</sup>

The house of the Pontifex Maximus was, as we learn from Dio, given up to the Vestals by Augustus.<sup>c</sup> But the Regia long survived, and is mentioned as an existing and distinct monument in the first and second centuries by Plutarch and by the elder and the younger Pliny,<sup>d</sup> and in the third century by Solinus;<sup>e</sup> while the walls which were dug up in the sixteenth century, and the remains which we still see upon the ground, show that it lasted until the ruin of the Forum. I may mention that the distinction here drawn between the Regia and the house of the Pontifex is, in some measure, supported by the high authority of Professor Henry Jordan.<sup>f</sup>

It seems not improbable that the remains of the house with the travertine columns, (lying between the Sacra Via and the house of the Vestals,) to which Professor Lanciani and others have given the name of Regia, and which Mr. Middleton has so admirably illustrated in the *Archaeologia*, are indeed, as has been supposed, relics of the ancient official residence of the Pontifex Maximus; the

<sup>a</sup> Visum te aiunt in Regia, nec reprehendo. . . . Caesar mihi ignoscit per literas quod non venerim. *Epist. ad Att.* x. 3.

<sup>b</sup> There is a passage of Servius, in which the Regia is described as the actual residence of the Pontifex, and the former residence of the Rex Sacrificulus. Such a statement cannot have much authority. Domus enim in qua pontifex habitat Regia dicitur, quod in ea rex sacrificulus habitare consuesset. *Serv. ad Aen.* viii. 363.

<sup>c</sup> *Dion. Cass.* liv. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Plutarch. *Quaest. Rom.* 97; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 18; Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Regia quae adhuc ita appellatur. *Solin.* i. 21. The letters REGIA, as Professor Jordan has observed, found on a fragment of the Capitoline plan, show its existence in the time of Septimius Severus.

<sup>f</sup> Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 2, 426.



foundations of which, in the later arrangement of the ground, were partly absorbed in the Vestals' house, and partly covered over by other buildings.\* I have already alluded to these remains as being built upon the same parallels as the Regia; and I may say in passing, that the axis of these buildings has nothing to do with any ancient course of the Sacred Way, as some archaeologists have suggested, but probably had relation to the orientation of the temple of Vesta, as the entrance of that temple appears to have been placed—possibly for some religious reason—upon an axis drawn from east to west, to which that of the other early buildings belonging to the Vestal group correspond.

The distance between the ruins of the travertine columns and the existing remains of the Regia is about 90 feet; and supposing the house to have extended to the Sacra Via, it was probably the next building on that road, with nothing between it and the Regia except the public footway, which appears to have passed between the Regia on the one side, and the Vestal temple and the Vestals' house on the other.<sup>b</sup>

As a matter intimately connected with the topography of the Regia, I will take the liberty of adding an observation respecting the proper meaning of the expression *Atrium Vestae*. It is with great deference to the opinion which has been accepted by more competent authorities that I venture to suggest that this name belongs, not, as has been generally thought, to the Vestals' house, but to the Regia itself, or to some principal apartment in it.

When Livy relates, that in the fire which occurred A.U. 543 (B.C. 210), the *Atrium Regium* was destroyed, together with the buildings on the north side of the Forum, but the temple of Vesta was saved,<sup>c</sup> it has not been doubted that the monument intended was the Regia; which stood on the north of the temple, while the Vestals' house was on the south-east of it. In this instance the epithet *Regium* has prevented misconstruction.<sup>d</sup> But the identity of the *Atrium Vestae* with the Regia is expressly asserted by Ovid in the passage already cited:—

<sup>a</sup> Beyond the house with the travertine columns are the remains, at the like lower level, of another large house, which in Mr. Middleton's plan are also marked *Regia*.

<sup>b</sup> The existence of this footway is shown by the passage in Martial, which describes the way from the Forum, up the Sacra Via, to the Palatine—

Quæris iter? dicam, vicinum Castora canae

Transibis Vestae, virginæque domum. Martial, *Ep.* i. 71, 3.

The same way appears to be implied in Horace's *ventum erat ad Vestae*. *Sat.* I. vii. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Liv. xxvi. 27.

<sup>d</sup> The word *atrium* was used in the names of other public buildings of Rome, as *Atrium Liber-*



Hic locus exiguus qui sustinet Atria Vestae  
Tunc erat intonsi regia magna Numae.<sup>a</sup>

And the manner in which Servius speaks of the Atrium Vestae as an augurated place in which the senate might be convened, whereas the temple of Vesta was not augurated and could not be a meeting-place of the senate, apparently, as he supposed, because of the presence of the Virgins there,<sup>b</sup> shows at any rate that the writer of that commentary did not identify the Atrium Vestae with the Virgins' house.

The latter conception of the Atrium has arisen, I believe, out of the interpretation of two passages, one of Aulus Gellius and the other of the younger Pliny, which I will proceed to examine. Gellius says, that a Vestal virgin, when she is "taken" (the technical term for her acceptance into the priesthood), and brought into the Atrium Vestae, and delivered to the pontifices, is released from the power of her father.<sup>c</sup> Here the words *in atrium deducta* have been referred to the entrance of the virgin into the conventual home of the Vestals; but taken in conjunction with the following words *et pontificibus tradita*, they more naturally apply to the bringing of the girl by her parents to the pontiffs in the Regia for admission into the priesthood. The expression should be compared with what is said a little further on by the same author, of the manner of appointing a Vestal which was then usual, instead of following strictly the old law (*lex Papia*), by which the virgins were publicly selected by lot. "If," he says, "any person of honourable birth comes to the Pontifex Maximus, and offers his daughter for the priesthood, the *lex Papia* may be dispensed with." And, he adds, that the Vestal was said to be "taken" because she was actually seized—like a captive in war—by the hand of the pontifex out of the hand of the parent, in whose *potestas* she formerly was. These are ceremonies that would naturally take place at the Regia.

*tatis, Atrium Minervae*, and is analogous to our English word *hall* in the combination, town-hall, guild-hall, and the like. It also occurs in the names of private houses in the case of the *atria duo, Moenium et Titium*. (Liv. xxxix. 44). *Atrium regium* seems therefore to be merely equivalent to *regia* or *domus regia*.

<sup>a</sup> Fasti, vi. 263.

<sup>b</sup> Et nisi in angusto loco consilium senatus habere non poterat. Unde templum Vestae non fuit augurio consecratum, ne illuc conveniret senatus, ubi erant Virgines. Nam haec fuerat regia Numae Pompilii. Ad atrium Vestae conveniebat, quod a templo remotum fuerat. (Serv. ad Aen. vii. 153). The words, *Nam haec fuerat regia Numae Pompilii*, would be more intelligible if they came at the end.

<sup>c</sup> Virgo Vestalis simul est capta atque in atrium Vestae deducta et pontificibus tradita, eo statim tempore . . . e patris potestate exit. Aul. Gell. i. 12.

The passage from Pliny appears a more cogent authority for connecting the Atrium Vestae with the Virgins' house. This author, in one of his letters, laments the ill health of Fannia, which he attributes to her having nursed in sickness Julia, a Vestal virgin, first as a volunteer, and afterwards by the appointment of the *Pontifices*. "For," he adds, "when Virgins are compelled by sickness to go out from the Atrium Vestae, they are committed to the care and custody of matrons."<sup>a</sup> The most obvious interpretation of *atrio Vestae excedere* has been based on the supposition that the Atrium was the Vestals' house. But here, too, since the delivery of the sick lady to the matron was a formal act, not of the *Virgo Vestalis Maxima*, but of the *Pontifices*, it is not inconceivable that it took place at the Regia, which, as we now know, was just outside the entrance of the Vestals' house; and as Julia, on her first "caption," was *tradita pontificibus* in the Atrium, she might well in the same place be committed to the custody of the person formally appointed by the pontiffs. She would thus take her temporary, or perhaps her final, leave of her high office at the same door by which she had been received into it. If this interpretation is not admissible, we must conclude, that by the time of the younger Pliny the expression Atrium Vestae had come to have a sense different from that which it bore in the time of Livy and of Ovid. It is clear, at any rate, that in the verse of the latter it is identified with the Regia.

Before parting with this subject, it will be worth while to point out what materials exist for reconstructing the architecture of the Regia. I have already in part described the marble wall of the Stanza dei Fasti, erected by Michael Angelo with the aid of the marbles derived from the ruins. The architectural compartment which was rebuilt out of these materials (consisting of a framed table, inscribed with the names of consuls, and two Doric pilasters, inscribed with triumphs, placed at intervals of two feet on each side of it), measures 13 feet in width, including the two pilasters. Beyond the pilasters the architect has added on each side, first, 3 feet 8 inches of plain wall, and then a similar pilaster, with 9 inches of wall beyond it, and has placed a Doric entablature over the whole.<sup>b</sup> The wall altogether is 24 feet 6 inches long, a dimension which, it may be observed, corresponds with the external measurement of the west wall of the principal room of the Regia. It should, however, be borne in mind that the parts

<sup>a</sup> Angit me Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc dum assidet Iuliae virgini, sponte primum, est enim affinis, deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. Nam virgines cum vi morbi atrio Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandantur. Plin. *Ep.* vii. 19.

<sup>b</sup> See the illustration on p. 237.

of this wall which extend beyond the central compartment are not constructed, like that compartment, with the original materials; and their details are expressly censured as an inaccurate restoration by the contemporary authority which I shall presently have occasion to mention.

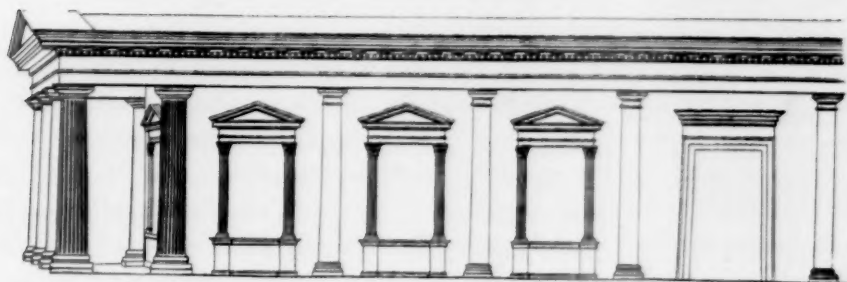
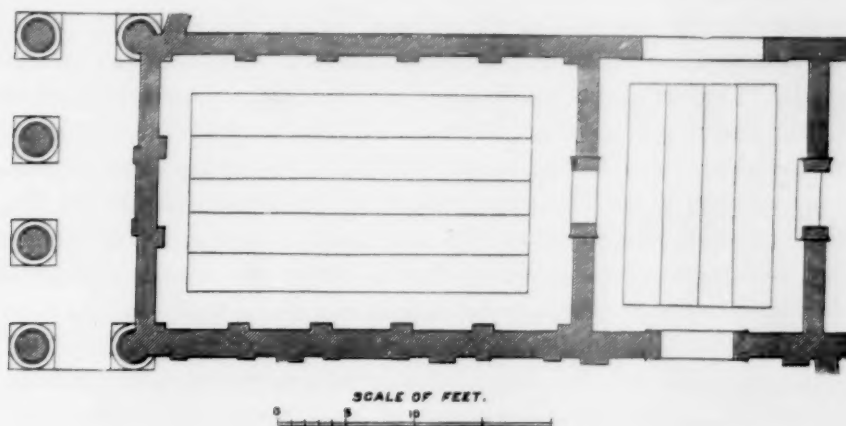
It seems that, although the entire remains of the marble building were dug out by the direction of Cardinal Farnese, only those stones were set aside and preserved upon which inscriptions were found. Such was probably the order issued by the Papal Government; and the remaining materials would naturally be claimed by the persons who had before obtained authority to dig for the purpose. The inscribed marbles and architectural fragments described in the following paragraphs were probably detached from the building and buried below the surface before the excavations of the sixteenth century.

Since the building of the marble wall several inscribed fragments have been found, especially during the recent excavations, which have been identified by the letters upon them as part of the same monument. Some of these fragments are placed in the Room of the Fasti; others are for the present in the museum on the other side of the Piazza del Campidoglio. One, which was discovered twelve years ago, amid great public interest, and which I remember seeing in the spring of 1874, placed with a chaplet round it on the base of the temple of Julius, contained the top of the first pilaster of triumphs, inscribed with the first triumph of Romulus. This most interesting marble is now unfortunately missing, having, as it is supposed, been put away in an unknown box with other fragments of inscribed or sculptured stone preserved from the excavations; and no photograph or careful drawing of it appears to exist. In addition to its historical interest, it supplied some architectural evidence, having part of the astragal or bead moulding of the Roman-Doric capital attached to it. A fragment of another similar capital is built into the wall. And among the pieces found in more recent times is one, which includes a small member of the Corinthian capital of one of the smaller pilasters, and in this way confirms another part of the architecture of Michael Angelo's wall. It is worthy of observation, that the inscribed fragments lately dug up in the rubbish of the Forum preserve on their face some remains of an original coating of fine stucco. This observation may be compared with what has been said before of the remaining wall of the marble ruin.\*

Beside the inscribed marbles preserved in the Capitol, there also exist, among the numerous architectural fragments discovered in the recent excavations and now

\* See p. 231.

lying in the Forum, some fine pieces, which from their material and proportions, and other indications, appear to have been parts of the same marble ruin. The most



Restored plan and south elevation of part of the Regia. Scale 1 : 150.\*

important of these are a capital of a column with part of the fluted shaft attached to it; part of a shaft and part of a three-quarter column with similar fluting; parts of a cornice and of a pediment; and the capital (in two fragments) of a richly decorated pilaster, belonging to the interior decoration. The architectural order to which all these fragments belong must be called Doric, but Doric much enriched and treated with great freedom, such as was used by the later Greek architects. The columns are fluted, not in Doric fashion, but with an intermediate

\* In the above restoration of the Regia, all the principal architectural details (except the door) are derived from the marbles of the Fasti, or from the fragments existing in the Forum.

fillet which has a little hollow carried down it. The cornice has square Doric mutules with guttae, which appear to have been continued even under the upper part of the pediment; and below them are the dentils which are usually considered as appropriate to the later orders. The pilaster capital, which is of beautiful design, evidently belonged to our marble building, as both pieces are parts of a solid marble wall.<sup>a</sup> These architectural fragments, which are of great beauty, and in my humble judgment might not improbably have been designed by a Greek architect of the first century before Christ, are well worthy of a careful technical study. I think it not improbable that the columns indicate the former existence of a *porticus* at the end of the principal apartment of the Regia. Such a *porticus* at the western extremity, with its fluted corner column to the left of the second table of consuls, would furnish a reason for the list of triumphs not being begun at this place; the pilaster to the left of the third table, upon which this list appears in fact to have commenced, would in such an arrangement be the first flat pilaster in the façade.

Another authority upon the architecture of the building on which the Fasti were inscribed, is found in a manuscript volume of Pirrho Ligorio, preserved in the Archivio del Stato at Turin, which, together with an account of the discovery of those marbles, contains also Ligorio's representation of the form of the monument upon which they were placed. Canina drew attention to this work in a speculative paper upon the original situation of the Capitoline Fasti, which was published in 1853, in the Annals of the Archaeological Institute of Rome;<sup>b</sup> where he gives in one of the plates a sketch from Ligorio's plan and drawing of the supposed building. And in passing through Turin on my way from Rome I have lately had the opportunity of looking at Ligorio's original manuscript.

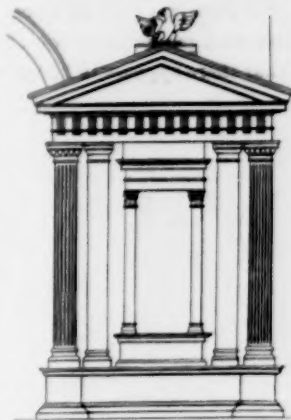
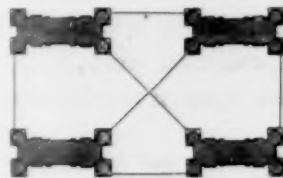
The antiquaries of the Cinquecento, in the accounts which they have handed down to us of architectural remains, frequently mix up their own designs and restorations with the ruins they had seen, and Pirrho Ligorio is especially notorious for the mingling of fiction with fact in his report of archaeological curiosities. His account of this discovery is by no means an exception to the rule; but it is valuable as founded on a material substratum of observation. He gives an exaggerated report of the quantity and contents of the inscriptions, in which he asserts that there were eight tables of supreme magistrates, including proconsuls and praetors, and sixteen pilasters of triumphs, and that in the spaces between the tables and the pilasters were written "the ludi seculares,

<sup>a</sup> These pieces are now placed between the temples of Castor and Vesta.

<sup>b</sup> *Annali*, xxv. 227.



the pontiffs, and the acts of augurs, quindecimviri, and curule aediles."<sup>a</sup> In his general picture of the monument on which they were inscribed he evidently draws no less upon his imagination. It was, as he describes it, a great arch of marble, which he calls *Summus Janus*, having two transverse passages through it, each eighteen feet wide. The four piers were rectangular in plan, not square; and each pier had a table and two pilasters (similar to the compartment now in the Capitol) on each of its longer sides, one external and one inside the arch. In this way he makes up his eight tables of magistrates and sixteen pilasters of triumphs. The design as a whole is evidently imaginary, having its origin, like Canina's subsequent paper founded upon it, in an ambition to solve authoritatively the question of the nature and position of the famous Jani of the Forum. But the architectural details are taken from observation; and there is one important particular which is not in Michael Angelo's wall. At all the corners of his piers Ligorio shews in his drawing a three-quarter Doric column; and in his written narrative he expressly calls attention to the fact that in the restoration at the Capitol the builders had deviated unnecessarily from the original architecture by omitting "the round columns" and substituting flat pilasters instead. This passage has not been cited by Canina, and I therefore give it, as it has an interest now which it had not in 1853. The words follow those copied in the *Annali* at p. 247, describing the destruction of parts of this building. "However," he continues, "after so much blundering, the generous Cardinal Farnese, moved to pity, caused these stones at his own expense to be set up in the Capitol, but with some confusion, although the round columns were there and might have been restored and put in place, instead of patching them, as they have done, and deprived them of their original and proper character."<sup>b</sup> There can be little doubt, that the three-



Plan and architecture of the *Summus Janus*, as designed by Ligorio (copied from his MS. *Antichità*).

[The plan is half the scale of the elevation, which represents one side of the arch only.]

<sup>a</sup> Some *ludi seculares* were in fact recorded on these walls.

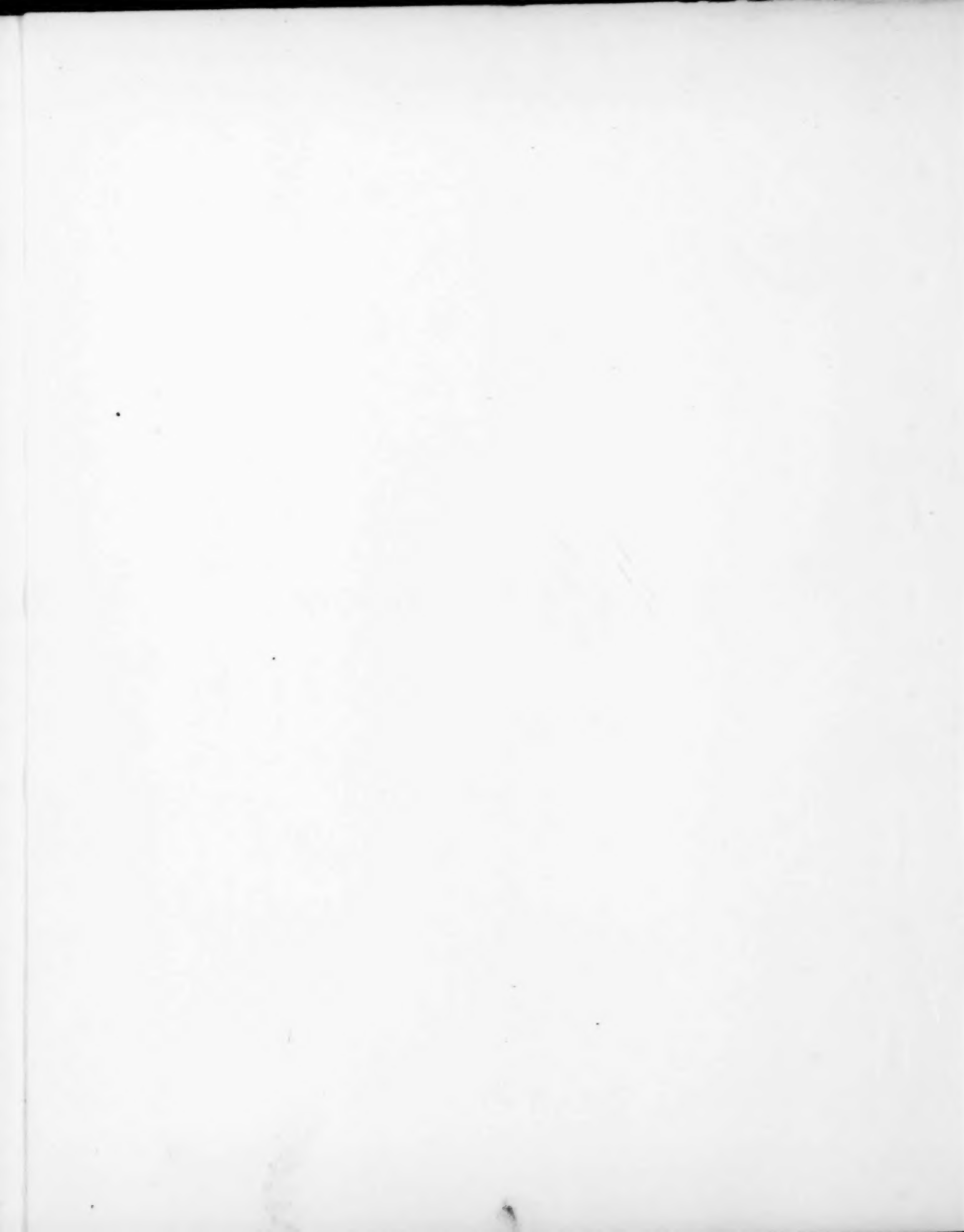
<sup>b</sup> Or dunque dopo tanto errore, mosso a pietà il generoso Cardinale Farnese con sua impensa li fece collocare in capitolio, ma confusamente, se bene v'erano le colonne rotonde da poterle

quarter columns, of which, as I have stated, a fragment has been found in the recent excavations, were seen by Ligorio, and believed by him to belong to the architecture of the Fasti. And as he must also have seen something of the plan of the building, the walls of which were, as he tells us, dug out to the foundations (spiantati fino ai fondamenti), we cannot but regret that we have not his original sketch-book,\* instead of the coloured account which he thought proper to give in his collected work, in order apparently to mystify his brother antiquaries upon the subject of the *Summus Janus*.

restaurare e metterle, senza rimpiastarle come l'hanno rimpiastate et tolte dalla sua prima et propria qualitate. Ligorio, *Antichità*, MS. vol. xv. p. 125.

\* I have not had an opportunity, since my return to England, of looking at Ligorio's book of memoranda, preserved in the Bodleian Library; but a friend, who has looked at it for me, informs me that there appears to be nothing in it relating to the ruin which forms the subject of this paper.

Rec.<sup>d</sup> May 1887



ARCHAEOLOGIA :

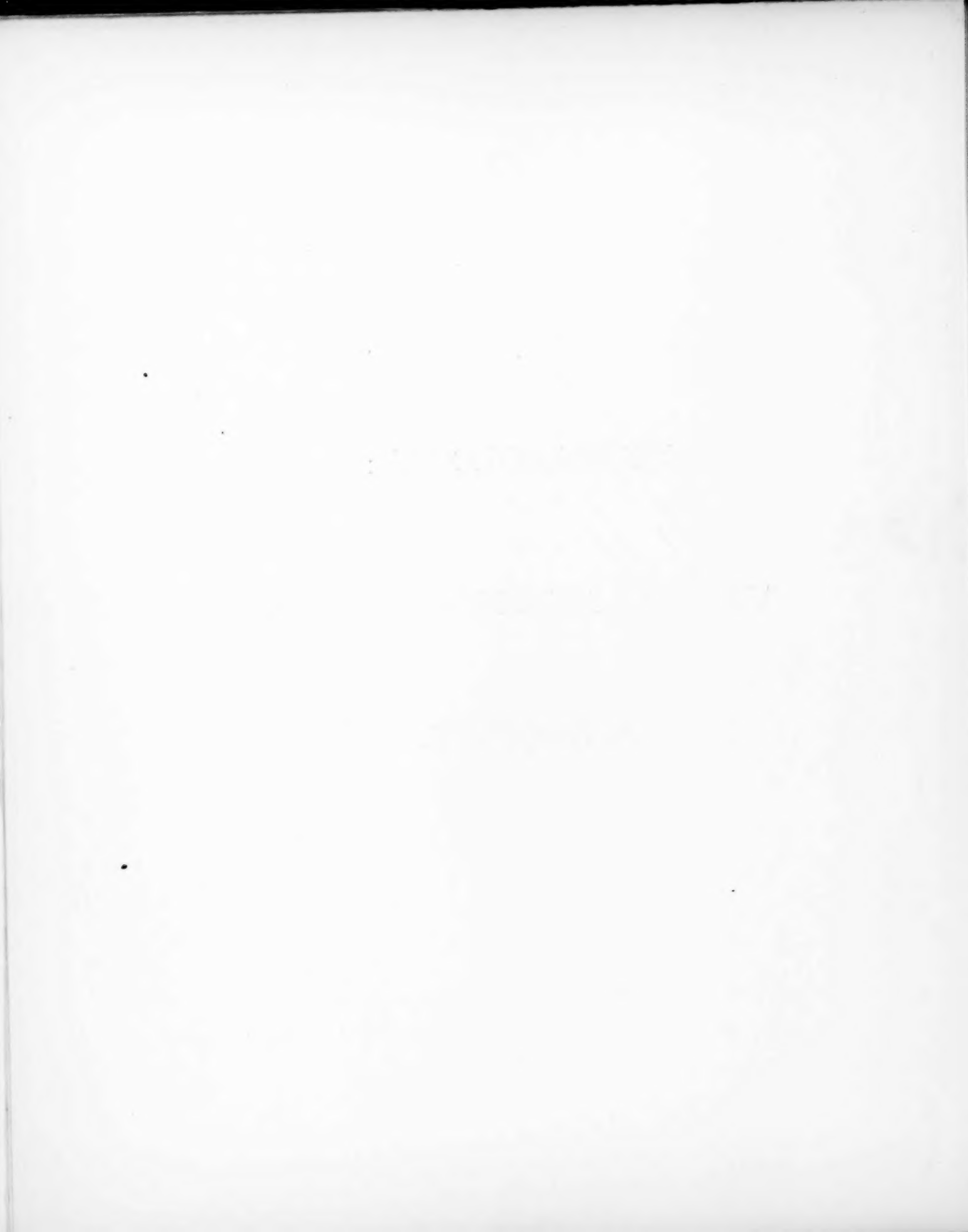
OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.





ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY,  
PUBLISHED BY THE  
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,  
VOLUME L.



LONDON :  
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.  
SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE.

---

M.DCCC.LXXXVII.

DA20  
A65  
V.50%

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>Masons' Marks at Westminster Hall. By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.</i> - - - - -	1—4
II.— <i>A Note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster. By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	5—8
III.— <i>The west side of Westminster Hall. By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A.</i>	9—16
IV.— <i>Some Remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the Parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the City of London. By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, LL.D., V.P.</i> - - - - -	17—57
V.— <i>Notes on recent excavations on the supposed site of the Artemisium, near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John Savile Lumley, G.C.B. By R. P. PULLAN, F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	58—65
VI.— <i>On a Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire. By JOHN HENRY MIDDLETON, M.A., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	66—71
VII.— <i>Remarks on the fifteenth-century Diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, Chastelain de Tervueren, in Brabant. By EVERARD GREEN, F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Spalding Society</i> -	72—80
VIII.— <i>The Manor of Aylesbury. By JOHN PARKER, F.S.A.</i> -	81—103
IX.— <i>Some further Notice of the Diamond Signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.; of the King's Diamond; and of the Sapphire Signet believed to be that of Mary Queen of William III. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, V.P.S.A.</i> - - - - -	104—117
X.— <i>The Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia, and to Cellini. By C. DRURY E. FORTNUM, F.S.A.</i>	118—128
XI.— <i>On the English medieval drinking bowls called Mazers. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.</i> - - - - -	129—193

	PAGE
XII.— <i>On Archaic conceptions of property in relation to the Laws of Succession; and their survival in England.</i> By G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. - - - - -	195—214
XIII.— <i>Documents relating to the death and burial of king Edward II.</i> By STUART ARCHIBALD MOORE, F.S.A. - - - - -	215—226
XIV.— <i>Some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini.</i> By F. M. NICHOLS, F.S.A. - - - - -	227—250
XV.— <i>The Alien Priory of St. Andrew, Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester College in 1391.</i> By THOMAS F. KIRBY, M.A. - - - - -	251—262
XVI.— <i>Further Notes upon Excavations at Silchester.</i> By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A. - - - - -	263—280
XVII.— <i>On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.</i> Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of Friskney, and Rural Dean of Candleshoe - - - - -	281—286
XVIII.— <i>On Basket-work Figures of Men represented on Sculptured Stones.</i> By Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D. - - - - -	287—294
XIX.— <i>Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1191); his episcopate, and his share in the building of the church of Wells.</i> By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells - - - - -	295—360
XX.— <i>Notes on an Ancient Boat found at Brigg.</i> By ALFRED ATKINSON, A.M. Inst. C.E. - - - - -	361—370
XXI.— <i>Notes from the Records of the Manor of Bottesford, Lincolnshire.</i> By EDWARD PEACOCK, F.S.A. - - - - -	371—382
XXII.— <i>On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire.</i> By GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS, Esq. - - - - -	383—406
XXIII.— <i>On certain churches on the eastern coast of Italy.</i> By EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., Vice-President - - - - -	407—420
XXIV.— <i>The History of Malmesbury as a Village Community.</i> By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. - - - - -	421—438
XXV.— <i>Two Inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402; now, for the first time, printed, with an Introduction.</i> By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-dean of St. Paul's, and Keeper of the Records - - - - -	439—524

## APPENDIX.

1. *The Standing Cup of the city of Westminster* - - 527—529
2. *On an iron sword of Scandinavian type found in London, now  
in the British Museum; and a bronze stirrup of the same period  
found near Romsey, in Hampshire, in the possession of Philip  
B. Davis Cook, Esq.* - - - - 530—533
3. *Notes on a Danish sword found near Wallingford* - 534—536



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE	PAGE
† I*. Masons' Marks. Westminster Hall, west side - - facing	2
† II*. Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
† III*. Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
† IV*. Westminster Hall, west side. Positions of the Masons' Marks facing	2
I. Longitudinal section of Westminster Hall - between	6-7
II. Elevation and Ground Plan of the West Side of Westminster Hall - - - - - facing	9
† III. Plan of the West Side of Westminster Hall (first-floor) between	10-11
† IV. Plan of part of the West side of Westminster Hall between	10-11
† V. Plan of the First-floor of the West Side of Westminster Hall between	14-15
† VI. General Plan showing the Buildings round Westminster Hall in 1716 - - - - - between	14-15
VII. Plan of Excavations at Lago di Nemi, on the site of the Artemisium - - - - - facing	60
VIII. Ex Votos, from the Artemisium, near Lake Nemi - facing	62
IX. 1. Portion of a Terra-Cotta Frieze - - - - - {	facing 64
2. Inscription and a portion of a White Marble {	
Cornice - - - - - }	

† Presented by Edwin Freshfield, LL.D., V.P.

PLATE		PAGE
X.	Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst - - - - - facing	68
	Inscribed Slab in Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire -	69
	General View of Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire -	71
XI.	Dexter Panel of the Diptych of Philip Hinckaert - facing	76
	Badge or Rebus of Philip Hinckaert - - - - -	80
	Gold Signet Ring of Mary, Queen of William III. - - -	111
	Diamond Signet of Charles I. - - - - -	112
XII.	Seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, 1517 } - - - facing	119
	Seal of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, 1517 }	
XIII.	Examples of Mazer Prints - - - - - facing	136
	Print of a Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent - - -	138
	Early fourteenth-century Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent	139
	Print of a Mazer at Harbledown Hospital, Kent - - -	140
	Print of a Mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury - - -	144
	Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	144
	Part of band of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge -	145
	Sectional elevation of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	145
	Plan of top of pillar inside a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - - - -	146
	Print of a Mazer at St. John's Hospital, Canterbury - - -	146
	Mazer, and ring of its cover, at All Souls College, Oxford -	151
	Print from a Mazer at All Souls College, Oxford, with arms and initials of Thomas Ballard - - - - -	151
	Standing Mazer at Pembroke College, Cambridge - - -	152
	Print of a Mazer (with section) at Fairford Church, Gloucester- shire - - - - -	156
	Print of a Mazer at Holy Trinity Church, Colchester - - -	156
	Print of a Mazer at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge - - -	157
	Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford - - - - -	159
	Mazer in the possession of the Worshipful Company of Iron- mongers - - - - -	160
	Standing Mazer at All Souls College, Oxford - - - - -	166
	Merchant's mark on print of a Mazer at St. Giles' Church, Cripplegate, London - - - - -	167

PLATE	PAGE
Mazer, with inverted tazza for a foot, in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. - - - -	169
Portion of the band (with section) of a Mazer in the possession of W. Jerdone Braikenridge, Esq. - - -	170
Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John -	173
Print of a Mazer (1585-6) in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John - - - - -	174
Plan of Ruins between the Temple of Vesta and the Sacred Way - - - - -	229
XIV. Fragment of Marble Wall and Tufo substructure of Marble Buildings - - - - - facing	230
Marble Wall of the Stanza dei Fasti - - - - -	237
Restored plan and south elevation of part of the Regia -	247
Plan and architecture of the <i>Summus Janus</i> , as designed by Ligorio - - - - -	249
XV. Silchester. General Plan - - - - - facing	266
XVI. Silchester. Plan of a building between the Forum and the Temple (Block VII.) - - - - between	268-269
XVII. Silchester. Plan of the Baths (Block IX.) - - - - between	274-275
XVIII. Silchester. Bird's-eye view of the Baths (Block IX.) -	276-277
XIX. Silchester. View showing section of Hypocaust in the Baths (Block IX. Chamber 8) - - - - between	278-279
XX. Friskney Church, Lincolnshire. Wall Painting of the Ascension facing	281
XXI. Friskney Church, Lincolnshire. Wall Painting of the Resurrection - - - - - facing	283
XXII. Sculptured Cross-shaft at Checkley, Staffordshire facing	288
Sketch showing position of an ancient Boat found at Brigg -	361
Sketch of stern-board - - - - -	363
Longitudinal section of bottom of Boat - - - - -	363
Section of floor-ridge - - - - -	364
Section of shelf at stern - - - - -	364
Roman Intaglio found in an Anglo-Saxon grave at Sleaford -	404
XXIII. Antiquities found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford facing	406

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

xi

PLATE		PAGE
XXIV.	Antiquities found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford facing	406
XXV.	Antiquities found in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford facing	406
XXVI.	Silver-gilt Standing Cup of the city of Westminster - facing	527
	Sword of Scandinavian type found in London - -	530
	Hilt of Sword of Scandinavian type found in London - -	531
	Bronze Stirrup found near Romsey, Hants - -	533
XXVII.	Danish Sword-hilt found at Wallingford - - facing	534



XV.—*The Alien Priory of St. Andrew, Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester College in 1391.* By THOMAS F. KIRBY, M.A.

---

Read March 25, 1886.

---

THE priory of St. Andrew, at Hamble, near Southampton, was a cell to the Benedictine abbey of Tyrone (Tirun or Turun), in La Beauce, a district south-west of Chartres, included in the old province of Orléannois. In the *Monasticon* and Tanner's *Notitia* it is called a Cistercian abbey, but this is a mistake, and so is the statement in the *Notitia* that the priory was annexed to New College, Oxford. The priory stood on a "rise" or point of land.—"Hamele-en-le-rys" or "Hambleric" is its old name—at the confluence of the Hamble river with Southampton Water, opposite Calshot castle. Hamble gets its name from Hamele, a thane of the Saxon Meonwaris. Leland calls the place "Hamel Hooke." The priory church of St. Andrew is now the parish church. It was rebuilt by Winchester college<sup>a</sup> in the early part of the fifteenth century, and consists of chancel and nave, to which a south aisle was added five or six years ago, and a tower with three bells. There are scarcely any traces above ground of the priory buildings. Like those of the Benedictine convent of St. Swithun, at Winchester, they stood on the south and south-west of the church, so that the graveyard, as at Winchester, is on the north side of the church.

I do not know at what date the monks from Tyrone came to Hamble, or upon whose invitation, but they owed their *pied à terre* to William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, 1098—1128, who gave "to the monks of St. Andrew," a hyde of land called Hamle. The grant is not extant; but I exhibit a confirmation of it by Henry de Blois (bishop 1129—1171). This little charter is in excellent preservation (see Appendix I.) The seal is in chocolate wax, and was 3½ inches

<sup>a</sup> See *Archaeological Journal* viii. 86.



long when perfect. The counterseal is oval,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inches long, no legend, subject, a gem with two heads facing each other, "like Philip and Mary on a shilling."

I have here also a certified copy of a bull of pope Innocent II. in which the pope confirms Gulielmus, abbot of Tyrone, and his successors, in the possession of divers churches which had been given to that abbey, including the church of "St. Andrew de Anglia," which, coming as it does from the drawer of Hamble documents in the Winchester college muniment room, must be taken to mean St. Andrew's Hamble.

This interesting document is written in a characteristic hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and was no doubt made to be handed over to the college with the title-deeds upon the completion of the purchase of the priory. The original bull appears to have been "given at Valence by the hand of Almeric, cardinal deacon and chancellor of the Roman Church, xvij. Kal. Ap. Indict. 10<sup>ma</sup> A.D. 1132 Pontif. III."

I have here also a charter of Henry II. confirming the right of the monks of Tyrone to a pension of fifteen marks per annum *ad calceamenta* (for shoe leather) which had been granted to them by a charter of Henry I. that is not extant. The charter before you is in excellent preservation, but the seal is a mere fragment. Thomas à Becket attests as chancellor, proving the date of the charter to lie between the years 1155—1162. The charter of Henry I. (1100—1135) may have been contemporaneous with the grant of bishop Giffard (1098—1128) and with the arrival of the monks in this country. We have another charter of Henry II. exempting the monks of Hamble from toll, passage, pontage, etc. throughout England and Normandy, but the seal is missing. We have also a charter of Henry, duke of Normandy, as he describes himself, granting to the monks a pension of twenty marks per annum in lieu of the above-mentioned pension of fifteen marks, and another of five marks granted by the empress Maud: but here again we have to regret the loss of the seal.

The property of this priory cannot have been large at any time. They had bishop Giffard's hyde of land, represented by the present manor of Hamble, and the tithes, services, and dues arising from it and from another hyde of land at "Brixedone," which they had under a grant from Henry de Blois, made with the consent of Christopher, the parson of Bishop's Waltham, to which church these tithes had belonged. I am sorry to say that this grant of Henry de Blois, as well as some other documents of equal interest, are not now to be found in the college muniment room.

They had also the chapel of Hound, the adjoining parish, and the chapel of

West Worldham, near Alton, which was given to them by one Richard de Annecy, temp. Henry II. as I gather from the character of the writing of the deed of gift. Early in the twelfth century they were endowed by Goce de Dinan with the church of Stanton Fitzwarren in Wilts and by Herbert Fitzherbert with half a hyde there and two parts of the tithes of his demesne. Instead of keeping the church in their own hands, and paying a vicar, the monks made the mistake of letting the parson into possession of the church, on condition of paying them an annual pension; and this is how Stanton Fitzwarren comes to be a rectory in other patronage instead of an appropriation to Winchester college. A writ of the bishop of Salisbury directing the archdeacon of Wilts to enforce payment of this pension to the monks of Hamble, bears date A.D. 1421.

Then they had an acre of building land in the new town of Southampton which they acquired in the following manner:—One Richard Leycester had given them a rent-charge of 28 pence per annum, issuing out of this acre, “*ad inveniendum vinum ad missas.*” The rent-charge got into arrear, and, there being nothing on the land to distrain, the monks entered into possession of the acre, and in 42 Hen. III. made an agreement with one Nicholas Beket respecting it. (Appendix III.)

I exhibit this agreement, as well as Leycester’s grant, as the earliest example that I am acquainted with of a building agreement. The terms of the agreement were as follows:—Beket was to be at liberty to enter on the acre and build houses and repair them without any limit of time (so that it was, in fact, a lease in perpetuity), and was to pay the 28*d.* a-year to the priory, as well as a prior charge of 20*d.* per annum to the hospital of God’s House at Southampton, which was, I believe, the original freeholder, Leycester being their grantee.

Then they had a place called Flexland, in Soberton parish, for which they paid a modus of one mark to the parson of Meonstoke, under an award of bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189—1204). They had also the tithes of a meadow at Allington, near Bishopstoke; and a pension of 40*s.* per annum out of the rectory of that parish, which is mentioned in a taxation of the archdeacon of Winchester in 20 Edward I. as then payable to the monks of Hamble, and is now received by Winchester college, their successors in title.

The number of monks at Hamble must have been small, possibly six. I say this because they had a corrody from the monastery of St. Swithun at Winchester of 6 gowns (*pelliciae*), 6 pairs of shoes, and 6 pairs of boots (*botae*) per annum, with 21 loaves and 42 flagons (*justae*) of ale (quales in refectorio coram monachis ponuntur) weekly, which works out half a loaf and one flagon *per diem* if six was

the number, The monks of St. Swithun used to receive 20,000 oysters at mid-Lent from the prior of Hamble, as an acknowledgment of this corrody.

The delivery of so much bread and beer at Hamble must have been a difficult task for the monks of St. Swithun's, though they had the advantage of water carriage all the way from Winchester by reason of bishop Lucy having made the river Itchen navigable to Southampton. One is not surprised to find that disputes arose about the corrody in consequence. I exhibit a deed of agreement, dated April 6, 1337 (Appendix IV.), between Alexander, prior of St. Swithun's, and Richard de Bello Monte, prior of Hamble, for compromise of an action by the latter for nonpayment of the corrody. The compromise amounted to this, that during the rest of prior Richard's life the bread should continue to be delivered, but not the beer and other things.

Shortly after this adjustment of the dispute the troubles of the alien priories began; and, on the breaking out of the great war with France, king Edward III. seized their estates. Hamble suffered the same fate as all other alien priories.

The monks of St. Swithun seem to have taken advantage of the sequestration of the estates of Hamble priory to drop the payment of the corrody. At any rate, it ceased to be paid, and the wrong was not remedied until the year 1394, when bishop Wykeham decreed that it should be paid for the future.

The bishop's decree is addressed to Robert Rodebourne, prior of St. Swithun; and to Tideman de Winchcomb, abbot of Beaulieu, and Sir Bernard Brocas, the farmers of the priory under the Crown; and is dated July 24, 1394; at which date the sale to the college had been completed, as we shall see presently; but the sequestrators had not yet given up possession.

The decree is dated from the bishop's manor of Esher, and has appended to it the bishop's *secretum* in red wax. This is a circular seal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter, nearly perfect, with the bishop kneeling to St. Swithun, with Our Lady and Child above, and SS. Peter and Paul on either side. In base are the bishop's arms, and the legend is—

*Secretum willelmi de wykeham epi wynton.*

The history of this corrody has interest for us at Winchester; for, after the property of the priory became vested in Winchester college, the corrody became the endowment of Wykeham's chantry in our cathedral church.

At this time (4 Henry V.) the estimated annual value of the corrody was ten pounds.

I exhibit the duplicate grant of the corrody by warden Morys and the college to prior Nevyle and the convent of St. Swithun. (Appendix V.) The grant is

expressed to be in accordance with the intention and at the request of the late bishop, for a chantry of three monks to celebrate three masses daily in the chapel in which he is buried. Each monk is to receive one penny a day from the prior. The sacrist of St. Swithun is to find all things needful for the purpose; and alms-boys are to sing every night in the chapel, in honour of the blessed Virgin, the antiphon "Salve Regina," or "Ave Regina," and then "De Profundis," with the Prayer of the Faithful, or "Inclina;" and the prior is to assign six shillings and eight pence yearly at the Feast of the Annunciation, for the use of the boys.

The original deed of endowment should be, if still in existence, in the custody of the dean and chapter. The duplicate that I exhibit represents the acceptance of the endowment by the convent of St. Swithun. Of the conventual seal, a splendid impression in bright red wax, about two-thirds remains.

A transcript of a charter establishing the chantry with this corrody, and a pension of forty-five shillings and nine pence given by bishop Wykeham in his lifetime out of the manor of West Meon, will be found in the *Monasticon*,<sup>a</sup> "Winchester Monastery," No. XIX.

In the case of Hamble priory and, as far as I know, of all other alien priories, the "legal estate," as lawyers call it, was vested in the parent monastery abroad; and the prior and brethren here exercised powers of management only, and paid a sort of tribute to the parent monastery. One of the grounds of complaint against the alien priories was that they sent specie abroad. There were several cells to the abbey of Tyrone besides Hamble and Andwell; and the abbey kept an agent, or proctor, in this country to superintend them all.

I have here letters under the seal of abbot John and the abbey of Tyrone appointing John le Roier, abbot of St. Mary de Artisis, to be their agent or proctor in England.

The date is 28 January, 1360-1. The convent seal is much flattened, and only a fragment remains of the abbot's seal.

Raoul dit l'Ermite, prior of Andwell, was proctor-general of the abbey in 13 Edward II. and in that year concurred in a lease by prior Beaumont to one John Poussart "de tous les services corvees et coustumes," of Hamble manor.

I exhibit the lease. The seals are almost perfect, in dark green wax.

The seals are (a) that of the prior of Hamble, a pointed oval  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch long with the martyrdom of St. Andrew, with a moon and star on either side, and a praying monk in base. Legend: S' PRIORIS DE [hA]MEL[Æ]; (b) that of the prior of

<sup>a</sup> Ed. 1817. Vol. 1, page 215.

Andwell, a pointed oval  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inch long, with figures of Our Lady and Child and St. John Baptist beneath a double canopy, with a half effigy of Our Lord above, and a praying monk under a canopy beneath. Legend: S' PRIORIS DE [HAMBLEDWELLA].

Here is a similar lease granted in 30 Edward III. by prior James Pasquier, who was proctor for the abbey as well as prior of Hamble. I have said that at the breaking out of the great war with France Edward III. sequestrated the property of all the alien priories, under a pledge (so it is said) that it should be restored on peace being made. The custody of the priory of Hamble with the priories of Andwell and St. Cross, two other cells of the abbey of Tyrone, was granted by letters patent on 22 January, 49 Edward III. (1376), to Thomas de Duffield. In 1371 bishop William of Wykeham had granted the custody of the priory *in spiritualibus* to William de Salariis, a monk of Tyrone, and others his fellows. It does not appear whether the brethren were actually ejected. I incline to think they were not. William de Foxle, prior 1375-1390, had property in three counties and may have been able to maintain them. There was a vacancy in the year 1390, and the abbot of Tyrone presented two clerks, John Beel and John Kent, to the bishop, and he instituted John Beel to the priory.

I exhibit the letters of presentation of John Beel, for the sake of the seals of the abbot and convent, which are in splendid preservation.

The seal of the abbot is of English workmanship. It is a pointed oval 3 inches long, with the Holy Trinity under a fine canopy. In base is a kneeling figure of the abbot under an arch, between two shields, each bearing three falcons volant. The legend is:—

: S. PETRI : [ABBATIS] SANCTE [TRINITAT] DE TYRONIO.

The convent seal is that *ad causas*, and is of earlier date than the abbot's. It is a pointed oval  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, with Our Lord sitting in majesty, under a slight canopy. Legend:

S'. GOVETVI · SUE · TRINITATIS · DE · TYRONIO · AD UTS.

The alien priories were not finally dissolved until the Parliament of Leicester (1 Henry V.), but in the state of suspended animation to which Edward III. reduced them they can have been of no value to the abbey abroad, who must have been glad to get rid of them when a purchaser offered, and this is the way in which William of Wykeham acquired a good deal of the property with which he endowed his two St. Mary colleges. The prices paid may not have been high, say six or



eight years' purchase, but the costs and expenses were considerable, owing to the number of people, from the Pope's nuncio downwards, who had to be contented.

The first step was to obtain the sanction of pope Boniface IX. We have a copy only of his bull, dated iv. Non. Feb. 1391. The royal licence to prior John Beel to grant to the warden and scholars, clerks, the manor of Hamble, and the churches of Hamble Hound and West Worldham, bears date the same year. Then we have a licence to alienate by Peter, abbot of Tyrone and the convent, and a grant by prior Beel pursuant to that licence.

Then there is a letter of attorney by the prior, appointing John de Campeden, master of St. Cross; John de Keten and others, his attorneys, to deliver seisin.

Then we have a confirmation by the abbot and convent of Tyrone, in whom I have said the legal estate was vested. It is dated 1 Sep. 1391. The seals are perfect, in dark green wax; that of the abbot has been already described. The common seal is a pointed oval,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, with a rudely executed figure of the Trinity beneath a slight canopy. Legend:—

SIGILLVM : CAPITVLI : SANCTI : SALVATORIS : DE : TYRONIE.

Then we come to a letter of attorney from the warden and scholars, clerks, to receive seisin, and the title is completed with a release by Tideman de Winchcomb, abbot of Savigny, one of the sequestrators of the priory. (Appendix VI.)

This Tideman de Winchcomb was made abbot of Beaulieu, Hants, in 1393; bishop of Llandaff the same year; and in 1395 was translated to the see of Worcester. He died in 1401.

So much for the conveyancing part of the business. Now for the purchase-money and expenses. I exhibit an acquittance under the private seals of William de Siguenaux, prior of Trehonderia, and Giles, prior of Gardens, as agents of the abbot and convent of Tyrone, for a sum of 1300 francs (ecus worth about 5s. each), the price of the priories of Hamble, St. Cross, Andwell, and Titley, and the churches of Hamble Hound and West Worldham. The seals are circular, in dark green wax,  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter.

The acquittance by the abbot and convent for the purchase-money bears date three days later, 8 September, 1391.

Then we have receipts by the said William de Siguenaux and Yterius Morini, *domicellus*, for 100 francs paid them by the purchaser for their trouble in expediting the matter; and by the priors of Trehonderia and Gardens for 30 francs "pro feodo sigilli," as sealing money, and for carrying the writings to Rouen and Paris.



This last mentioned acquittance is dated 19th June, 1392, but everything else was settled before the end of September 1391. In fact, the purchase only took seven months to complete. It would not be completed more quickly now. The only difficulty was to get rid of the sequestrators or farmers of the priory. One of them, Tideman de Winchcomb, executed a release, as we have seen, with some promptitude, for it bears date 15 Sept., 1392; but the other, Sir Bernard Brocas, seems to have stood out for compensation, as we have an acquittance of his dated 17 Sept. 1394, for a pension of 10 marks, granted to him by the king out of the priory. And it would seem from Wykeham's decree quoted above, that both sequestrators were in possession at this date—24 July, 1394, nearly three years after the nominal completion of the purchase.

The following list of priors is taken from a certificate of bishop Wykeham, dated 5 Feb., 1392, for the information of the sequestrators:—

Name of prior.	Where instituted.	Date.
John de Estrepamacho	Southwark	4 Jan. 1317.
Richard de Beaulieu ( <i>sic</i> )	Farnham	2 July, 1322.
James Pasquier	Farnham	10 March, 1344.
William de Monasteriis	Highclere	28 Feb. 1361.
William de Foxle	Waltham	10 Aug. 1375.
John Beel	Esher	20 Feb. 1390.

## APPENDIX.

## I.

Henricus dei gracia Wintoñ Episcopus, Archidiaconis, Decanis, et universo clero per Episcopatum Wintoñ constituto, salutem. Donationem quam Predecessor noster bone memorie Willelmus Giffard regis Henrici senioris assensu, et Conventus Wintoñ concessione, fecit deo et monachis de Sancto Andrea de una hida terre que vocatur *Haña*, sicut eorum Carte testantur, ratam habemus et presentis scripti munimine roboramus. Testibus hiis: Radulfo archidiacono Wintoñ, Roberto archidiacono Surreie, Magistro Nicholaho, Waltero clerico, Willelmo Capellano Episcopi, Cristoforo clerico, Willelmo milite nepote Episcopi.

Seal of the bishop in red wax, with effigy. Legend all broken away. Counterseal, a classical gem with two heads respectant.

## II.

Henricus Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Anglie et Normannie, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse deo et monachis de Tyroñ. in perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum, quindecim marcas argenti ad calceamenta eorum, accipiendas de thesauro meo ad scaccarium meum in festo sancti Michaelis annuatim in perpetuum, sicut Rex Henricus avus meus illas eis dedit et carta sua confirmavit. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod ipsi singulis annis illas habeant bene et in pace ad predictum terminum absque omni disturbacione. Testibus: Philippo episcopo Baioc', Ern' episcopo Lexoviensi, Toma Cancellario, Roberto de novo b, Jollano dapifero, Hugone de claers. Apud Cenomannim.

Remains of the great seal.

## III.

Hec est convencio facta anno Regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis xl<sup>o</sup> quarto inter dominum priorem et monachos de Hamele ex una parte et Nicolaum Beket Suth ex altera, videlicet quod idem prior et monachi concesserunt pro se et successoribus suis dicto Nicolao liberum aditum edificandi construendi et reparandi domos in quadam acra terre eisdem priori et monachis in carta quadam Ricardi de leycestria assignata. Que quidem acra terre proxima est stagiis dicti Nicolai in Niwet' que vocantur la galee<sup>a</sup> ex parte australi. Ita quod predictus Nicolaus et heredes sui sive sui assignati sive inhabitatores eiusdem loci plene sine fraude et dolo annum redditum viginti et octo denar' predictis priori et monachis

<sup>a</sup> Query French Street.

ad festum sancti michaelis solvant inperpetuum. Et hospitali domus dei Suth viginti denarios annuatim. Predictus vero Nicolaus concessit pro se et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis sive pro predicti loci inhabitatoribus predictis priori et monachis et eorundem successoribus quod libere et sine aliqua contradictione possint in loco predicto et in feodo dicti Nicolai qui vocatur la galee distringere per quemcunque modum districtionis si contingat dictum redditum eisdem suo termino non solvi. In cuius rei testimonium presens scriptum per modum cirographi inter se fecerunt et sigillis suis mutuo roborari (*sic*) adiectis hiis testibus: Math Gese aldremanñ suth, henrico flendr' eiusdem ville senescallo, Johanne Blundo et Jacobo ysembard ballivis, Johanne fortin, andrea de cruce, Radulfo parvo, Thoma de Andevare et aliis.

Seal lost.

#### IV.

Presens scriptum indentatum inter religiosos viros fratre Alexandrum priorem Ecclesie cathedralis sancti Swýthi Wýntoñ confectum ex parte una et fratre Richardum de Bello Monte Priorem de Hamele ex altera testatur quod cum Abbas de Tironio tulisset versus predictum Priorem Wýntoñ quandam assisam nove disseisine de quodam corrodio capiendo in domo sancti Swýtthi Wýntoñ qualibet hebdomada viginti et unum panem quales in Refectorio coram fratribus ponuntur quadraginta duas justas cervisie singulis annis pellicias sex et sex paria caligarum totidemque botarum de illis que deputantur elemosine fratrum Postea predictus Prior de Hamele attornatus predicti Abbatis in hac parte remisit predicto Priori Wýntoñ et eiusdem loci conventui omnimodam accionem exigendi predictas cervisiam pellicias caligas et botas pro toto tempore suo. Et pro hac remissione predictus Prior Wýntoñ concessit quod predictus Prior de Hamele et monachi ibidem deo servientes pacifice percipient et habebunt predictos panes qualibet septimana toto tempore predicti Prioris de Hamele sine contradiccione aliquali. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti presentis scripti indentati penes predictum Priorem de Hamele remanenti predictus Prior Wýntoñ sigillum suum apposuit. Alteri vero parti penes predictum Priorem Wýntoñ residenti predictus prior de Hamele sigillum suum apposuit. Datum Wýntoñ sexto die mensis Aprilis Anno domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>mo</sup> tricesimo septimo, Anno vero regni regis Edwardi tercii a conquestu undecimo.

Small oval seal in green wax,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  by 1 inch. Subject: within a sexfoil, in chief five billets, 2 and 3; on a band in fess the bust of a bishop or mitred prior between a key and sword; in base, two lions rampant. The fields are variously diapered. Legend: S'ALAXANDRI · PRIORIS · WINTONIE SQR TVR.

#### V.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum indentatum visuris vel auditoris Johannes morys custos collegij beate marie prope civitatem Wyntoñ seynte marie college of Wynechestre vulgariter nuncupati et eisdem collegij socij et scolares salutem in domino sempiternam. Cum quoddam corrodium sive prestacio annua subscripta a domo Prioratus sancti Swithuni Wyntoñ Prioratui de hamele in the Rys in Comitatu Suth et eiusdem loci monachis debita videlicet unaquaque ebdomada viginti unus panes conventuales quadraginta

due juste cervisie quales in Refectoris coram monachis dicti prioratus sancti Swithuni confratribus ibidem ponuntur necnon singulis annis sex pellicie meliores de illis que deputantur elemosine fratrum sex paria caligarum necnon sex paria botarum quorum omnium valor annuus ad decem libras et amplius se extendit Postmodum in et ad nos custodem socios et scolares nostrumque collegium auctoritate apostolica et regia legitime et effectaliter fuerit et sit translat' Noveritis nos prefatos custodem socios et scolares collegij antedicti obtentu et contemplacione Reverendi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Willelmi de Wykeham dei gracia Wyntoniensis Episcopi fundatoris nostri ac ad requisitionem eiusdem necnon pro quadam cantaria trium monachorum tres missas pro reverendo patre et fundatore antedicto et eius benefactoribus in capella in qua cum in fata decesserit disposuit tumulari cotidie celebrare debencium quorum quilibet a priore sancti Swithuni qui pro tempore fuerit singulis diebus unum denarium bone et usualis monete percipiet quibus eciam Sacrista ecclesie supradicte inveniet omnia officio misse necessaria pro quo eciam reverendo patre pueri elemosinarie de elemosina dicti Prioratus viventes qualibet nocte perpetuis futuris temporibus ad capellam predictam cantabunt in honorem beate virginis antiphonam Salve Regina vel Ave Regina et consequenter dicent psalmum De Profundis cum oratione fidelium vel Inclina ad quorum opus et utilitatem sepedictus Prior pro tempore existens solvet annuatim Elemosinario dicti Prioratus sex solidos octo denarios in festo annunciationis beate marie imperpetuum in dicto prioratu per priorem et eiusdem loci confratres unanimiter fundata ordinata pariter et concessa, prout in tenore ordinacionis dicte cantarie plenius apparet unanimo consensu et assensu remisisse relevasse et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum quietum clamasse venerabili viro Thome Nevyle Priori dicti Prioratus sancti Swithuni et eiusdem loci Conventui eorumque successoribus totum ius et clameum que habemus habuimus vel aliquo modo in futurum habere poterimus in predicto corrodio seu prestacione annua. Ita quod nec nos nec successores nostri aliquod ius vel clameum in eodem corrodio sive prestacione annua versus eosdem Priorem et conventum aut eorum successores exigere vel vindicare poterimus infuturum sed inde per presentes imperpetuum sumus inclusi. Et nos vero predictus Thomas Nevyle prior ecclesie cathedralis Wynton et eiusdem loci conventus unanimi assensu et consensu remisimus relaxavimus et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris quietum clamavimus prefatis Johanni Morys custodi collegij predicti et eiusdem loci socijs et scolaribus imperpetuum omnimoda acciones clamea et demandas que habemus habuimus seu quovismodo habere poterimus infuturum versus prefatos custodem socios et scolares seu eorum successores racione Prioratus de Hamele in the Rys predicti seu alicuius parcellae eiusdem in manibus predictorum custodis sociorum et scolarium seu successores suorum existentis necnon omnimoda proficua occupaciones et clamea que in eodem Prioratu de hamele in the Rys habere poterimus vel clamavimus pro corrodio predicto. Ita quod nec nos nec successores nostri aliquod ius vel clameum versus eosdem custodem socios et scolares aut eorum successores exigere vel vindicare poterimus infuturum racione corrodij supradicti sed inde per presentes simus exclusi imperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius scripti indentati penes predictos custodem socios et scolares remanenti prefati Prior sancti Swithuni et eiusdem loci conventus sigillum suum commune apposuerunt alteri vero parti penes prefatos Priorem et conventum remanenti

predicti custos socij et scolares sigillum suum eciam commune apposuerunt. Datum vicesimo primo die mensis augusti anno regni regis henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie quinto.

*Endorsed :*

Memorandum quod carta antiqua de corrodio infrascripto liberata fuit Priori et conventui infrascript' die et anno infrascript' in presencia magistri Johannis de Campeden de mandato domini nostri fundatoris et consensu omnium sociorum collegij.

The seal and counterseal of the priory of St. Swithun is appended, in bright red wax, but only one-half the impression remains. The following description has been supplied from other and more complete examples:

Seal—Subject: St. Swithun sitting under a fine canopy with sitting figures at the sides of SS. Peter and Paul, also under canopies. Legend: + S' · DOMMVNĒ : CATHĒDRALIS : AÐÐĒ APL'OR' : PĒT : ET PAVLI ET SMI SWITHI WINTON.

Counterseal—Subject: A sitting figure of a king between the erect figures of a bishop and mitred prior, all under fine canopies. At the sides two lions of England and under an arch in base four praying monks with the *manus Dei* issuing from a cloud above them. Legend: + FACTVM ANNO : GRĒ : M : ÐÐ : NONAGĒS' : III<sup>o</sup> : ET : ANNO : REGNI REGIS : EDWARDI XX<sup>o</sup> II<sup>o</sup>.

Examples of *dated* seals are very rare.

VI.

[Omnibus Christi fi]delibus hoc presens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Tydemannus de Wynhecombe monachus ordinis Cisterciensis salutem in domino. Noveritis me concessisse et [confirma]sse fratri Johanni Beel monacho ordinis sancti Benedicti Priori de hamele in the Rys Wynton dioc'. totum statum meum jus et clameum et quicquid [juris] vel tituli habeo vel aliquo modo habere potero in firma seu custodia Prioratus predicti et in omnibus terris et tenementis redditibus et servicijs ad predictum prioratum qualitercumque spectantibus cum omnibus suis juribus et pertinentijs universis. Ita vero quod nec ego Tydemannus predictus nec aliquis alius nomine meo aliquid iuris tituli vel clamei in predicto Prioratu cum pertinentiis nec in aliqua parcella eiusdem de cetero habere exigere vel vindicare poterimus set imperpetuum inde simus exclusi per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Datum quartodecimo die Septembris anno Regni Regis Ricardi secundi post conquestum quintodecimo.

Fine seal of English work,<sup>a</sup> in red wax, a pointed oval 2½ inches long. Subject: Our Lady, nimbed and with a sceptre in her left hand, holding the Divine Child on her right arm, beneath a canopy with panelled buttresses. In base, under an arch set in masonry, is a kneeling figure of the abbot. Legend: S' FRIS : TIDEMANNI DEI GRA : ABBTIS [DE] S]AVINIACIO :

<sup>a</sup> See *Proceedings*, 2nd S. ix. 46.



XVI.—*Further Notes upon Excavations at Silchester.* By F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.

---

Read February 11, 1886.

---

SOME years have now elapsed since any paper has been read before this Society upon Silchester, which is without doubt the most interesting Roman city in this country. Comparatively speaking, very little has been done there since the death of the Rev. James Gerald Joyce, F.S.A., the rector of Stratfieldsaye, whose elaborate and valuable papers upon Silchester, amply illustrated with plans and drawings, published in vols. xl. and xlvi. of *Archaeologia*, are well known to you all. Had it not been for him we should probably have remained in ignorance of the existence of the city, as it was he who inspired the late Duke of Wellington with such a keen interest in the place that he authorised excavations to be undertaken.

Between the dates of Mr. Joyce reading his last paper here in June, 1873, and his lamented death in June, 1878, several excavations have been carried out, but have not been described. The Rev. H. G. Monro, the present rector of Stratfieldsaye, being naturally very much interested in the work, carried on the supervision for the Duke of Wellington, and completed some excavations that had been commenced by Mr. Joyce, notably of the baths, and the block of buildings to the west of them, which he called the "cavalry barracks," and some others that have since been covered up.

Shortly after this I visited Silchester, and was very much struck by the magnificent remains then recently excavated near the south gate. Ascertaining that no plans had been made of them, permission was obtained from the late Duke of Wellington to draw them; accordingly in the autumn of 1881 Mr. Henry Hodge was instructed by me to make the necessary and accurate plans and drawings, which are shown in the accompanying plates; they appear to reveal the foundations of an important series of baths, which shall be presently described.

In 1884 Mr. Hodge again visited the city and recorded the more recent discoveries which will be also explained.



A short distance south of the Forum, upon the *via principalis*, Mr. Monro subsequently made another excavation of considerable interest, but, finding the distance from Stratfieldsaye too great to be constantly in attendance to watch the old men at the excavations, at his suggestion the late Duke of Wellington asked the Rev. Thomas Langshaw, M.A., rector of Silchester, a careful archaeologist, to supervise the work for him, which he has since done with much zeal, and has completed the clearing out of the foundations of this building, which will be described under the head of Block VII.

Mr. Langshaw then excavated portions of a building near the temple, which exhibited very curious construction: a plan was made, but it is incomplete, as the excavation was stopped, and all filled in before it was finished; it will therefore be as well to delay the description of it until such a time as the ground can be again removed.

These plans have been lying for many months to await a favourable opportunity of bringing them before this Society, with a view not only of placing upon record the new excavations, but of endeavouring to revive the dormant interest for the grand old city of Calleva Atrebatum.

Early in the year 1884, the late Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. W. H. Hall, of Six Mile Bottom, and myself, all greatly interested in the welfare of the old city, conferred together as to what had better be done for its preservation, and we decided that we should first of all see the late Duke of Wellington, and ascertain his grace's views, and to what extent he would be willing to go. We accordingly went to see him, which appeared to revive his former interest in the place, as he granted me permission to have further plans made, and undertook to employ some extra labour to supplement the two old men who, as he said, scrape the ground, and who were the remains of four, the other two having become effete; he further said he wished Mr. Langshaw, who lived upon the site, to conduct all the excavations, and if we could undertake to supervise him and assist him when necessary with a few hints he would be obliged. This was agreed to, and the next day his grace called upon Mr. Langshaw, and told him of our conversation, brought him copies of Mr. Joyce's journals made by Mr. Monro, and beautifully illustrated by Miss Monro, and promised that he should have a cabinet of coins to show to the visitors who came to see the remains; this was all carried out and things looked favourable for the future, when his lamented death put a stop to all further work.

Application has since been made to the present Duke to have these favours continued, but he hesitates to sanction any further excavations at present.

We proposed that, with permission of the tenant who leases the land, exca-

vations should be made in certain spots upon the sides of the roads or elsewhere, paying him compensation for the land so taken out of cultivation, then to map and describe the building or buildings uncovered; should it prove to be of insufficient importance to retain open, to fill it up and excavate another, and so on, until the whole or greater part of the city should be placed upon the Ordnance map, which Mr. Hodge has enlarged seven times for the purpose, and which would become a permanent record of the work done. This plan, which is now exhibited, has all the excavations up to date marked upon it of sufficiently large a scale to enable you to see every chamber in the various buildings distinctly.\* It is reproduced by photo-lithography on Plate XV.

In addition to the excavations made since Mr. Joyce's death, of which plans are now before you, a large block of buildings was discovered close to the south gate by Mr. Joyce himself, which he called "cavalry barracks," and which have long since been covered up. They have never been described, but Mr. Langshaw has kindly favoured me with a plan of the eastern portion, which he made before the excavation was filled in, and which is now placed upon the large map.

Before describing to you the recent excavations, it will be useful to give a short account of the site.

Calleva Atrebatum was the Roman name of Silchester, which the Britons called "Caer Segonte;" the present walls are of great strength, and probably occupy the site of the ancient British earthworks. In some places, more especially near the south gate, the wall is about 21 feet in height, and in others from 10 feet to 15 feet high, and about the same in thickness; the masonry is composed of rough flints, blocks of greensand, and oolite, bound together with mortar; and at intervals of about 2 feet 6 inches bonding courses of stone occur, and in some places these stones are laid in herring-bone pattern. The wall is supported with buttresses from the inside, and was surrounded by a wide and deep fosse, which may have been at times filled with water. Trees of great growth root themselves into the top and sides of the wall and adjacent *débris*, forming a continuous and sombre, forestal-like belt, completely enclosing the dormant city. The total circumference of the walls is nearly one mile and a half, and the area within comprises 100 acres.

There were five entrances, or gates; four being on the north, south, east,

\* The Ordnance map of 25 inches, 344 parts, to a mile, enlarged seven times, gives 14 feet 9 inches to a mile. For rough measurements with an inch rule,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches slack = 100 feet, and 1 inch = 29 feet 4 inches.

and west sides of the city, which were the exits on the principal roads, and a fifth a little to the north of the east gate, apparently leading to the amphitheatre. The road from the north to the south gate is 2410 feet in length, leading on the south to *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester) and to *Sarum*. The road from *Londinium* and *Pontes* (Staines) entered the city on the east side, leading out at the west gate to *Aquae Solis* (Bath), and to *Corinium* (Cirencester) by *Spinae* (Speen near Newbury).

The east gate was 28 feet 6 inches wide in the clear, and set in a curtain recessed back from the main wall, the rounded inward sweep forming two flanking towers; and connected with these were two guard-rooms on each side. These important discoveries were made during Mr. Joyce's investigation. The small gate, likewise on the east side, leading to the amphitheatre, was called by him the *Porta Orientalis Circensis*. The south gate is, however, the most perfect; it is 22 feet 6 inches wide at the entrance, and the passage is 28 feet in length. Two roads converged to enter here; the one from *Sarum* and the other from Winchester.

Outside the walls, on the north and south, are some considerable intrenchments, probably of British date.

A modern road traverses the area. It enters the city at the farm a little to the south of the east gate, and leads out a little to the north of the west gate, dividing it into two unequal parts.

There were several minor streets, leading off from the principal ones, which can be easily traced in dry seasons, when the corn is ripe.

The first excavation, that of the villa of 1833, was made in the south-eastern corner, not far from the wall mentioned in *Archaeologia*.<sup>a</sup>

The sites of all subsequent excavations Mr. Joyce described under the term "blocks," which designation should be adhered to.

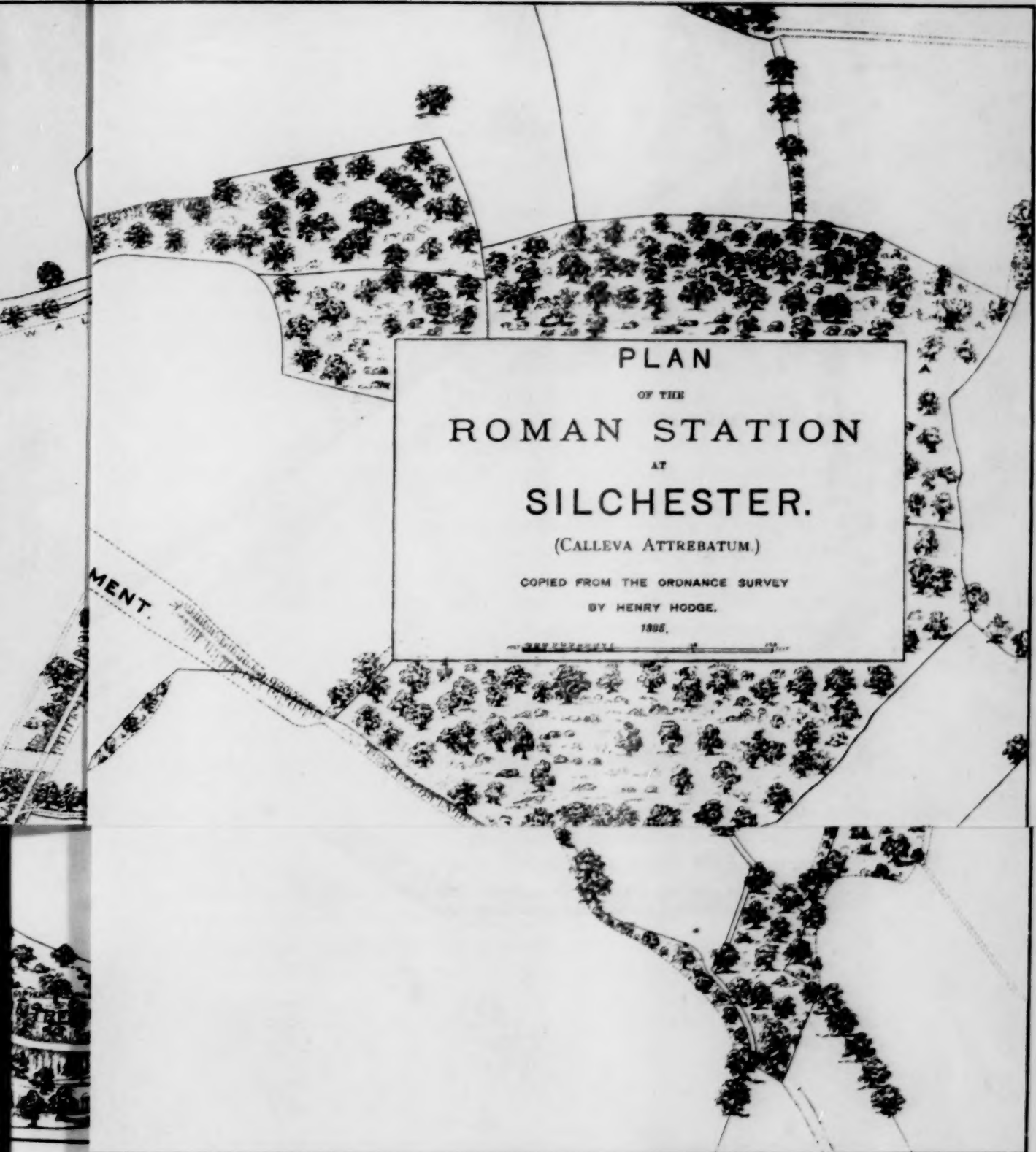
Block I. was at the angle of two minor streets on the north-east side of the city; it consisted of a house, with a corridor 60 feet long by 9 feet wide, and seven chambers, paved for the most part with *tesserae*.<sup>b</sup>

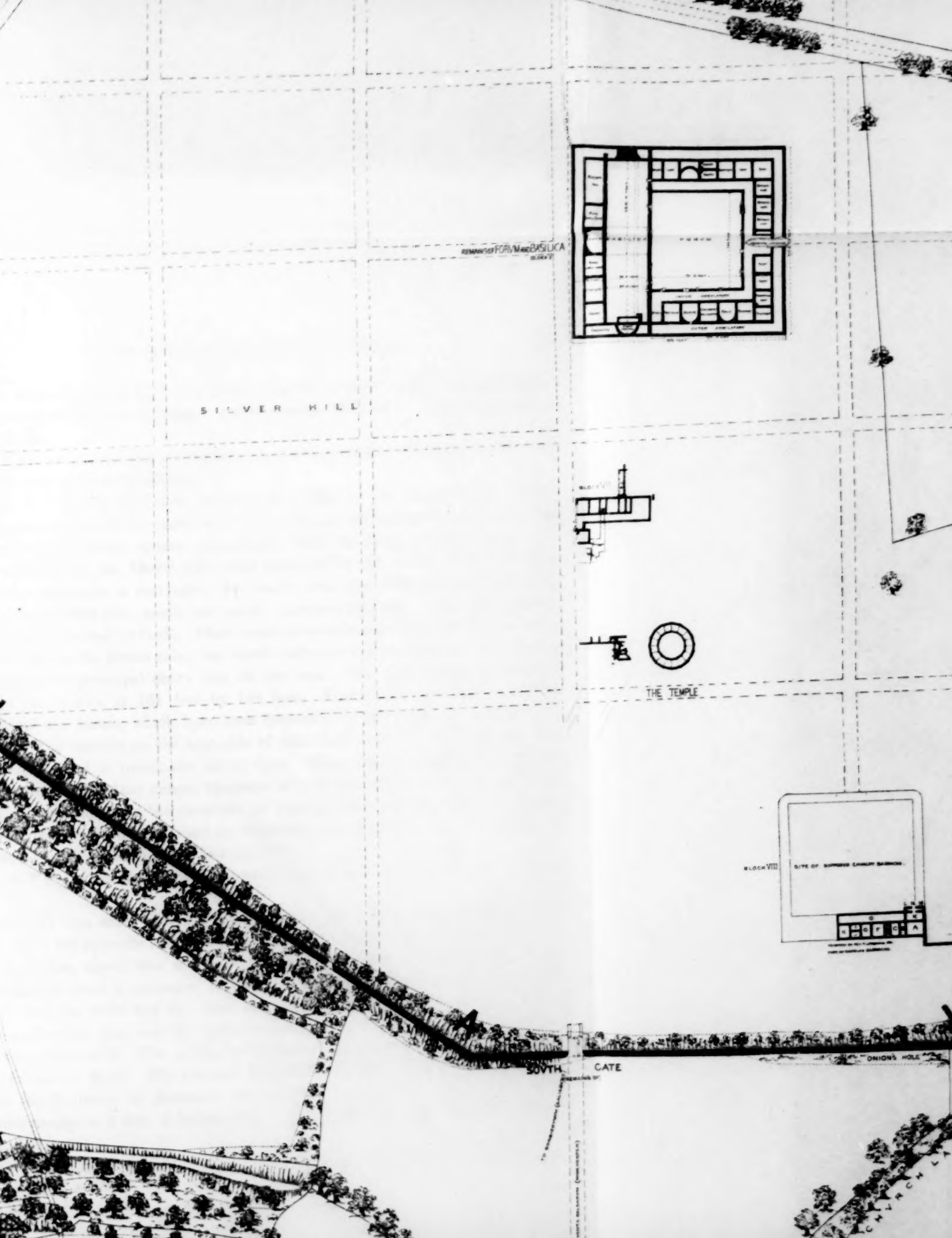
Block II., a much more important excavation, was on the east of the *via principalis*, at an angle of the road. It is about 355 feet north of the Forum; and contained upwards of forty-five rooms, one having a good tessellated floor—which was removed to Stratfieldsaye, where it is now laid down—and some unusual forms of hypocausts.

Block III. was another house, on the east side of the main street, upon the

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XL. page 404.

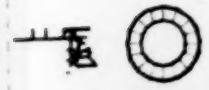
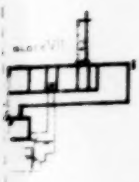
<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*





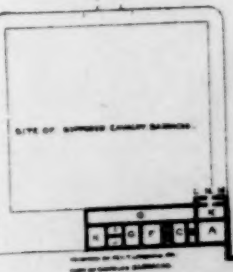
REMAINS OF FORMER BASILICA  
(BLOCK VI)

SILVER HILL



THE TEMPLE

BLOCK VIII



SITE OF SUPPOSED LAMAZZAR BUILDING

RECOVERED BY R. L. C. (1900-1901)  
FROM THE REMAINS OF THE BUILDING

SOUTH GATE

TO ANASTASION (SOUTH GATE)

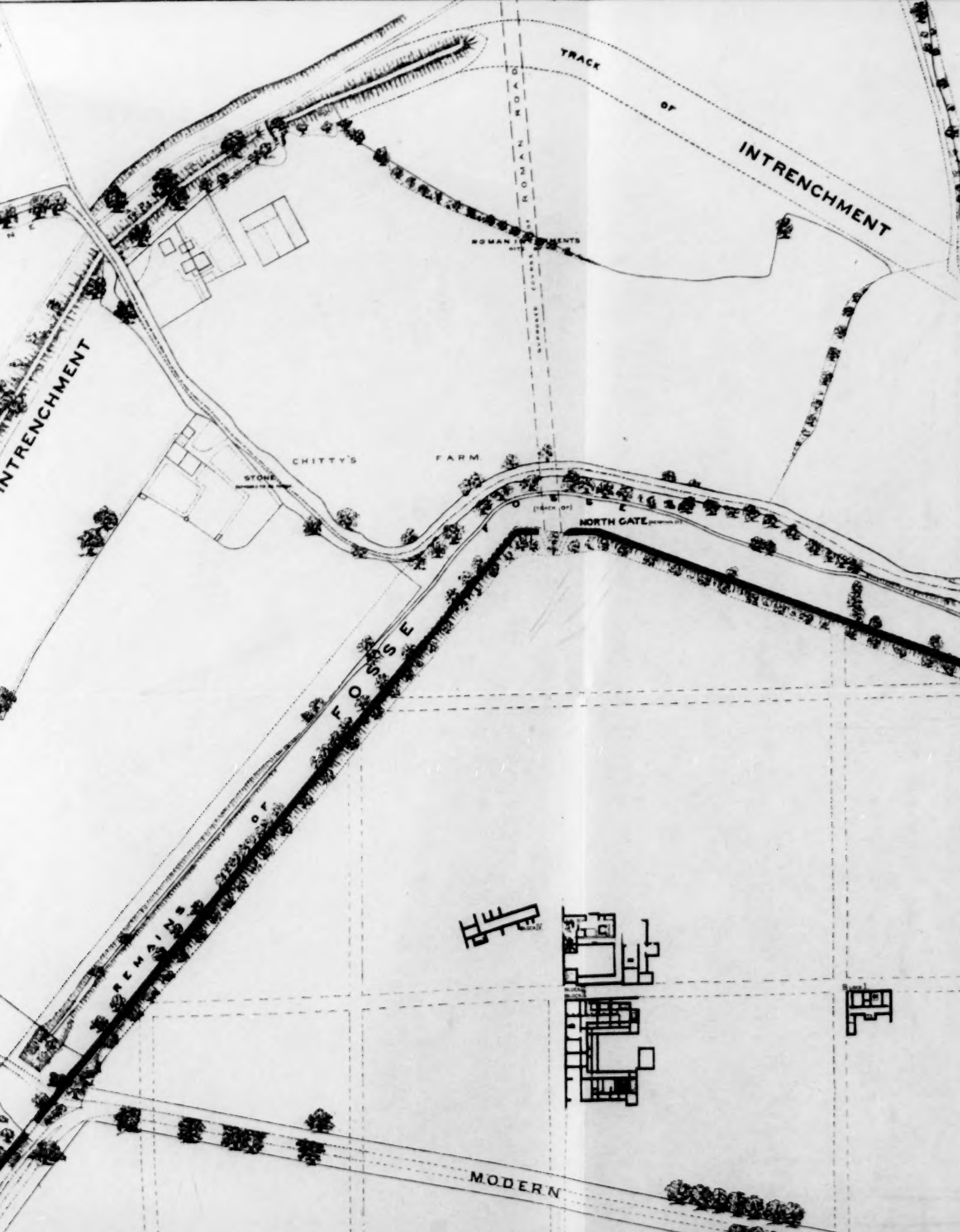
ONION'S HOLE

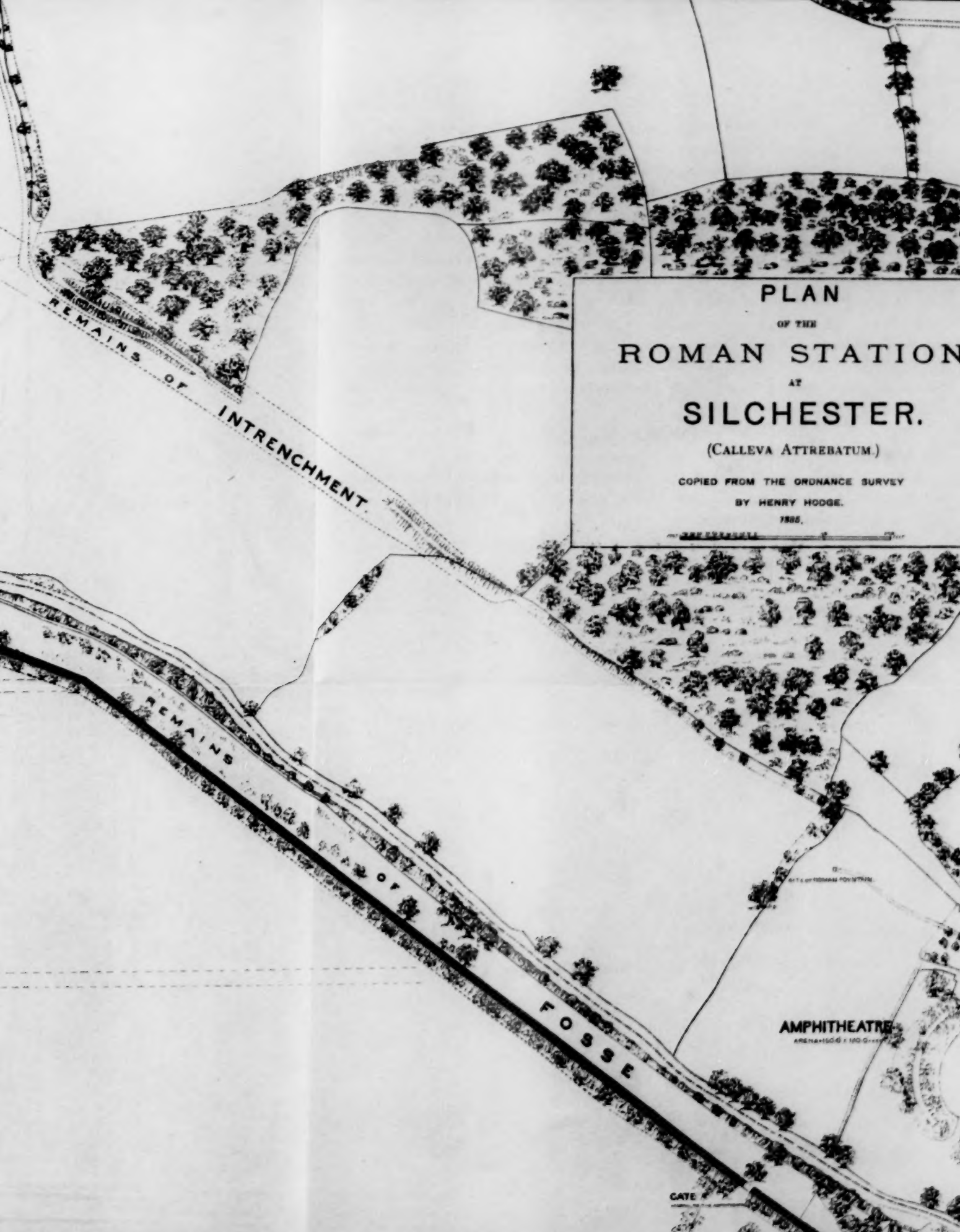
CHURCH LANE











PLAN  
OF THE  
ROMAN STATION  
AT  
SILCHESTER.

(CALLEVA ATTREBATUM.)

COPIED FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY  
BY HENRY HODGE.  
1886.

AMPHITHEATRE  
ARENA 150' 6\"/>

GATE



opposite corner to Block II. in the street running at right angles east and west : it was a most interesting building. A full account of it will be found in *Archæologia*, vol. XL.

Block IV. was a smaller excavation, on the west side of the main road, north and south, and quite insignificant.<sup>a</sup>

Block V. This is the most interesting feature in the whole work. Here, in nearly the centre of the area, we have a forum and basilica; the forum is of the Greek type, nearly square, surrounded upon its three exterior sides by a double ambulatory, the fourth side being occupied by the walls of the basilica. The forum represents a rectangle; the longer side, east and west, measures 313 feet, and the shorter side, north and south, measures 276 feet. The ambulatories were probably covered by roofs. There were three entrances from outside; that on the south was on the forum side; the north entrance was common to both forum and basilica; the principal entry was on the east. The quadrangle, or market-place, in the centre, is 131 feet by 144 feet. There were seventeen rooms or shops round the forum, which have been described by Mr. Joyce in *Archæologia*, vol. XLVI. The basilica on the west side of this block is 60 feet wide by 268 feet long; at each end it terminates in an apse. Many objects of interest were discovered here, notably that unique specimen of a Roman eagle in bronze,<sup>b</sup> found in what was supposed to be the *aerarium* or treasury, the most southern chamber. Another eagle, of steel, also found in Silchester, was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by the Bishop of Carlisle in 1788.<sup>c</sup>

Block VI. was at the angle of a road east of the forum, of which we know little.

Block VII. was south of the forum, upon the side of the street, leading southwards; upon the opposite side of which was another excavation, undescribed.

South of this, again, was a temple, which the late Mr. James Fergusson considered to have been a *serapeum*, it being of polygonal structure, having sixteen sides to both the inner and the outer lines of wall, with an ambulatory round it. In all probability this was an open building, as no remains of roofing slabs have been discovered. The quoins or angles of these walls are built with stone, the remainder of flints. The extreme diameter is 64 feet 6 inches, and the inside area 35 feet 2 inches in diameter; the thickness of the walls 2 feet 8 inches. The ambulatory is 9 feet 4 inches wide. The height of the walling visible is about 2 feet.

<sup>a</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. XLVI. Plate xvii.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* vol. XLVI

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 370.

There is no trace of columns, altar, statue, or inscription, or any other indication of the god or goddess to whom it was dedicated; but, taking into consideration its circular form, it may be open to supposition that the goddess Vesta might have been worshipped there, and that the adjacent building was the house of the Vestals. It may have contained sixteen figures of divinities at the various angles.

The excavation of Block VII. was commenced by the Rev. H. G. Monro and completed by the Rev. T. Langshaw, rector of Silchester. It is situated 228 feet 6 inches south of the Forum, and has a frontage of 62 feet 1 inch upon the east side of the *via principalis*, which traverses the city from the north to the south gate. This building is 111 feet 3 inches long from east to west, with a width of 35 feet. The additional excavation on the south, which can hardly be considered to belong to this building, marked L on the plan (Plate XVI.), is 28 feet by 23 feet, and the corridor on the north side, marked M on the plan, is 52 feet by 14 feet.

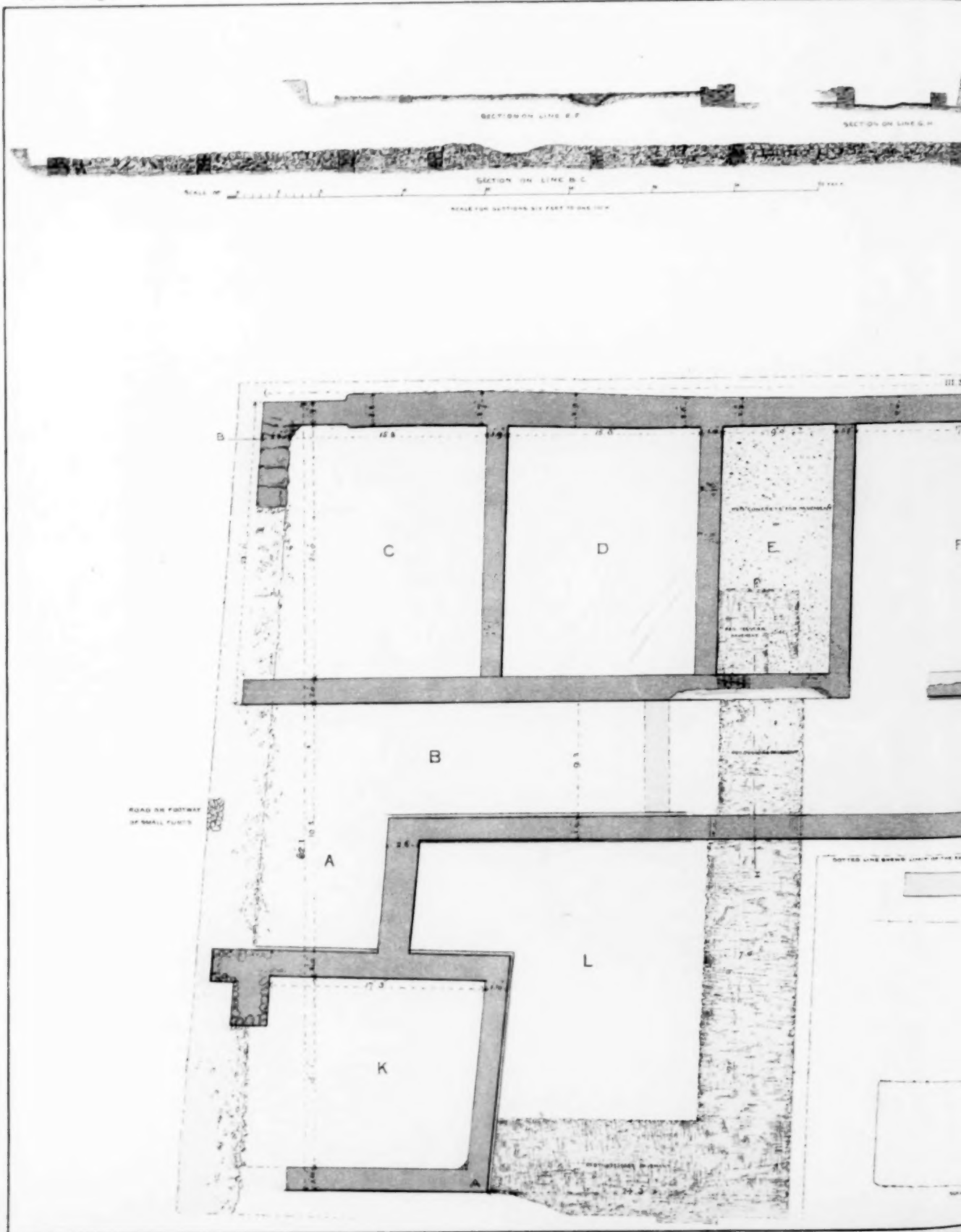
There are eight principal chambers and a corridor running eastwards to the large room at the end. It is probable that one of those marked G H may have been two separate rooms, as there is evidence of the footing of a wall that crossed it; but whether this was so divided when the house was demolished one can hardly say, but in all likelihood it was the wall of the previous building, or of the same one having been altered, of which we have other evidence. For matters of convenience, we have given letters to the chambers, by which we shall subsequently describe them.

A. This appears to be the chief entrance to the building from the street, opening on the west, the pavement of which is about two feet below the present surface of the ground. The exterior wall is here wholly absent, with but slight indications of the footings. This vestibule, if so we may term it, is 19 feet 5 inches in width, with frontage on the street; at the southern end of this it extends eastwards to a wall, about 10 feet from the line of the street; this wall is 11 feet in length north-east and south-west, and, unlike the other walls of this building, it slopes at a considerable angle. The northern end of this vestibule opens out into a long corridor, B, 84 feet long, which extends to the large room marked I on the plan. This corridor varies in width from 9 feet 2 inches to 9 feet 4 inches. Near the pavement of red *tesserae* which crosses this corridor is a slight indication of a cross-wall, or the footing of one. On the west end of this corridor the ground appears to have been more disturbed or removed. The south wall is here 2 feet 3 inches high, with three courses of flints on both sides, and concrete below; the lowest course and concrete being set out to 2 feet 3 inches, while the upper courses are only 1 foot 9 inches thick.

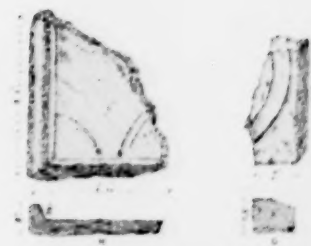
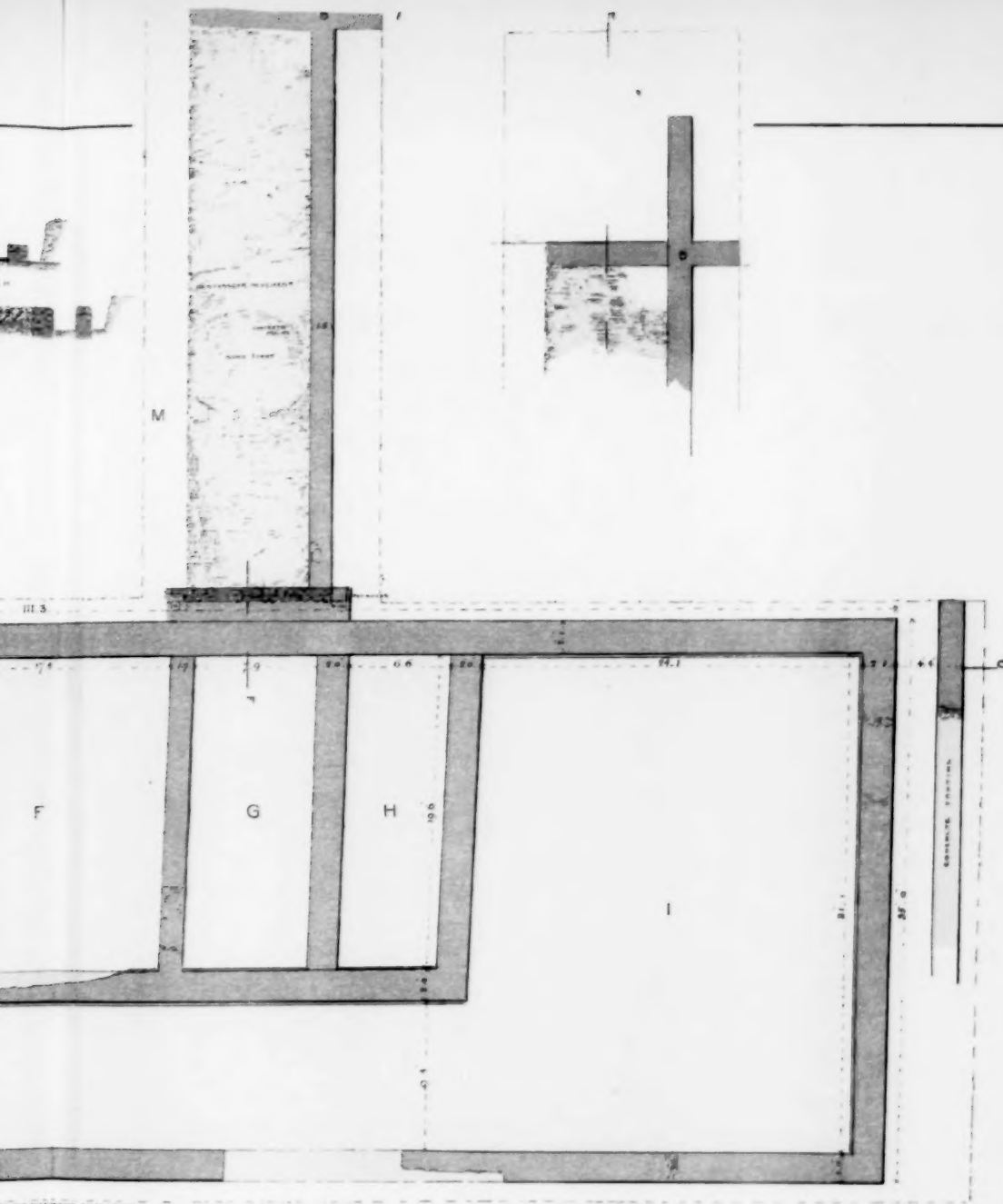




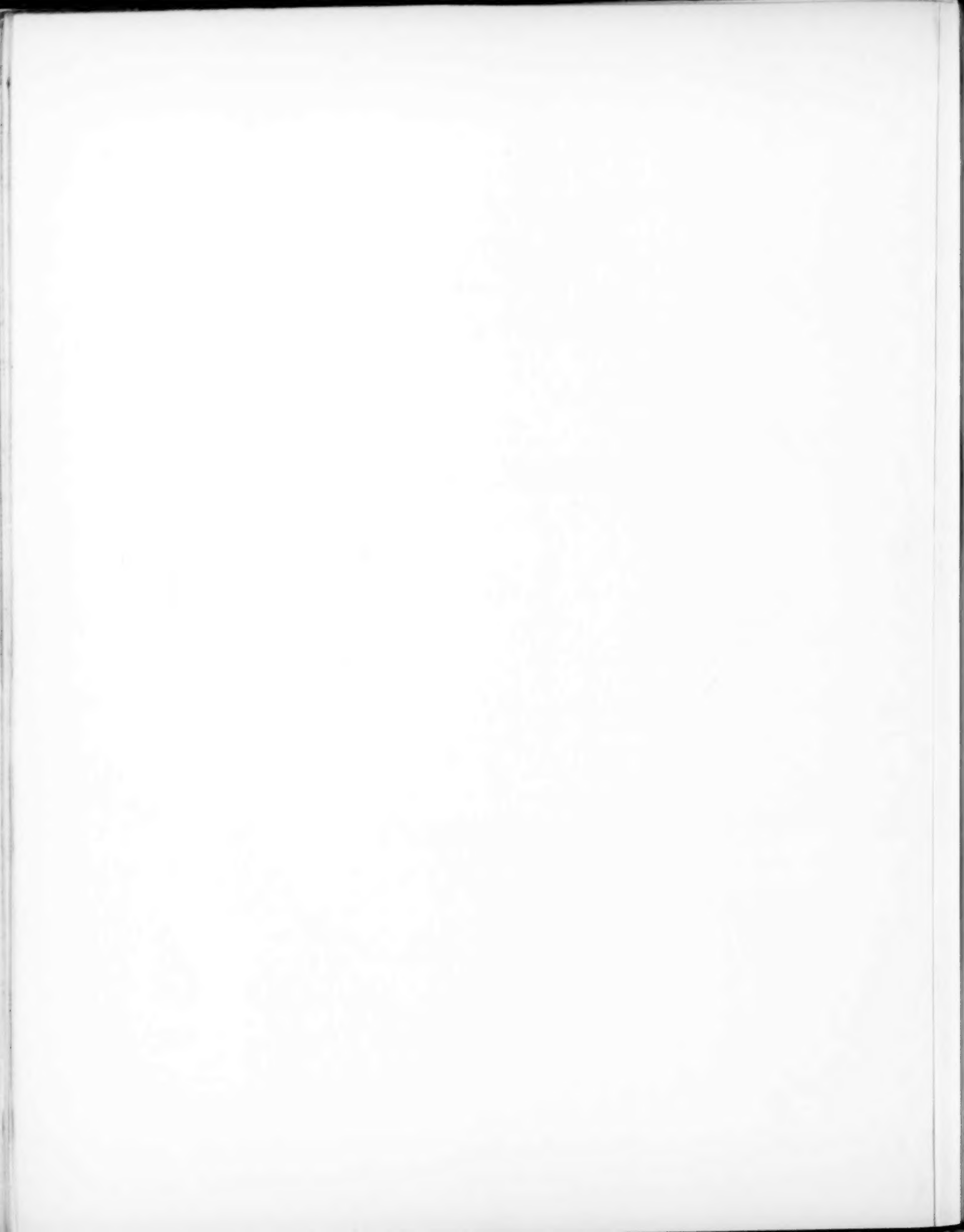




SILCHESTER.-PLAN OF A BUILDING BETWEEN



*Henry Hodge del. 1880*



C. This chamber, which may probably have been a shop opening on the street, is 20 feet wide north and south by 15 feet 8 inches east and west, inside measurements. At the north-west angle there is 8 feet 6 inches of wall remaining, 2 feet 3 inches in breadth, by about 2 feet in height. The remaining portion of the wall facing the street is gone, only the footing remaining. The north wall of this chamber varies in width from 1 foot 9 inches on the west, to 2 feet 8 inches in the middle, and 2 feet 7 inches on the east. The eastern wall is internal, and is therefore only 1 foot 9 inches in width; the south wall is 2 feet in thickness. There is no trace of any pavement in this chamber. There are some massive stones in the wall at the north-west angle, and also where the wall is thinner, *i.e.* where it is only 1 foot 9 inches, breaking out to 2 feet 8 inches. Many of the stones in other places are exceptionally large, and are mostly of a ferruginous conglomerate, or pudding-stone, roughly axed or hammer-dressed and shaped, laid in mortar or concrete.

D. This chamber is nearly of the same dimensions as the last described, being 20 feet by 15 feet 6 inches, the width of the exterior wall on the north varies in thickness from 2 feet 9 inches to 2 feet 6 inches, and is carefully constructed of large blocks of a coarse conglomerate set in concrete; the party wall between this and the next chamber eastwards is 1 foot 10 inches in width, and is composed of three courses of flint; there is no pavement.

E. is 20 feet in length by 9 feet in width; it is paved for the most part with a salmon-coloured concrete, with a well-finished surface of broken tiles. At the south-west corner of this chamber is a red tessellated pavement, 6 feet by  $6\frac{3}{4}$  feet, nearly perfect, composed of 1-inch cubes of pottery *tesserae*; this runs beneath the wall on the south, crosses the corridor B, and passes beneath the south wall of the same and onwards for a considerable distance southwards to be hereafter described (under L). The walls of this room are 2 feet 3 inches thick on the north, 2 feet on the south, (partly destroyed), 1 foot 10 inches on the west, and 1 foot 7 inches on the east; the height varies from 4 feet to 2 foot 3 inches.

F. This is a chamber of larger dimensions, being 20 feet by 17 feet 8 inches, with an opening into the corridor B, on the south-west corner, 6 feet wide; there is no trace of any pavement; the north wall is 2 feet thick, the south wall 2 feet, (partly destroyed), and the east and west walls are only 1 foot 7 inches. In this room there is a depression 1 foot deep, and the stones following the subsidence lay in a confused position. There are however several other depressions and gaps throughout the walls generally from various causes.

G. is a narrow chamber, 20 feet by 7 feet 9 inches. The wall on the east is 2 feet in width, composed of rubble and pebbles, and is merely a footing. It is possible that this chamber included H as well, and that at some remote period it was altered, and the dividing-wall removed, and that previously this wall was a portion of the large block of masonry to be seen outside the wall of this chamber on the north, running in a northerly direction, thus shewing an alteration in the ground-plan during the later Roman occupation of the building. The other walls are of the same dimensions.

H. This chamber is 20 feet by 6 feet 6 inches, with a 2 feet wall on all sides; it probably formed one room with G.

I. This is a large chamber approached from the corridor B; its dimensions are 31 feet 1 inch by 24 feet 1 inch, with an opening at the east end of the corridor 9 feet 4 inches in width. There is a slight indication of a division having obtained north and south in this chamber. The walls are solid and well constructed, but irregular, as in some places the stones are laid very uniformly, whilst in others they are quite at random; the characteristic herringbone method has been adopted, and is very observable in the lowest course of the three walls, and it may be also seen elsewhere. At the south-east angle a layer of one-inch red *tesserae* was found beneath the wall, indicating previous occupation; the wall on the north and east is 2 feet 1 inch in width and 1 foot 11 inches on the south. Outside the east wall of this chamber is another wall running parallel with it, which no doubt belongs to some other building, or perhaps it is a boundary. The walls on the south side of the corridor are composed of flints.

K. This chamber was probably a shop, with a frontage to the street, 15 feet 1 inch by 17 feet 3 inches, with a massive pier of masonry on the north-west angle. Part of the wall slightly projects over the roadway. The wall is wanting on the west side, south of the pier, and also a few feet of it on the south-west. The width of the wall on the north is 2 feet; that of the south and east walls is 1 foot 10 inches.

L. This appears to have been only an open court-yard of irregular shape bounded on the east and south by a one-inch red *tesserae* pavement 7 feet 6 inches wide on the east and 29 feet in length, and 24 feet 3 inches in length east and west on the south. On the southern edge of this the *tesserae* appear to have been intentionally rounded off, so as to form a gutter. There is a portion of another corridor extending from it on the south. These paved ways appear to have been used either for passages between houses or they are the

remains of a long paved corridor of some earlier building. The corridor or passage on the north, marked M on the plan, evidently belongs to or connects some house or alley on the north with the building already described. It is composed of one-inch red *tesserae*, the pavement is 35 feet long by 8 feet broad, the wall on the east side of it is 1 foot 5 inches broad and returns. This pavement is in a fair state of preservation, but it is undulating, and in one place there is a circular depression about 7 feet in diameter and 1 foot deep, partially filled with a mass of red concrete. The paving follows the depression evenly and free from disturbance, almost as though the sinking was intentional and so constructed. It is, however, contrary to reason that a basin should have been made in a passage, therefore one would almost suppose that before this corridor was paved a well had been sunk here, and that it had subsequently slightly subsided; or, it might even have been caused by the agency of the earth-worms, continually at work bringing up fine earth from beneath the floor and casting it on the surface, which would cause the level of the *tesserae* to subside in the centre. Darwin<sup>a</sup> instances several cases of similar subsidence at Silchester, the observations having been carefully carried out by his sons and the late Mr. Joyce. On page 214 he gives a figure of a section of a floor measuring north and south 7 feet 9 inches wide; the *tesserae* were laid up to a wall on either side; the surface of the field sloped from north to south at an angle of  $3^{\circ} 40'$ . The pavement, which was nearly level along lines parallel to the side-walls, had sunk in the middle as much as  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches; from such a fact as this and others accurately made by this great observer, we may therefore readily imagine the subsidence in this instance to have been caused by the earth-worms.

Block VIII. (Plate XV.) was a building with three sides, and with an open quadrangle; it is situated a little to the east of the south gate, and is connected by a wall with the south wall of the baths, which I shall presently describe as Block IX. The buildings of Block VIII. were of considerable extent; their excavation was commenced in 1875 by the late Mr. Joyce, who called them "cavalry barracks," because part of the building was paved with very rough, and great heavy flints, such as might have been required for stables. The greater portion of it was covered in about 1880, and has never been described. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Langshaw for kindly furnishing me with measurements and materials of the most southern portion. This he styles "Building B," and considers it to be separate from the northern part, which he calls "Building A." The plan

<sup>a</sup> *Vegetable mould and earthworms.*



of B, appears to consist of fourteen chambers, with an entrance on the north-east corner. Its length is about 128 feet by 40 feet at the entrance, and 35 feet in the other part. The outside wall on the south was about 2 feet in thickness; that on the east side was 3 feet 3 inches, composed of flints. The measurements of the various chambers are as follows: A, the large one on the south-east, 24 feet by 18 feet; B, 7 feet by 18 feet; C, 11 feet by 18 feet; D and E, 7 feet by 9 feet each; F, 17 feet by 18 feet; G, 13 feet by 18 feet; H, 19 feet by 18 feet; I and J, 7 feet by 13 feet each; K, 24 feet by 11 feet; L and M no doubt were the porters' lodges, and measure 9 feet by 3 feet 6 inches each; N, the doorway, is 6 feet in width; the corridor, O, is 70 feet by 11 feet. In the latter chamber an abundance of oyster shells was discovered. Should excavations be ever sanctioned again, it would be of extreme interest to re-open this block, and have the remaining portion placed upon the large plan. Mr. Langshaw tells me there were other buildings to the north of it; attached to one was a fine hypocaust.

The space between this last described building and the baths, apparently, was a garden, or open court-yard, as nothing was found there when excavations were made. It is about 170 feet in length by from 60 to 80 feet in width.

The court and buildings seem to have been enclosed by a boundary wall, running from the north end of the Baths, and turning with a rounded corner away to the west.

Block IX.—The Baths. This excavation was commenced by the late Mr. Joyce and completed by the Rev. H. G. Monro: they are probably the baths which were first discovered in 1833, and then covered in, as the following accounts tend to prove. A short account of the 1833 Baths, by the Rev. John Coles, appeared in *Archaeologia*.<sup>a</sup>

There is another account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb. 1833, by Mr. Kempe, giving an interesting description of these baths.<sup>b</sup>

A careful investigation has been made respecting the site of the baths which

<sup>a</sup> Vol. xxvii. p. 418.

<sup>b</sup> "Some labourers employed in cutting a drain in the nine-acre field, within the walls of Silchester, and about 200 yards to the south-westward of the church, struck upon some foundations of Roman buildings. The Rev. John Coles being informed of the circumstance, obtained permission of Mr. Barton the farmer to prosecute the discovery, which he liberally did at his own expense.

In a short time the foundations of a large building, upwards of 80 feet in length, probably the

were exposed in 1833 by Mr. Coles, in consequence of a doubt as to the accuracy of records made about that time by Mr. Kempe and Mr. MacLaughlan in reference to the site of that building.\*

The similarity between the 1833 remains and those now illustrated led to the belief they were identical.

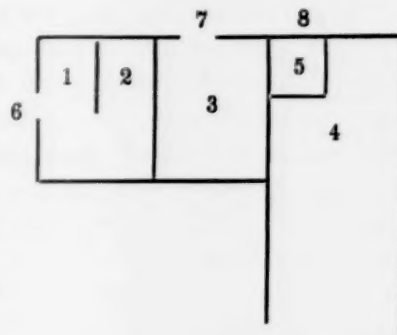
It appears that the Rev. J. Coles, in 1833, excavated a portion of the baths, of which he prepared a plan. This was lithographed at the time, but a copy of it cannot now be discovered. Under the pressure of the farmer the remains and excavations were abruptly filled in.

The Rev. H. G. Monro again excavated and completed the investigation

Thermae or public hot-baths of the city, were revealed. The annexed lines will show the general disposition of the rooms of this edifice.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, were apartments, the dimensions of which I derive from a neat lithographic plan presented to me by Mr. Coles, and from the information of John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A. No. 1, 11 feet 8 inches by 25 feet. No. 2, 12 feet 9 inches by 25 feet. No. 3, 19 feet by 25 feet. These were hypocausts, or sudatory apartments, the floors of which stood upon numerous round and square pillars of Roman brick, each about 3 feet 4 inches in height. The walls were 3 feet thick. The easternmost chamber is No. 1; the floor of this room had been supported by seven ranges of pillars, seven in a row; the three first rows from the east were circular, the remainder square. The diameter of the pillars 9 inches; they stood on a plinth formed of a single tile of larger dimensions. The apertures 6 and 7 afforded a brisk draught to the praefurnium or furnace, and heat was thus diffused all over the floor of the sweating rooms, and to the general volume of air by flue-tiles placed as pipes, perforated with holes, in ranges against the walls. The floor was composed of large square tiles, on which, in a bed of cement, was probably laid a tessellated pavement. 5 was undoubtedly the natatio or water-bath; here, at figure 8, was a leaden pipe inserted in a tile, having a triangular aperture, through which the element was supplied. 4 was probably the apodyterium or frigidarium, the anti-room, where the bathers undressed, as 3 was the media cella, or tepidarium, where they were shampooed (to adopt a term in modern use) by the strigils of the *aliptae* or *unctores*. The anti-room was paved with large square tiles, surrounded by a border of tesserae, each an inch square. A quantity of fractured window glass, full of air bubbles, and having a coarse surface, somewhat resembling the graining of wood, was found on the spot. Such a substance must have been peculiarly necessary in the sudatories, as light would be transmitted, while the cold external air was excluded."—*Gent. Mag.* ciii. 124, 125.

\* Mr. A. J. Kempe's Map, etc. *Archaeologia*, vol. xxviii. p. 419, Plate xxxii. Appendix. Mr. MacLaughlan, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. viii.



which had previously been so very imperfectly performed, although that which had been done appears to have been carefully recorded and described at the time.

In a communication to *The Reading Mercury*, Feb. 11, 1833, the Rev. John Coles announced his discovery, and in the same journal, Feb. 18, 1833, a correspondent (S. H.) furnishes a descriptive article upon Silchester. The following extracts are important :

“To the indefatigable ardour of the Rev. Mr. Coles, the respected rector of the parish, aided by the exertions of another neighbouring clergyman, we are indebted for some recent curious discoveries. Within and as near as may be to the south-east part of the octagonal wall, which is distant less than a quarter of a mile from the Amphitheatre, excavations have been made, which lay open the base of structures, calculated to form matter of pleasing investigation for the antiquary, and which present the following appearances :—

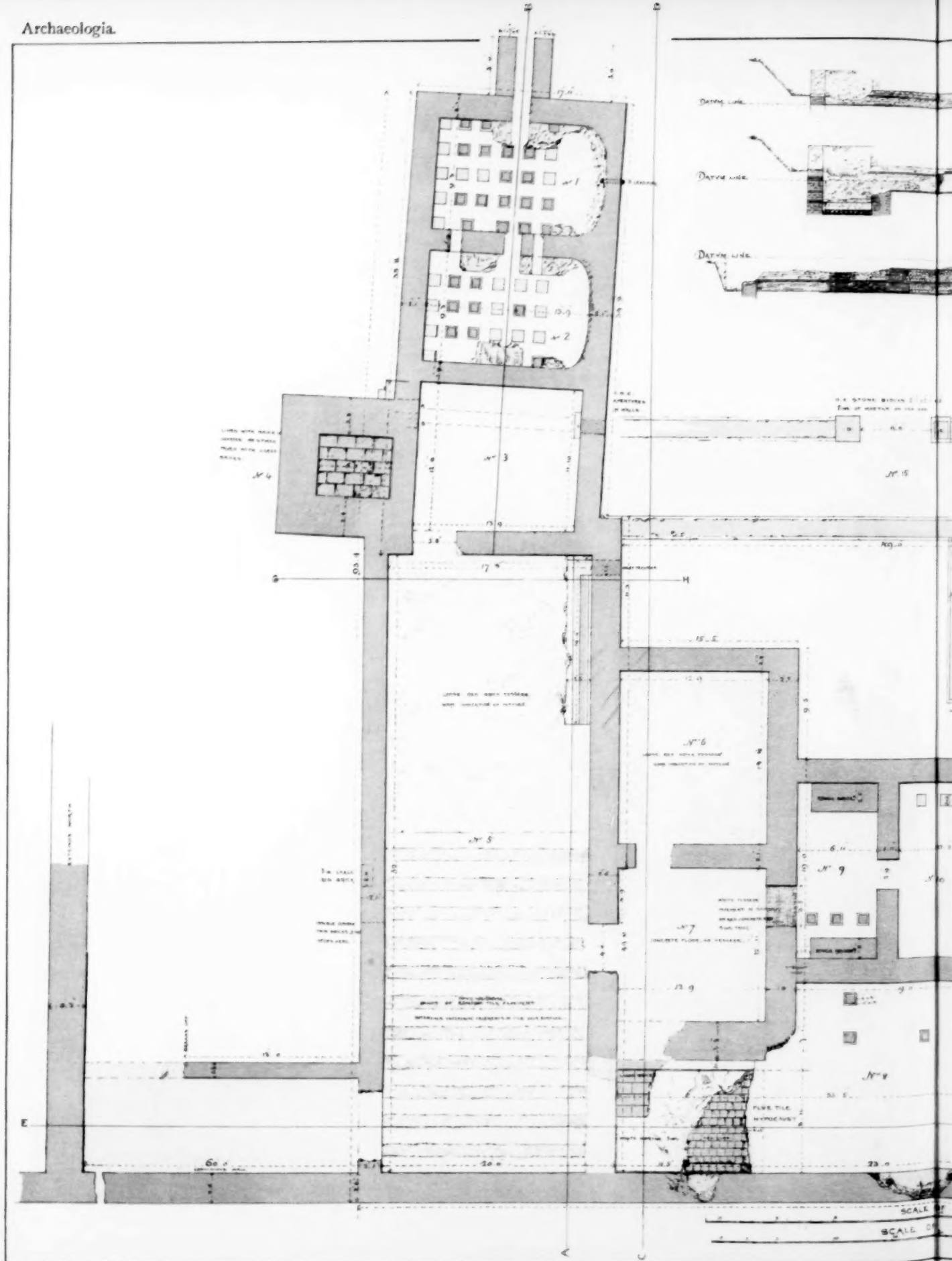
At the eastern end is a vault (or *camera*) of a hot bath, in which now stand about fifty pillars, some round and some square, composed of thick paving-tiles, seven inches in diameter, which it is conjectured supported the plaster floor of the *sudatorium* above. The remains of flues and a large accumulation of charcoal and ashes evidently show that here the heated air was generated which filled the *sudatorium*. The size of this vault is 24 feet by 12½ feet, and there is another west of it, divided by a brick wall, of similar size and appearance. Beyond that is another vault with a strong separation of wall between, near 5 feet high, whose dimensions are about 24 feet by 20 feet, and in this the bases only of pillars are visible.

Adjoining to this is a bath, not ornamental but in a most perfect state; it measures 12 feet by 8 feet, has a floor of large earthen pavement, and its sides are encrusted by an adamantine cement. The way in which it was supplied with water is still visible, by means of a lead pipe formed of very drossy metal or else in a state of great corrosion.

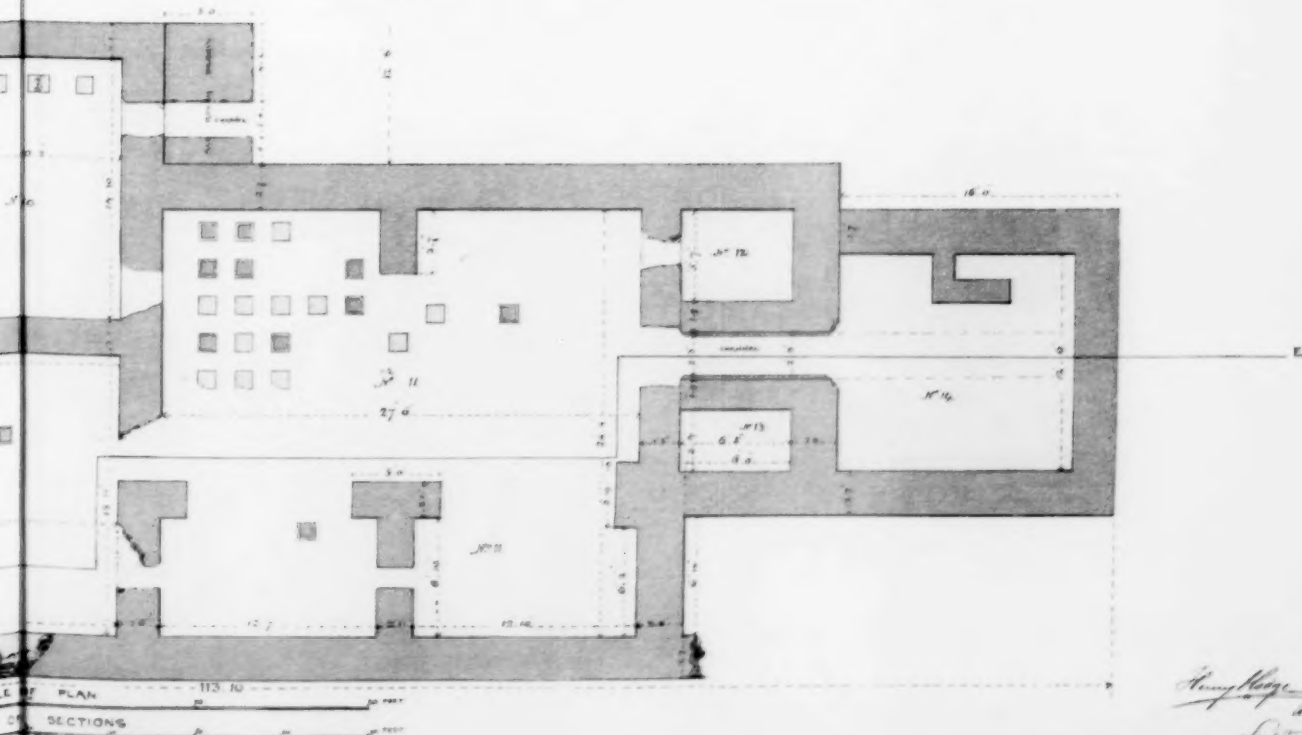
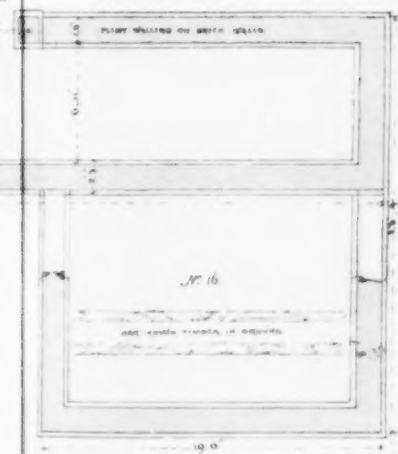
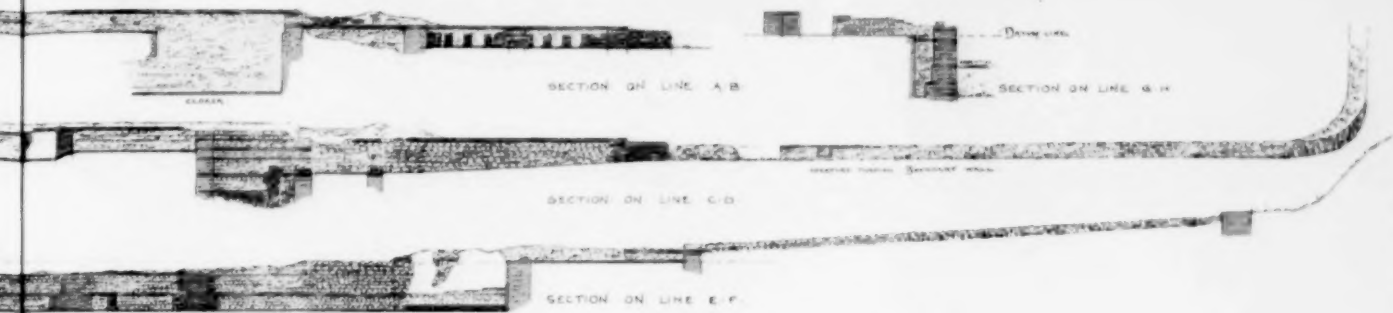
Above and just beyond the bath is a large apartment, supposed to be the portico or vestibule, in which some portions of a tessellated pavement still remain, and a moulded skirting composed of cement. Many relics were gathered including (in the bath) a human skeleton, and in the leaden pipe connected with the same upwards of 200 Roman brass coins.”

Upon comparison it will be observed how similar these apartments are to the southern rooms shown in our illustration, and in several matters of detail which are now absent, these contemporaneous descriptions of earlier excavations are extremely valuable and interesting.





SILCHESTER.—PLAN OF THE



THE BATHS. (BLOCK IX).





In a communication Mr. Monro says: "The baths of 1833 are the last excavated portion which has been dug out since Mr. Joyce's death." This statement corroborates the identity of the two excavations.

Therefore we may conclude that Mr. A. J. Kempe was somehow mistaken in the situation of the baths of 1833, as being near the modern road and the church.

The Rev. J. Coles, about the same time, opened three or four places, all close together. Marked upon the published plans of the city contiguous to these baths will be observed "Site of Roman Villa." This was probably another of these excavations, and the baths and villa are well remembered by old inhabitants.

The plans made in the autumn of 1881 by Mr. Henry Hodge are reproduced on Plates XVII., XVIII., and XIX.

This excavation, which is in the nine-acre field, appears to indicate the foundations of an important series of baths. They extend about 114 feet from east to west and 94 feet from north to south. The general structure of the walls shows for the most part regular bedded, coursed masonry, not random work, and occasionally one observes instances where alterations or reparations have been made. The south main wall, which varies from 2 feet 6 inches in width at the western end to 2 feet 7 inches on the east, is built of four courses of flint and stone and two courses of bricks, then five courses of flint and stone and one course of bricks (or occasionally two courses), then three courses of flint and stone and two courses of bricks; this observation was made in the wall close to the flue tile hypocaust in No. 8 where it is 5 feet 6 inches in height. The mortar is of brown colour, and the bricks, which are of the usual size of Roman bricks, are laid in reddish mortar.

The stones are mostly hammer-dressed and roughly squared; they consist of grey grits, oolites, and now and then marble and even blocks of chalk. In the western and north-western portions of the buildings flint mainly predominates. Large portions of the division-walls eastwards are built of bricks, which are well tied in and returned on the main walls by brickwork. The quoins and angles are generally of brick.

There are sixteen chambers, and for convenience they shall be numbered. (See Plate XVII.) We will commence with that at the north end, which shall be called No. 1; the walls on the north-east and west are 2 feet 1 inch thick; as No. 2 is of the same dimensions the two shall be dealt with together. They are evidently hypocausts, and measure 13 feet 9 inches in length by 9 feet 3 inches in breadth; they each terminate in a semi-elliptic apse towards the east. In the apse of No. 1

was a 3-inch leaden pipe, which passed through the wall at the level of the ancient floor; the ends showed a rough fracture. This has been placed in the museum for better security. The *praeefurnium* existed at the north end, the entrance to the hypocaust was in the centre of the wall, the passage being 5 feet in length and 1 foot 8 inches in width.

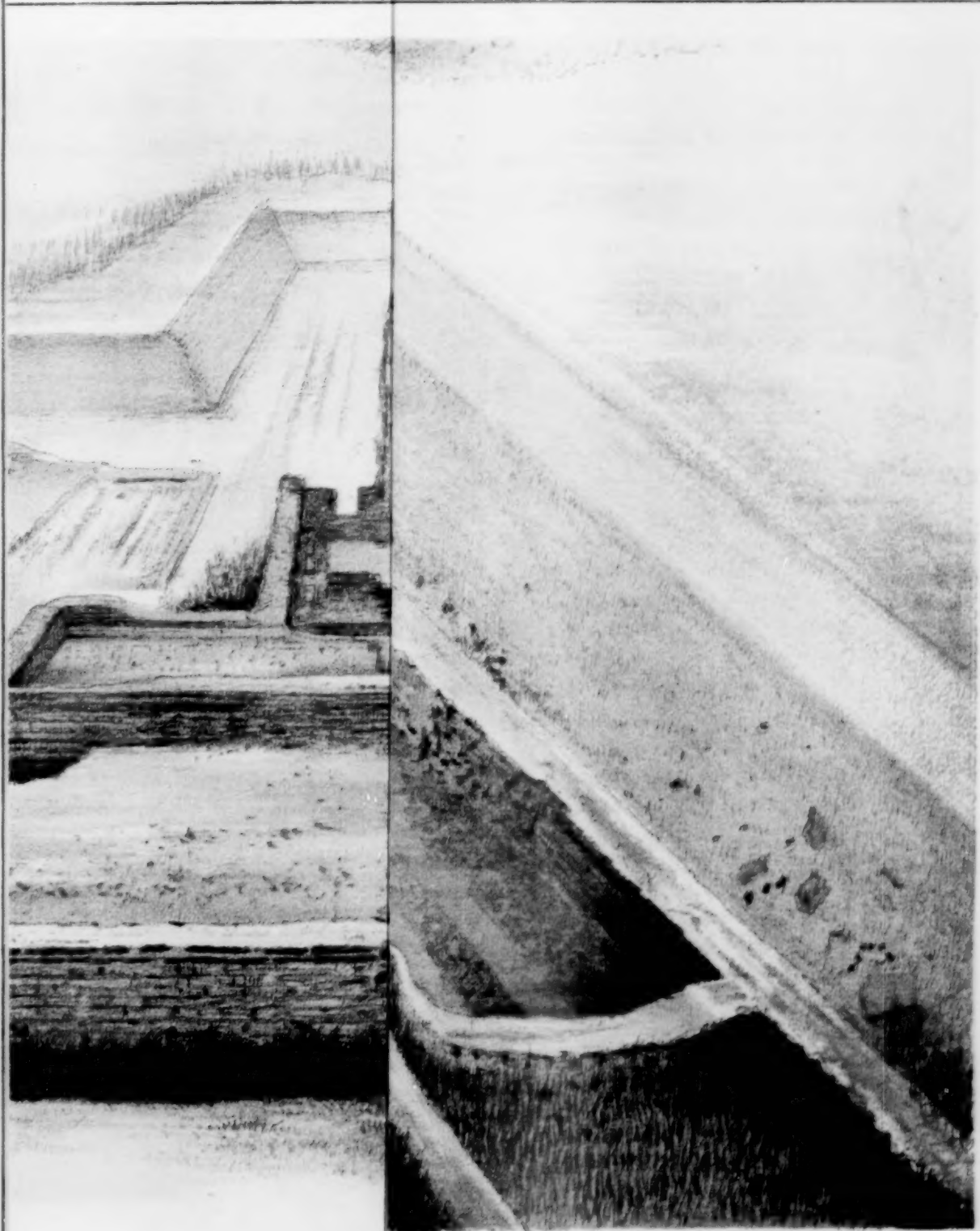
The boundary wall near this point is surmounted by a course of bricks, embedded in thick white mortar about 2 inches in thickness. The bricks measure  $17\frac{1}{4}$  inches and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

In chamber No. 1 were 27 *pilae* of square tiles 8 inches by 8 inches on plinths 12 inches by 12 inches; they are built with half-joints of red mortar. No. 2 contained only 20 *pilae* of tiles, but in both cases some few had been destroyed in excavating. The two chambers communicated by means of three air-passages cut in the wall. There was evidence when first discovered of one of these passages having been arched over, but that was entirely obliterated when last I visited the remains.

No. 3 is a chamber measuring 12 feet 6 inches on the west side by 11 feet 10 inches on the east, and 13 feet 9 inches across. At the west end is an opening, evidently a doorway leading into the long corridor No. 5. There is an aperture in the wall on the east side, and two on the west side, both at the north end of the chamber, probably intended for drainage.

No. 4 is a solidly-constructed chamber projecting two-thirds of its width beyond the main western wall. The outside walls are 3 feet 4 inches in thickness; the inside measurement is 6 feet from east to west by 5 feet from north to south; the depth is 2 feet 9 inches. It is lined with regular courses of brick, and there are no remains of wall plastering. It is paved with large bricks. From the fact of a chamber of such small size being so substantially built, it appears to indicate a superstructure of great weight, or one requiring extra protection.

No. 5. This chamber, perhaps the *apodyterium*, is 52 feet 2 inches in length by 17 feet 8 inches in breadth; it is upon the same level as No. 3, whereas all the remaining parts of the excavations are some feet below. This chamber is paved with loose red brick *tesserae*, with some slight indication of pattern for 25 feet on the north side of it; the remainder consists of eleven bands of rammed tile, with uncertain intervals of fragments of tile near the surface. The difference in level we thought might be accounted for by the presence of hypocausts beneath, but, finding a hole made by vermin, it was tested by Mr. Hodge early in August 1884, who made a section in the floor of room 7, which is upon this same level, and he found the floor to be composed as follows:—4 inches thickness of flints in



W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.

OF THE BATHS. (BLOCK IX).

was a 3-inch leaden pipe, which passed through the wall at the level of the ancient floor; the ends showed a rough fracture. This has been placed in the museum for better security. The *præfurnium* existed at the north end, the entrance to the hypocaust was in the centre of the wall, the passage being 5 feet in length and 1 foot 8 inches in width.

The boundary wall near this point is surmounted by a course of bricks, embedded in thick white mortar about 2 inches in thickness. The bricks measure  $17\frac{1}{4}$  inches and  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch.

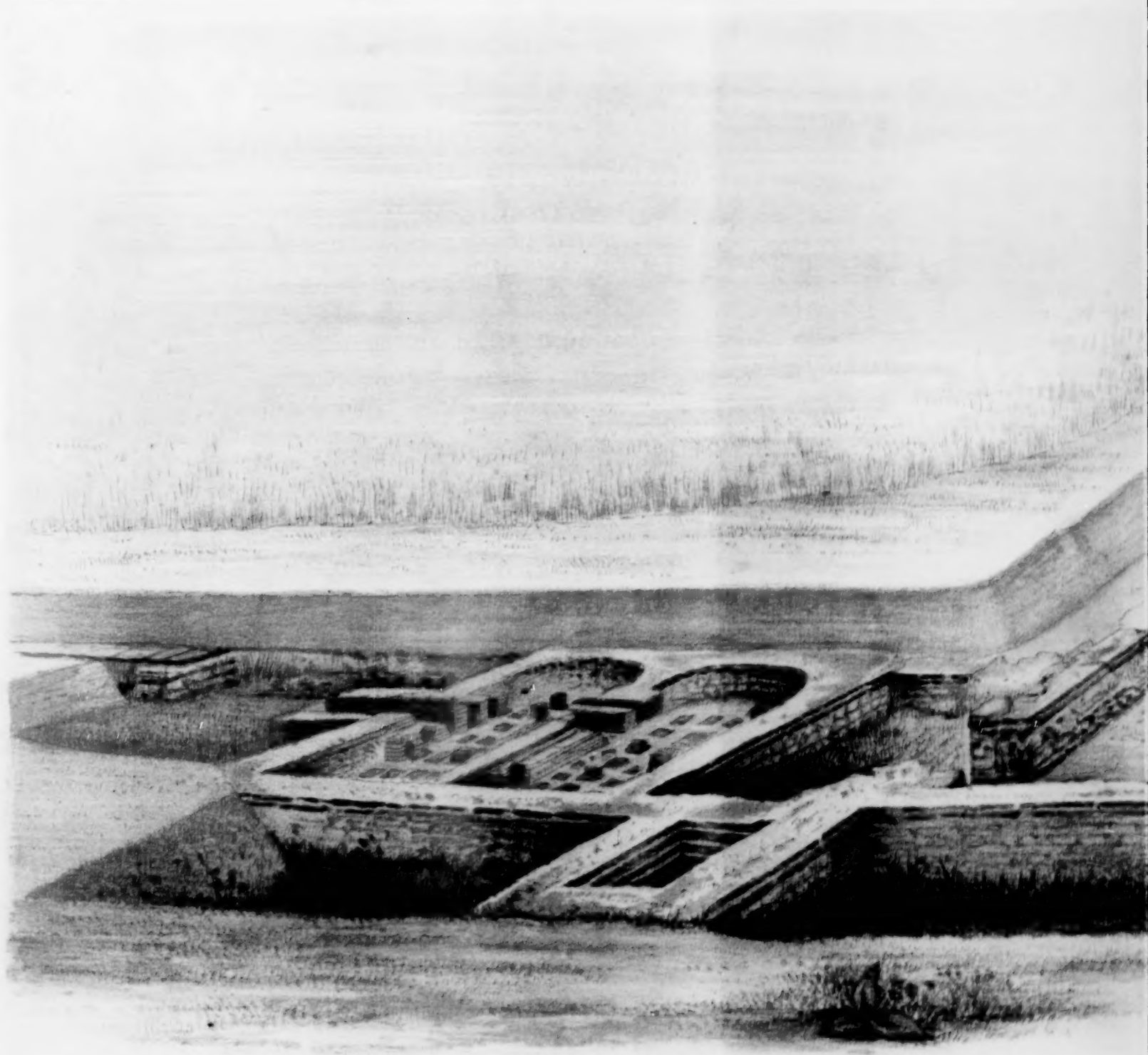
In chamber No. 1 were 27 *pilæ* of square tiles 8 inches by 8 inches on plinths 12 inches by 12 inches; they are built with half-joints of red mortar. No. 2 contained only 20 *pilæ* of tiles, but in both cases some few had been destroyed in excavating. The two chambers communicated by means of three air-passages cut in the wall. There was evidence when first discovered of one of these passages having been arched over, but that was entirely obliterated when last I visited the remains.

No. 3 is a chamber measuring 12 feet 6 inches on the west side by 11 feet 10 inches on the east, and 13 feet 9 inches across. At the west end is an opening, evidently a doorway leading into the long corridor No. 5. There is an aperture in the wall on the east side, and two on the west side, both at the north end of the chamber, probably intended for drainage.

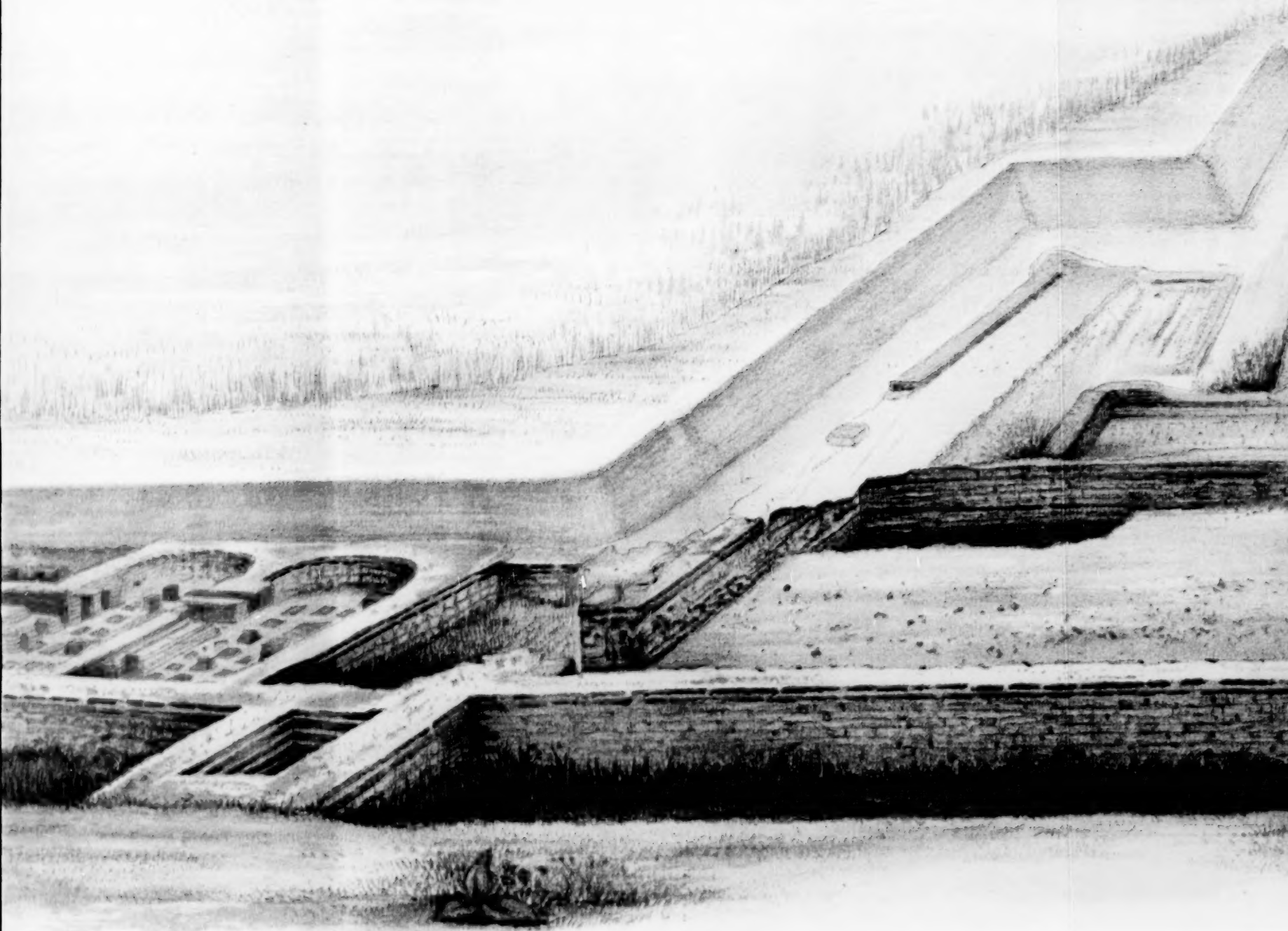
No. 4 is a solidly-constructed chamber projecting two-thirds of its width beyond the main western wall. The outside walls are 3 feet 4 inches in thickness; the inside measurement is 6 feet from east to west by 5 feet from north to south; the depth is 2 feet 9 inches. It is lined with regular courses of brick, and there are no remains of wall plastering. It is paved with large bricks. From the fact of a chamber of such small size being so substantially built, it appears to indicate a superstructure of great weight, or one requiring extra protection.

No. 5. This chamber, perhaps the *apodyterium*, is 52 feet 2 inches in length by 17 feet 8 inches in breadth; it is upon the same level as No. 3, whereas all the remaining parts of the excavations are some feet below. This chamber is paved with loose red brick *tesserae*, with some slight indication of pattern for 25 feet on the north side of it; the remainder consists of eleven bands of rammed tile, with uncertain intervals of fragments of tile near the surface. The difference in level we thought might be accounted for by the presence of hypocausts beneath, but, finding a hole made by vermin, it was tested by Mr. Hodge early in August 1884, who made a section in the floor of room 7, which is upon this same level, and he found the floor to be composed as follows:—4 inches thickness of flints in

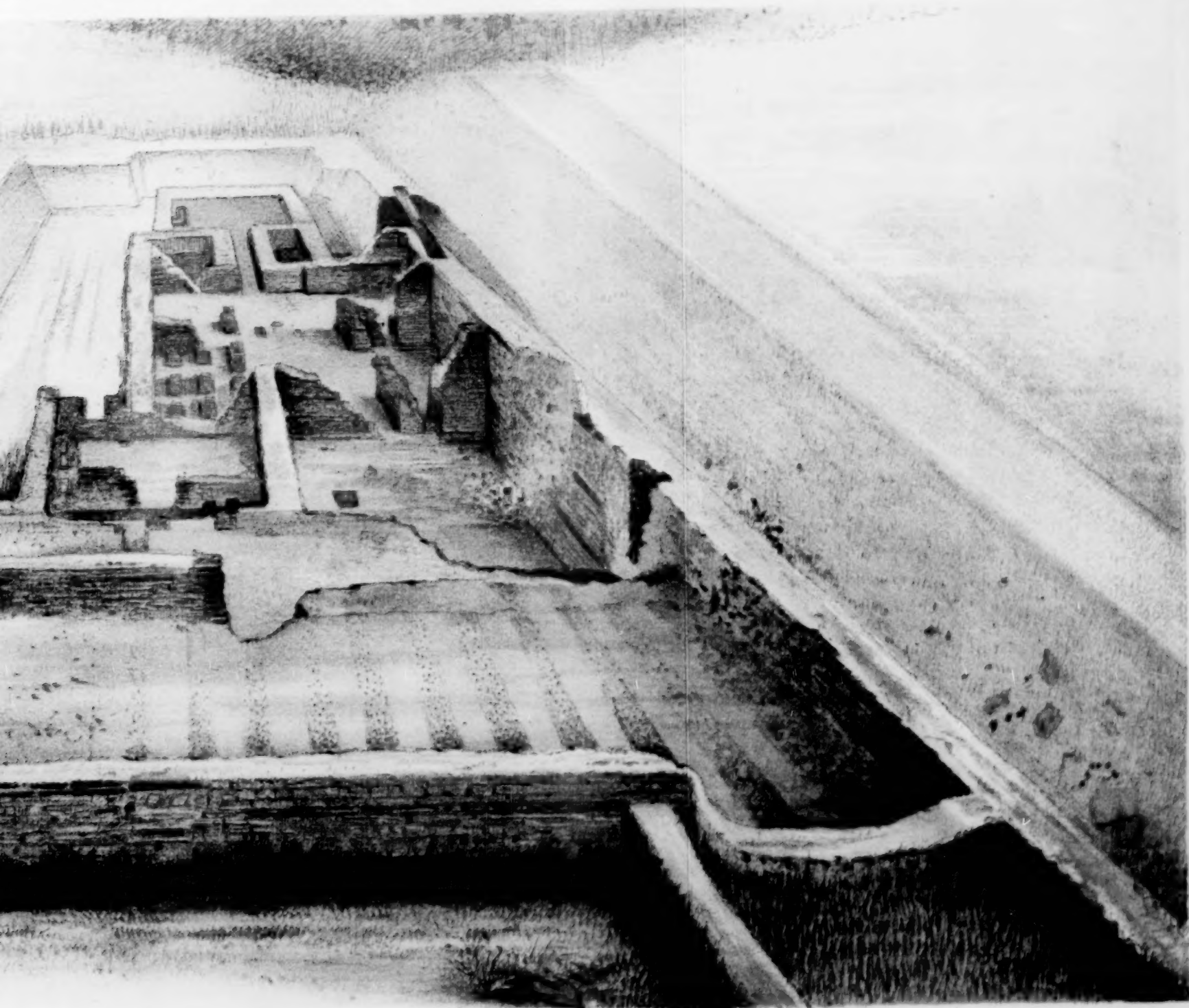








SILCHESTER.--BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE BATHS. (BLO



W. Griggs, Photo-Lith.



black muddy wet soil, then 2 inches or so of fragments of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch broken tiles. On this foundation was a stratum of red concrete 11 inches thick, not compact. On the top was a stratum of 9 inches of very perfect salmon-tinted concrete graduated from coarse to fine, which latter was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick. The whole measured 2 feet 2 inches in thickness, or with the pavement about 2 feet 3 inches.

The external wall at the north is almost entirely composed of flints; at the south end there are large brick blocks and a double course of thin tiles. This may be accounted for by difference in period or object of construction.

At the north-east corner of this chamber is a deep cutting, perhaps we may call it a *cloaca*,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep, which extends southwards for 14 feet 4 inches; the lower part up to the second set-off is built of bricks, the upper being flints. This *cloaca* emptied itself outside the building on the east side through a passage 1 foot 2 inches wide into an open court situated between the walls of No. 6 and No. 15. Even now the ground is very swampy at this spot. In company with Mr. Langshaw we dug in it a year or two ago to ascertain the course of this drain, and we then discovered it about 2 feet beneath the surface; it was paved with 8-inch square tiles in two thicknesses, and passed under the floor of No. 16. Above it, in that chamber, oak beams were laid. There are four exits from the long chamber No. 5; one on the east side, leading into No. 7, the entrance being in the centre of the wall of that chamber, which has had a tessellated door; the next exit was also on the east side, leading into No. 8, but the wall is here destroyed, so very little now remains of it; the third exit was on the west side, nearly opposite the latter, and leads into an ambulatory, which appears to connect these baths with the buildings of Block VIII.; the fourth leads into No. 3 on the north.

No. 6 is a chamber 14 feet 6 inches north and south by 12 feet 9 inches; its walls all differ in thickness, that of the north and south is 2 feet 1 inch, the west wall is 2 feet 6 inches, and that of the east wall is 2 feet 8 inches. The floor is composed of loose red brick *tesserae*, with some indications of a pattern; there is an opening in the south-west corner 3 feet in width.

No. 7. This chamber is 12 feet 11 inches by 12 feet 9 inches. On the east, at 1 foot 6 inches from the angle of the north-east wall, is an opening 3 feet 5 inches wide leading into No. 9; this doorway was paved with white *tesserae* laid on a bed of red concrete 8 inches in thickness. This chamber was paved with concrete, but no *tesserae* were visible. At 4 feet 9 inches from the north, on the west side, is an entrance into No. 5, which doorway is 4 feet wide. At the south end the wall is

of unusual thickness, *i.e.*, 4 feet 1 inch; part of it on the west side is broken away.

No. 8. This is a hypocaust of more than ordinary interest, exhibiting a series of horizontal flues composed of a layer of what are usually termed box flue tiles, measuring  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width and 6 inches high, and of  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in thickness, of red pottery, with two openings on each side 3 inches wide, and the entire internal height is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

The chamber itself in which this hypocaust is contained measures 34 feet 5 inches east and west, and 15 feet 11 inches north and south; but the flue-tile hypocaust is in the western recess of it, which measures 11 feet 5 inches east and west by 8 feet 10 inches north and south. It may possibly have been quite distinct. There is only one upcast flue visible, and that appears to be somewhat of a similar pattern to the others set vertical, but it was so broken and also filled with red mortar that an exact opinion could not be formed. This arrangement was laid upon a bed of red concrete, the thickness of which is not obvious. These flue-tiles are overlaid with a solid covering about 10 inches thick of very superior concrete in three layers of strata, the lowest composed of white mortar mixed with nodules of chalk and pounded red tile, the next is salmon colour mixed with finely sifted unslaked lime, and the upper, which forms the bedding for the floor of tiles, is of red mortar with finely pulverised tile, the whole forming a very solid mass of perfect concrete.

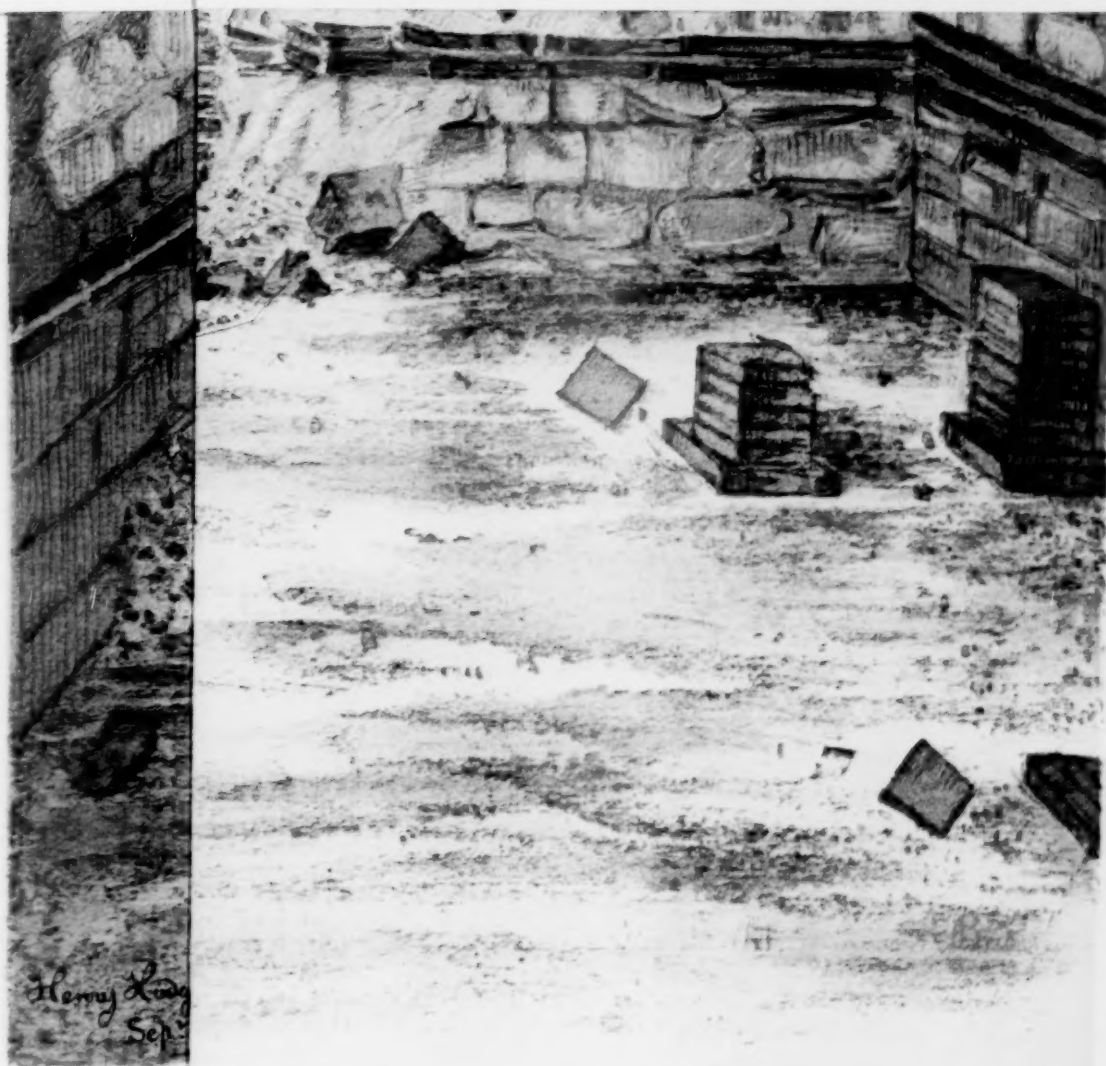
The paving tiles are about 8 inches square and about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch thick; on these, overlying a portion of the surface, is a layer of white mortar or stucco 5 inches in thickness, on which, in the north-west angle of the recess, are laid a few ordinary building bricks as a pavement. (See Plate XIX.)

The enclosing walls of this flue-tile hypocaust recess have been stuccoed, and there are evidences of various colours, but all is much perished, and the pattern or design is untraceable. The only other example of stucco plastering remaining is at the two doorways observable in the plate; this has been much coloured, and some of the tints are visible.

The whole depth of this chamber is 5 feet 6 inches, from the top of the south main wall, the composition of which has been already described when speaking of the walls of these buildings.

There appears to be evidence of alterations having been made in this chamber at some time or other, as the floor over the horizontal flues has, no doubt, been added, and the upcast flue-pipe been filled up with salmon-coloured concrete. It had probably been constructed in the first instance as a hot bath, and then



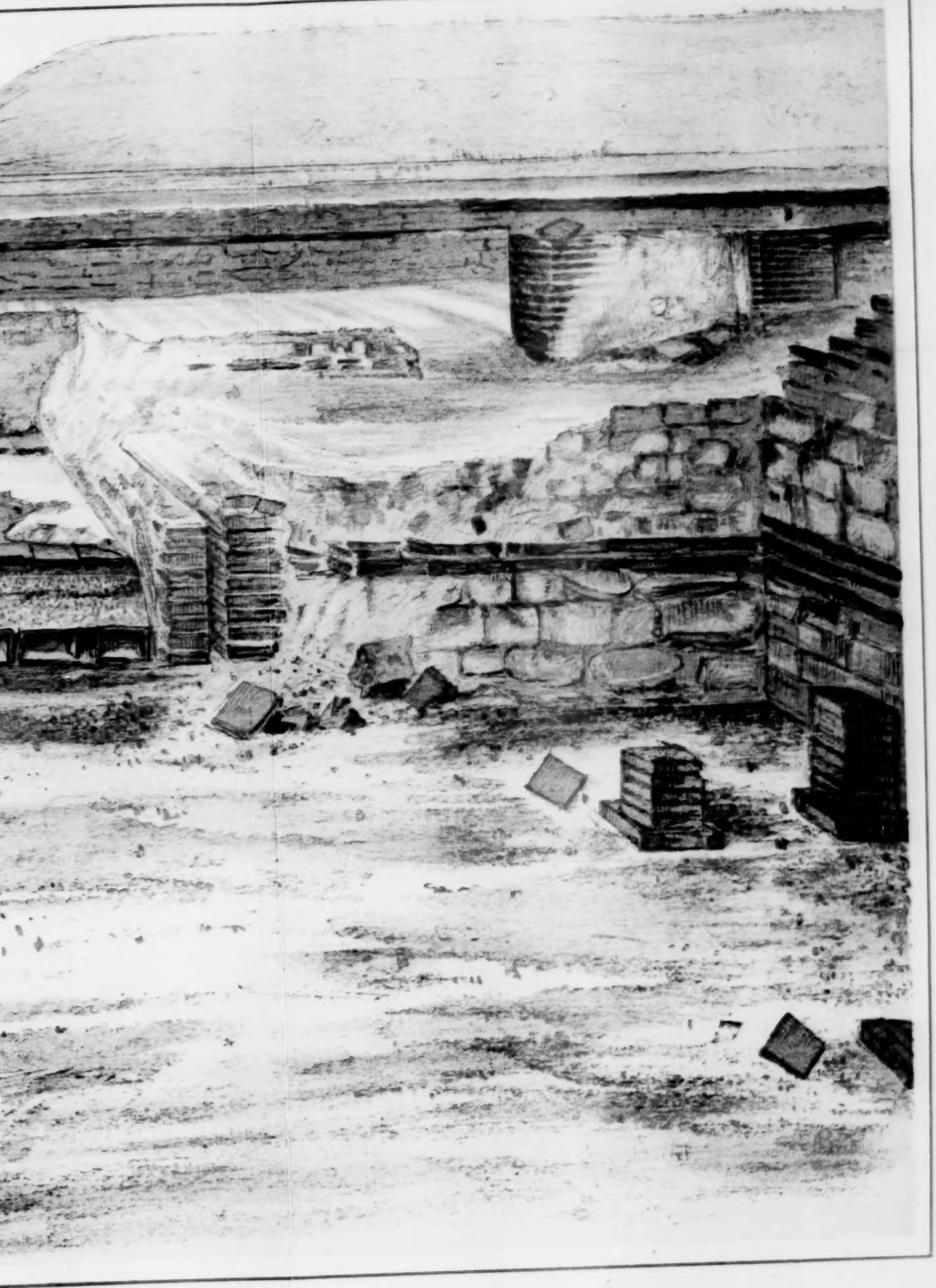


DOCK IX, CHAMBER 8).





SILCHESTER.-VIEW SHOWING SECTION OF HYPOC



POCAUST IN THE BATHS. (BLOCK IX, CHAMBER 8).



subsequently changed into a tepid plunge or swimming bath, which may account for the immense thickness of the floor. Over the eastern portion of the room were several *pilae* of the usual 8-inch square red tiles, upon which a floor had been suspended, heated by hot air.

No. 9. A chamber to the north of the last described, measures 14 feet 10 inches by 6 feet 11 inches. It has an opening or doorway 2 feet 9 inches in width, in the centre of the eastern wall leading into No. 10. On the south side, at a distance of 1 foot 2 inches from the west wall, is a block of brickwork 1 foot 9 inches in width, extending for 5 feet 9 inches along the wall; a similar block obtains at the north end, only it is 2 feet 5 inches in width. There are three *pilae* of red 8-inch square tiles upon the floor, all that remained of a hypocaust. There is no doubt but that the blocks of brickwork likewise formed part of it.

No. 10, the adjoining chamber on the east, is 14 feet 10 inches by 10 feet 2 inches; it likewise contained three *pilae* of tiles. Outside the east wall is a block of rough *débris*, 5 feet in width, through which a channel 2 feet wide has been cut, no doubt the passage from the *præfurnium*; there is likewise an opening on the south, leading into chamber No. 11 on the east.

No. 11. This chamber measures 27 feet 6 inches east and west, 24 feet 4 inches north and south; it is divided into four compartments, the two southern ones may even have been separate rooms, but in the absence of sufficient evidence, I include them in this one. It was heated by means of a hypocaust, as twenty *pilae* of the usual red tiles were found upon the floor. A passage on the east, 2 feet 8 inches in width, leads into a chamber at the end, which may have been the kitchen.

Upon either side of this channel are two small chambers.

That upon the north we will call No 12; it measures 6 feet 5 inches east and west by 5 feet 7 inches north and south; the thickness of the walls on the north and east are 2 feet 8 inches, and on the south by the channel only 1 foot 9 inches. It has a narrow opening into No. 11.

No. 13. This small chamber measures 6 feet 5 inches east and west by 3 feet 4 inches north and south. It has no apparent outlet; its walls are of the same thickness as the last described.

No. 14. The most easterly chamber, measures 14 feet north and south by 12 feet 6 inches east and west. Adjoining its northern wall is a singular angular projection, forming a small recess, which was probably a *latrina*.

No. 15. This is a long chamber, 49 feet in length east and west by 6 feet 11 inches north and south. The walls are composed of flints laid upon brick footings. On the north this wall is 1 foot 8 inches in width. It has in the



centre an opening 6 feet 8 inches wide; upon each side of which is a large block of stone 2 feet 1 inch square by 5 inches in thickness, with 2 inches of mortar below. This appears to have been a main entrance; it is the only one on the north side. Several attempts have been made to discover the road or street leading to this building, but without effect. It was probably approached by a long passage, connecting it with a minor street running east and west, which has not as yet been made out, but which, it is to be hoped, may yet be ascertained and placed upon the map.

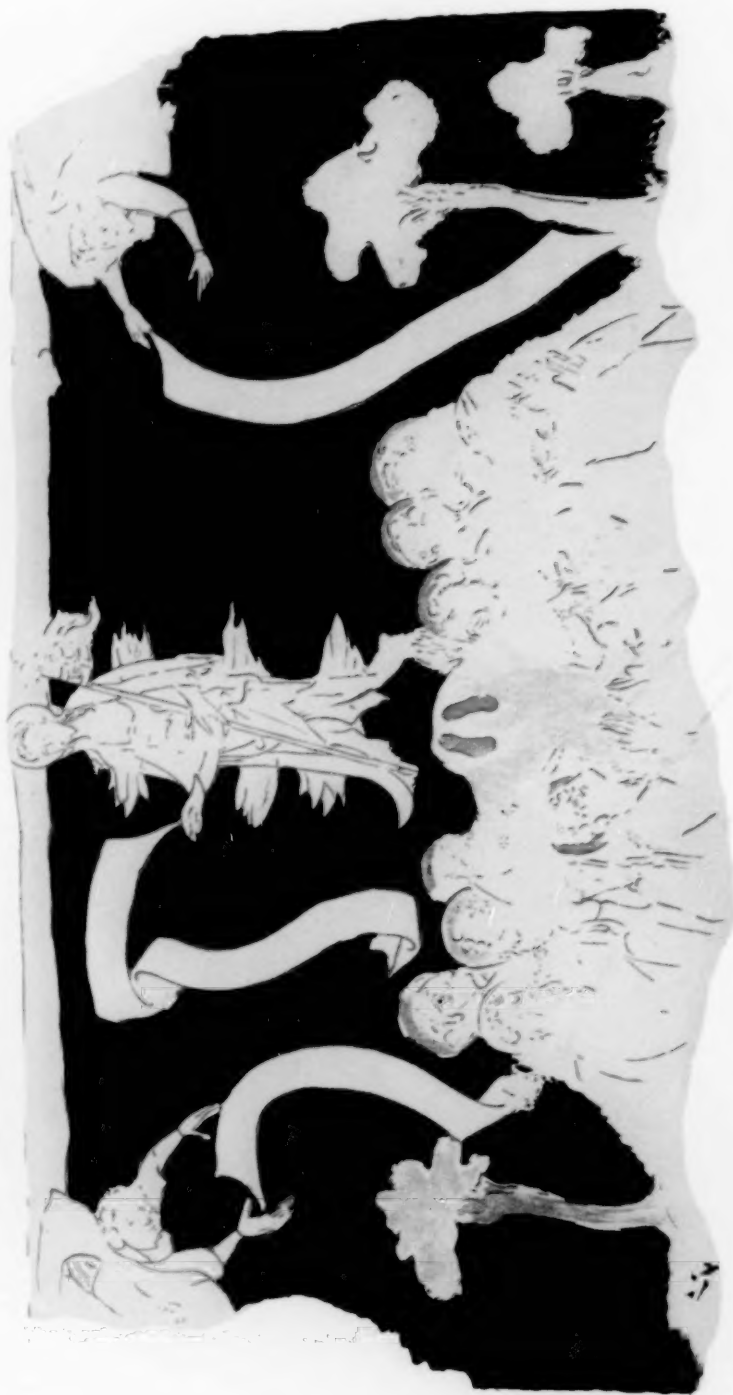
No. 16. This chamber is situated at the south-east end of No. 15. It measures 15 feet 6 inches east and west by 12 feet 4 inches north and south, and was probably floored with planks of wood, as on the south end of it are two long strips of oak round-timber, beneath which, as already stated, the drain flowed. It would appear from the plan that there was another entrance on the south west, approached by an ambulatory, 60 feet long, from the building of Block VIII. which, as far as we can at present tell, may have formed a portion of the same building. It is certain that there was no entrance or exit on the south, as the wall is there quite massive.

There is reason to suppose that no other building existed between this and the city wall, but that the space formed the *pomoerium*.

I cannot conclude without thanking Mr. Langshaw for his able assistance, and for much useful information rendered during the preparation of this paper.







FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE ASCENSION.

XVII.—*On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney.*  
*Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CORRIE, B.A., Vicar of Friskney, and*  
*Rural Dean of Cuddephoe.*

SECOND PAPER.

Read May 15, 1884, and May 13, 1886.

THE accompanying plates are copies of two fresh subjects in the series of mural paintings lately discovered on the clerestory-walls of All Saints Church, Friskney. Four of this series have been already described in this series, viz., the Assumption, the Stable at Bethlehem, the Last Supper, and the Feeding of the Manna; the copies before us of the newly-found portions are (I) the Ascension, and (II) the Resurrection.

I.—THE ASCENSION.

This picture (Plate XX.) is on the spandrel over the north arcade of the nave. It adjoins on the east the picture of the Blessed Virgin, a tracing of which has been discovered. It has been found on this clerestory next to the clerestory wall. The spandrel on which this was painted is 8 feet 7 inches in width and 4 feet 6 inches high. Unhappily the lower part of the painting was removed, in 1879, the clerestory windows, so that little more than half, the upper half of the picture, is shown in this tracing, remains; the lower part of the picture is so much damaged that it is extremely difficult to assign any meaning to the figures in the lower part.

Fortunately the best preserved portion of the picture is the upper and principal figure, that of the Saviour himself. The figure is seated on a throne, and is surrounded by a group of figures, who are probably the Apostles.



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE ASCENSION.

XVII.—*On the Mural Paintings in All Saints Church, Friskney, Lincolnshire.*  
*Communicated by the Rev. HENRY JOHN CHEALES, M.A., Vicar of Friskney, and*  
*Rural Dean of Candleshoe.*

SECOND PAPER.

---

Read May 15, 1884, and May 13, 1886.

---

THE accompanying plates are copies of two fresh subjects in the series of mural paintings lately discovered on the clerestory-walls of All Saints church, Friskney. Four of this series have been already described in the *Archaeologia*,<sup>a</sup> viz., the Assumption, the Stable at Bethlehem, the Last Supper, and the Gathering of the Manna; the copies before us of the newly-found pictures represent (I) the Ascension, and (II) the Resurrection.

I.—THE ASCENSION.

This picture (Plate XX.) is on the spandrel over the easternmost pillar of the north arcade of the nave. It adjoins on the east the painting of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, a tracing of which has been shown to the Society as having been found on this clerestory next to the chancel arch. The size of the entire spandrel on which this was painted is 8 feet 7 inches in width by 7 feet 5 inches high. Unhappily the lower part of the painting was quite destroyed in fixing to the wall, at the restoration of the church in 1879, the scaffolding for repairing the clerestory windows, so that little more than half, the upper half, of the picture, as shown in this tracing, remains; the lower part of this too is so much injured as to make it extremely difficult to assign any meaning to the lines which faintly survive.

Fortunately the best preserved portion of the picture is the central and principal figure, that of the Saviour himself. This stands out in very effective

<sup>a</sup> Vol. XLVIII. 270.

prominence—light, and with rays of light, as from a “glorified body,” upon a broad background of deep crimson.

The dark background, by which, as in the painting of the Gathering of the Manna, is represented the distance, extends over the whole of the upper part of the spandrel, and from it stands out alone and conspicuous, even now, from the floor of the church below, the figure of Christ—alone, except that at each corner a small angel, with wings as in flying, holds forward with both arms extended a long scroll reaching downwards to the group below.

That this painting represents the Ascension seems evident from the general character of the grouping, and may be said to be proved by one characteristic, which belongs to all medieval representations of this subject, viz., the footprints on “the Mount” beneath the Christ. This, as so frequently seen in illuminated manuscripts, is a small round summit, with the top, on which the footprints are seen, formed something like the section of a truncated tree. The slope up to this is painted green.

Upon this green slope stand a group of figures, fewer in number than usually represented, four on the right and five on the left being discernible. The nimbus marking each head is almost all to show them, except in one instance, the head on the extreme right, which alone (on this side) is turned towards the Saviour. The eye of this face has been curiously preserved better than anything else in the painting, inasmuch as a little hollow in the wall, just the size of an eye, was chosen to contain it, and, thanks to this little recess, it has remained almost as clear and fresh as when first painted.

To this figure, apparently, belongs the scroll which reaches upwards to that proceeding from the right hand of the Christ.

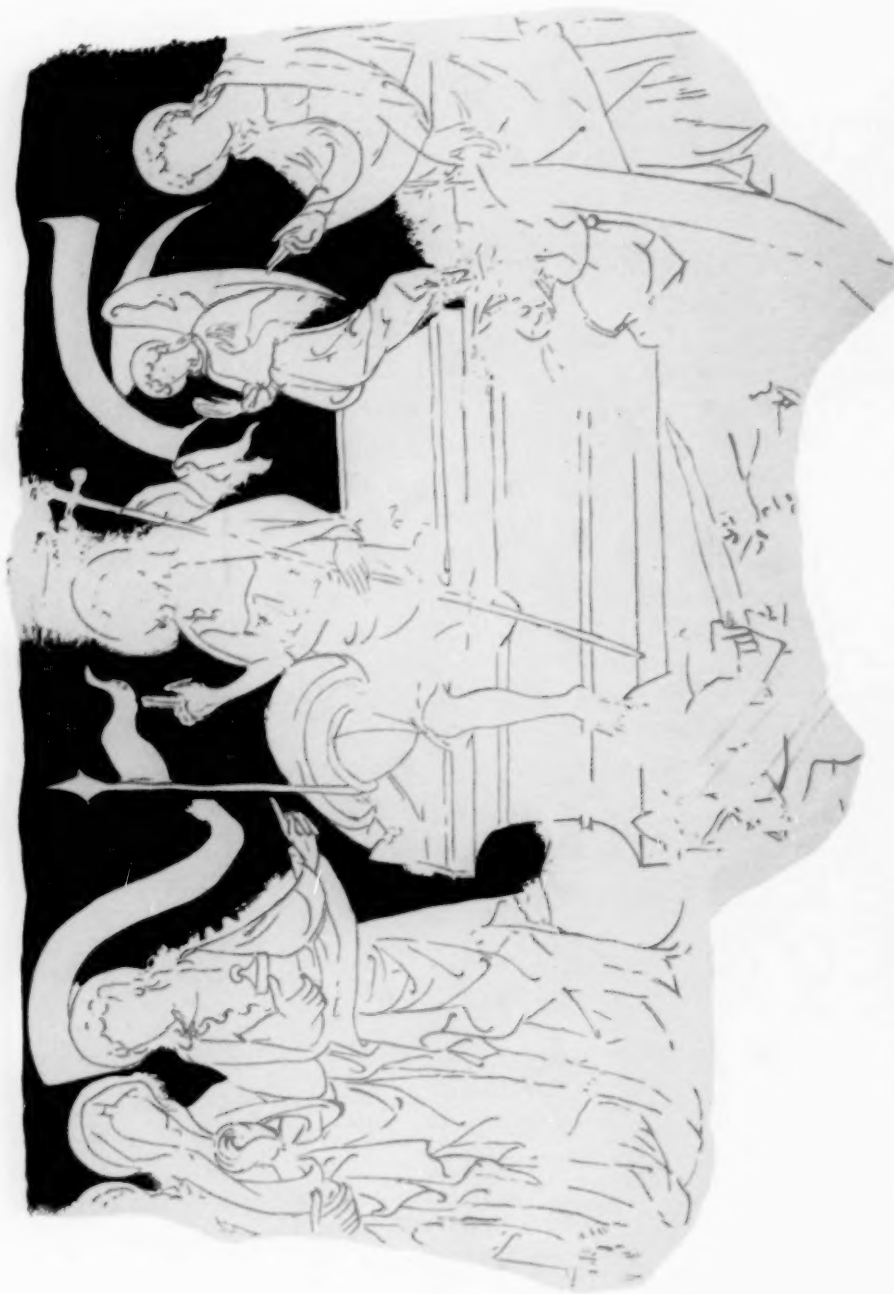
On the left, next to the footprints, is a figure (the face resembling that of St. Peter in the Last Supper,) who also is looking upwards towards the Lord, with his right hand raised as high as his head. In an illuminated manuscript of this subject\* there is, as here, one figure with right arm extended; but I have seen no instance in which any of the group of figures at the Ascension is represented with a scroll, as speaking. In the lower part of the space there appear hands, probably those of figures the outlines of which have perished.

On either side of the group of figures are conventional trees, their foliage, like the slope of the mount, coloured green. The stems of these trees, as also the footprints and the nimbus round each head, are in yellow ochre.

\* British Museum, 2, 13, xv. *Horae Beatae Virginis et alia officia.*







FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE RESURRECTION.

Comparing this painting with examples of the same subject in medieval manuscripts there are slight variations from the usual treatment.

1. The cross bearing a banner, an inseparable incident in paintings of the Resurrection, but rare in those of the Ascension.

2. The full figure of Christ. It is more usual to represent only the lower portion of the Lord's body, often only just the bottom of the robe and the feet, rising above the mount with the footprints in it.

3. The small number of figures. There are frequently fifteen of these.

4. The absence of the Blessed Virgin, who is usually placed quite in the foreground.

## II.—THE RESURRECTION.

This painting (Plate XXI.) occupies the space, 8 feet 7 inches by 7 feet 5 inches, of the spandrel over the second column from the chancel of the north arcade, and stands, in the series of Scriptural subjects, between that of the Nativity on the west and the Ascension on the east. No painting of the Crucifixion has yet been found. I hope to discover it on the opposite wall, probably next to the Last Supper.\*

This painting, in its manner of treatment, offers some points which are suggestive of the great change which had been and was taking place in Constantinople, when, on the completion of the enlarged church, circa 1420, the dome was added to the new clerestory.

The effect of the Renaissance, following the introduction of Greek art into Europe after the conquest of Constantinople in the fifteenth century, had been a gradual but vigorous development from the eighteenth century, and recognition of eastern art. New, freer, and bolder conceptions of form and composition prevailed over mere servile repetitions of former traditional conceptions. The more vigorous life of the west, and I think we may say especially of the north-west countries, coming into contact with eastern art, touched and woke the dry bones to life.

The growth of architecture and increased church building at that period had their undoubted effect in the same direction, as the treatment requires for large spaces, such as church walls, called forth a bolder method, more graceful outline, and greater skill in composition than had been possible in the miniature work of illuminated manuscripts.

\* *Archæologia*, XLVII. Plate 100.



FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.—WALL PAINTING OF THE RESURRECTION.

Comparing this painting with examples of the same subject in illuminated manuscripts there are slight variations from the usual treatment, viz. :—

1. The cross bearing a banner, an inseparable incident in paintings of the Resurrection, but rare in those of the Ascension.
2. The full figure of Christ. It is more usual to represent only the lower portion of the Lord's body, often only just the bottom of the robe and the feet, rising above the mount with the footprints in it.
3. The small number of figures. There are frequently fifteen of these.
4. The absence of the Blessed Virgin, who is usually placed quite in the foreground.

## II.—THE RESURRECTION.

This painting (Plate XXI.) occupies the space, 8 feet 7 inches by 7 feet 5 inches, of the spandrel over the second column from the chancel of the north arcade, and stands, in the series of Scriptural subjects, between that of the Nativity on the west and the Ascension on the east. No painting of the Crucifixion has yet been found. I hope to discover it on the opposite wall, probably next to the Last Supper.<sup>a</sup>

This painting, in its manner of treatment, offers some points which are suggestive of the great change which had been and was taking place in Christian art, when, on the completion of the enlarged church, *circa* 1420, this decoration was added to the new clerestory.

The effect of the Renaissance, following the introduction of Byzantine artists into Europe after the conquest of Constantinople in the thirteenth century, had been a gradual but vigorous development from the rigid austerity and meagreness of eastern art. New, freer, and bolder conceptions of form and composition prevailed over mere servile repetitions of former traditional treatment. The manly, vigorous life of the west, and I think we may say especially of the north-west countries, coming into contact with eastern art, touched and made the dry bones to live.

The growth of architecture and increased church building at that period had their undoubted effect in the same direction, as the treatment requisite for large spaces, such as church walls, called forth a bolder method, more graceful outline, and greater skill in composition than had been possible in the miniature work of illuminated manuscripts.

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, XLVIII. Plate XIII.

Together with this came also a new departure, noticeably on this subject of the Resurrection, in the treatment of the theme itself, viz., in the representation of Christ himself rising out of the tomb.

The reverence of early art had forborne to supply by any effort of imagination more than Holy Scripture had recorded. According to the maxim of the Venerable Bede, "We cannot know that on which Truth keeps silence."

As Mrs. Jamieson remarks, "an artist in the early ages of the church shrank from, or never dreamed of, a representation of a mystery not revealed to human sight over which the silence of Scripture rested like a pall forbidden to be lifted."

In the painting before us I think we have examples of this transitional stage of medieval decorative art.

The conventional treatment is maintained, but with a degree of individual adaptation which agrees with that development which is admitted in the words of Durandus, even a century before this, that "various subjects of the Old and New Testament were painted according to the discretion of the painters."

And that also, which had not until the end of the fourteenth century entered into the treatment, *the actual rising of the Lord out of the tomb*, is here a predominant feature.

Hitherto, as in a lovely altar-piece by Duccio, as late as the fourteenth century, the act was only referred to by representing an angel pointing out to the Three Marys the open tomb, and that treatment prevailed up to the fourteenth century.

Here is represented a combination of incidents, in themselves separate and not simultaneous—the actual rising—the descent of the angel—the approach of the women—and the appearance (as when the Lord subsequently appeared to her alone) of the Magdalene.

The picture before us plainly tells all this with realistic simplicity.

The central figure of the Christ is raised above and prior to all else in interest. It stands out from the dark background, which does not, I think, represent the darkness of night—not as signifying that the rising was before the dawn of day—but is merely, as in all the other pictures of this series, employed to represent distance, as a medium for throwing out effectively the group of figures.

This background is not carried on over the head of the Christ. That part of the wall is unfortunately so defaced that I can gain no clue to the meaning of the few lines which remain above the head. The right hand is raised, with the two fingers uplifted in benediction; in the left is held the staff with flag of victory surmounted by a cross. The right knee and foot are advanced as if stepping out



of the square tomb, the lid of which is closed—as showing the passing of the glorified body through the closed tomb, as afterwards through the locked doors of the upper chamber, where the disciples were assembled. This representation of the tomb as closed is exceptional; the general use being to show the lid or upper slab lifted or placed transversely, as having been removed. It points to the change in treatment which prevailed in later examples (sixteenth century pictures), in offering proof that the rising was miraculous. In an example quoted by Mrs. Jamieson, by Annibale Caracci, there is represented the Christ rising not only through the closed lid, but also the lifeless body of a soldier lying upon the lid.

Close by the knee which appears out from the lid, and on the right extremity of the tomb, is the figure of one of the soldiers fallen forwards on the tomb, the peaked helmet downwards, the shoulders and back curiously but not ungracefully foreshortened; the right arm doubled up under the head, showing at the bend of the elbow a joint in its armour; evidently the hand, though hidden by the helmet, still maintains its grasp of the spear, which is held upright, with a small pennant attached to it just below the blade. The character of the helmet—sugar-loafed and high, with sharp peak—seems to mark a period certainly before 1450, for in the latter part of the fifteenth century the helmets were worn lower, and gradually became more flat or round. Beneath the tomb, and in the lower centre of the picture, are lines which seem to indicate the recumbent figures of two other soldiers; and out of the wreck of this portion of the picture there survives a palpable sword as it were dropped from its owner's hand, for the clearly-marked hilt shows no trace of fingers grasping it.

From the extreme right a group of women enter, whom we may conclude to represent Mary the wife of Cleophas, Salome, and Joanna, the drapery carefully drawn after the manner usually seen on medieval brasses.

The central figure of the three, whose headdress is manifestly different from the other two, raises to her breast her clasped hands, the right arm being supported by her companion on the right. The third, with face slightly inclined towards the figure with clasped hands, points with her left hand towards the Christ, while her right hand holds before her breast a vase containing (doubtless) the sweet spices for embalmment.

On the opposite extreme left is a graceful figure of, I think we may say, the Magdalene, the head bent reverently downwards, and the right hand pointing, with two fingers extended, towards the Christ. The left arm, which hangs down, seems to hold a scroll, which, contrary to the usual treatment, is drawn almost in straight lines *downwards*.



In all the picture, to which I think we may assign considerable merit in grouping and composition, no feature is more graceful than the figure of the angel, which is poised with great lightness and delicacy of movement, as that of a bird just alighting on a spray, upon the surface of the tomb at its extreme edge on the left of the central figure.

The wings, half folded, are beautifully placed; and the hands, *palmis sublati*, turned in adoring homage towards the risen Lord. I wish that any tracing could do justice to the expression of this and the other faces; but it is impossible. Although there lingers about them in their effaced condition signs of a grace which I am sure they possessed, yet to trace here the bits of features which survive would spoil them.

I have therefore omitted these altogether, leaving the general outline only without marring the effect by the grotesqueness which mutilated features might present.

The nationality of the painter is an interesting matter of conjecture. Possibly he was one of the monastic body of that house of St. Catherine's, Friskney, subsidiary of Bolington Priory, which we know had, since the time of Stephen, been there reclaiming the lands from the marsh and civilizing the fen-men. Possibly a German or Italian brother of the monastery, he may have learned art in the school of Siena or Pisa or Cologne, and so a faint ray from the light kindled by the genius of Giotto or Meister Wilhelm may have penetrated even so far as to this remote place.

But may he not have been one of a native English gild who has left us in this work a suggestion that there was too an English school of painting, and that our country shared in a measure in that spring-tide of art which was rising on the continent?

Certainly, I humbly submit, he has left us in the careful and graceful outline, the skill of composition and grouping, in reverent feeling, in the general merit which this picture possesses, proof of a development of the trade or industry of decorative ornamentation in England into something worthy of the name of art.

Whoever he were, I am thankful that his reverent conscientious work for the glory of God and advancement of art has escaped the ruthless hands both of Puritan scraper and churchwarden whitewasher, and that enough survives, after the lapse of nearly five hundred years, for a new generation, now at the end of the nineteenth century, to rise and call him benefactor.

XVIII.—*On Basket-work Figures of Men represented on Sculptured Stones.* By  
REV. G. F. BROWNE, B.D.

---

Read May 20, 1886.

---

I BEG to invite the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to the occurrence of human figures sculptured on stones at Checkley and Ilam, in Staffordshire, the bodies being represented as formed entirely of interlacing bands, and producing the effect of wickerwork images. As far as I know, attention has not hitherto been called to this remarkable and suggestive feature, which seems to throw us far back into the past, and reminds us of the earliest descriptions of the land of Britain.

The stones in the churchyard at Checkley, near Uttoxeter, are mentioned by Camden,<sup>a</sup> in Plot's *History of Staffordshire*,<sup>b</sup> and in a letter on the Penrith pillars in *Archaeologia*, vol. ii. p. 48. Gough makes Camden say (A.D. 1607), "in the churchyard of Checkley stand three stones like pyramids, two of them adorned with figures, but the middlemost is highest. The inhabitants say here was fought a battle between two armies, one armed and the other not, and three bishops fell in it, in memory of whom these were erected. The historic truth concealed under this tradition I have not yet been able to trace."

Dr. Plot says of them (A.D. 1686) that they are certainly Danish, and that "the inhabitants report them to be memorials of three bishops slain in a battle here about a quarter of a mile E.N.E. from the church, in a place still called *Naked Fields*, because the bodies lay there naked and unburied for some time after the fight." This tradition still remains, only the bishops have been made into kings. The stones are called the Battle-Stones. Dr. Plot gives an engraving of the stones, curiously inadequate and incorrect, but still very interesting. The stone

<sup>a</sup> Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 49.

<sup>b</sup> Ch. x. 63, 64.

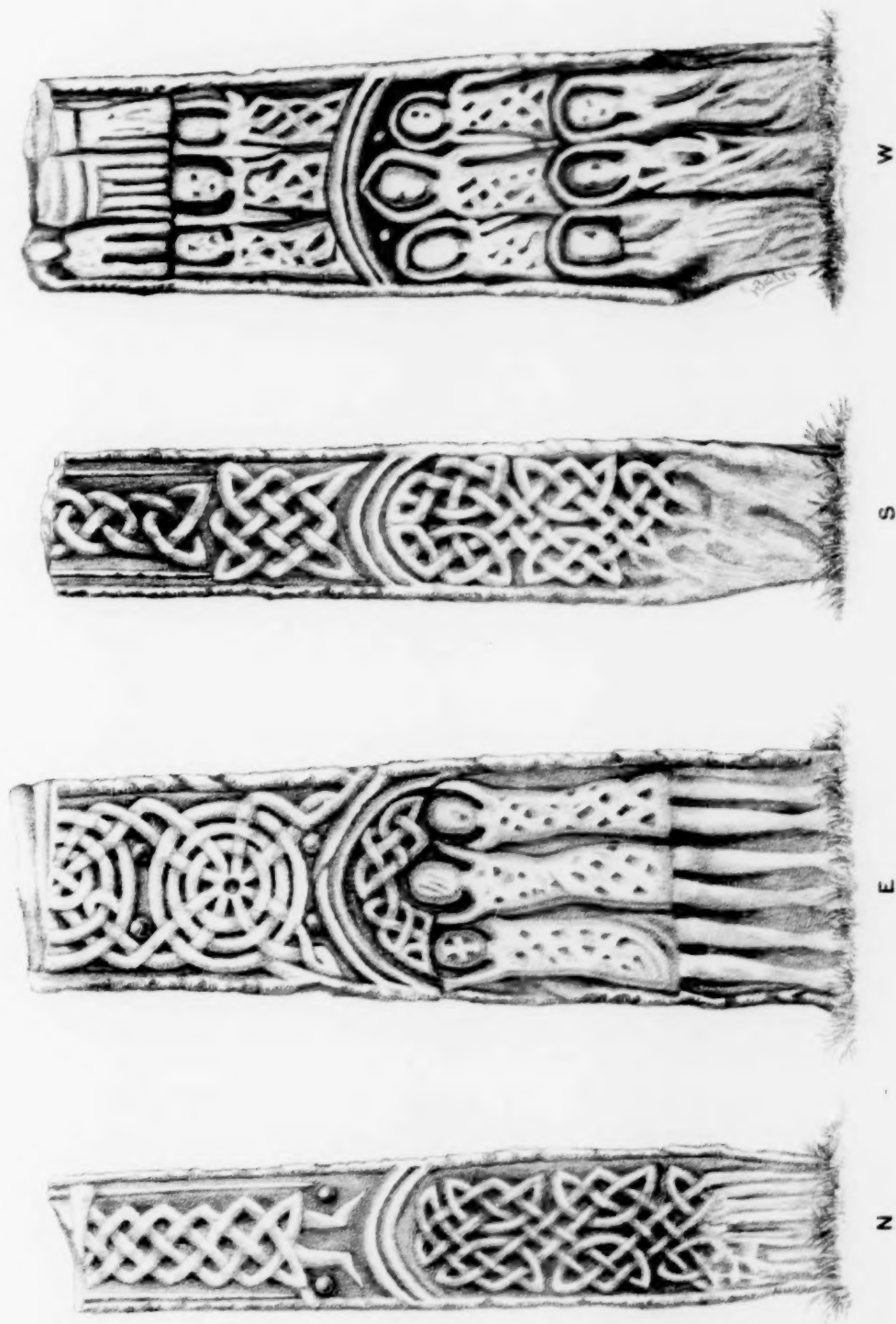
I call No. 2 was then (1686) nearly twice its present height, and at the top a projection is shown, as if the commencement of an arm of a cross or a "wheel."

The writer in *Archaeologia* (Dr. Lyttelton, then Dean of Exeter), writing in 1755, says that he was informed several years before, by an ancient inhabitant of the place, that the present plain pillar was placed there in the room of one of the old ones, thrown down and broken by accident.

They are figured in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiii., and in Redfern's *History of Uttoxeter*. In neither case has the artist detected the special features to which I desire to call attention, nor indeed do the illustrations profess to represent the patterns on the panels. At the same time it should be said that Mr. Lynam's illustrations, in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, are very careful and interesting, and valuable as shewing the general appearance of the stones.

The larger of the two stones, which I will call No. 1, is about 4 feet 8 inches high; its four faces are shown on Plate XXII. The east and west faces are 20 inches wide at bottom and 16 inches at top, the corresponding dimensions of the north and south edges being 10 inches and 9 inches. Stone No. 2 is about 3 feet 8 inches high; its east and west faces are 18 inches wide at foot and  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches at top; the north and south edges 9 inches and 8 inches. Each of the stones is the lowest part of a loftier pillar, being broken abruptly at the top but coming to an unsculptured termination at the bottom. It is said that they stand in stone sockets, sunk some little distance in the ground.

No. 1 has on the north side two panels. In the upper is a figure of a man, with good legs and feet and with a staff in each hand. His head is gone, the stone being fractured at the neck. His body is composed entirely of one band, interlacing with itself, the two ends projecting at the shoulders and grasping the two staffs. The lower panel, which has an arched head, is filled with a double row of Stafford knots, formed by an endless band. On the south side are three panels. At the top is another basket-work body, with no head and with two staffs. In the place where the legs and feet would come, there is an interlacing pattern composed of two narrow ovals crossed, intersected by a broader oval. The lowest panel is filled with Stafford knots. On the east face there is at the top a pattern composed of three concentric circles, intersected by four semicircles formed by endless bands which pass on to a second system of concentric circles, of which only the lower half is left, the rest being broken off by the fracture of the pillar. Below are three basket-work bodies, side by side, with heads and legs, the central figure being the tallest and the figure on the observer's right the



SCULPTURED CROSS-SHAFT AT CHECKLEY, STAFFORDSHIRE.



shortest. On the west face there are at the top what appear to be the trunks of three men, side by side, in pleated dresses, without feet, the upper part being broken away. Below this are three basket-work bodies, side by side, with heads but no legs. Lower still, in a panel with an arched top, are three more basket-work bodies, side by side, with heads but no legs, and below them again a like trio. Thus there are on this stone portions of 21 human figures, 18 of which are represented as formed of wicker-work. In some cases the ends of the interlacing band, which emerge at the shoulders, are shewn as arms; in other cases they pass up on each side of the face and look like a nimbus; or they pass across into the system of the wicker-work figure standing next to that to which they belong. The nimbus arrangement is more evident in the case of the Ilam stone to be described later. The division of the panels is at the same height on each side of the stone. The west face, which is in several respects the most remarkable, is a good deal obscured by lichen, and it is almost close to the railings of a huge tomb, so that it is impossible to do justice to it. This is unfortunate, especially as it appears to be in better preservation than the other sides, owing something perhaps to the protection which the tomb has afforded for many years.

No. 2 has on the north side at the top a panel filled with interlacement, and below two figures face to face; probably some kind of nondescript monster. This side is so much perished that comparatively little can be made of it. On the south side there is at the top a well-executed serpent-dragon head downwards, with its own tail in its mouth, and its body tied in triquetrae or Stafford knots, and below are two human figures of basket-work. On the east face, the upper panel is filled with Stafford knots, enriched by the interlacement of a second band, and shewing a sharp turn and doubling back of the band which is very unusual indeed on English stones, but is found in manuscripts and embroidery of the Carlovingian period, in sculpture at Ravenna, and in Roman pavements. The lower part of this face is occupied by four large triquetrae; this arrangement being very unusual on English stones. On the west face there are at the top a pair of bird-dragons, only decipherable by comparison with an almost identical panel on a stone at Ilam, and below this are two rows of three human figures. Thus there are on this stone portions of eight human figures, and while No. 1 has no representation of a dragon or other monster, there are dragons on three of the four sides of No. 2. But nothing can be built on diversities of this kind, for neither stone is complete.

The two stones in the churchyard at Ilam, at the mouth of Dovedale, are figured in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiii. on the



plate already referred to. One of them may be passed over on the present occasion, as it has not the special feature to which I am calling attention.

The other stone is almost complete, only the head and arms of the cross being broken off. It is 7 feet 6 inches high, from the socket, and has been about 8 feet. The east and west faces are 17 inches to 18 inches wide at the foot, and 8 inches at the top; the north and south edges  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches at foot, and 6 inches at top. The east face has four panels. The panel at top has an interlacing pattern, the two ends of the band passing up beyond the shaft of the cross and following the curves towards the arms, where no doubt they formed interlacing patterns and passed away in like manner into the uppermost key of the cross. The panel next below has six Staffordshire knots, enriched by the interlacement of an additional band. The panel next below this has two concentric circles above and three below, with bands interlacing in semicircles. The lowest panel has two bird-dragons, with forepaws crossed and their bodies or tails interlaced; this interlacement I could not decipher, on account of the presence of an upright gravestone close by, but that hindrance has been removed since my second visit, and I should think the pattern can now be determined. In that case, the corresponding panel at Checkley will probably be decipherable also. The upper panel of the west face has been much the same as the corresponding panel on the east, but it has perished too much to say with certainty. The two panels below this are practically the same as those on the east face. The lowest panel has three basket-work human figures, much perished and undecipherable except by the experience of Checkley. The arrangement is much the same as at Checkley, the central figure the highest, the figure on the observer's left the next highest, and that on the right the lowest; they have legs, and the bands more decidedly form a ring round the head than in some of the Checkley instances. On the north and south edges the uppermost panel has in each case an interlacing pattern, and the panel next below a system of plain Staffordshire knots. The lowest panel on the north has some very clear interlacements, but for their pattern and meaning I have no solution, except by a somewhat forced explanation; that on the south has a basket-work man with a staff, all much perished.

After working out this stone, I was taken to see a fragment some little distance off, in the Ley, a piece of ground lying below Ilam Hall, above the place where the Manifold and Hamps rivers flow out of the rock after a subterranean course of some miles. This is a very massive stone, about 5 feet high, standing in a socket on two steps formed by two ancient stones of large size. It is a rectangular shaft, about 18 inches by 16 or 17. It was taken from the foundations of an old

cottage, when Mr. Scott Russell was transforming Ilam into a model village, but its memory had not been lost during the time of its service as building material, and it was known as the battle-stone. At first sight it was hopeless to make anything of it, worn, battered, and covered with lichen and moss. But, after a sound scrubbing with a stable-brush, one basket-work man after another stood revealed to an eye instructed by the decipherment of the Checkley stones. On the south side there are three large basket-work men in the upper panel, and three in the lower. On the north side, three basket-work men in the upper panel, and three concentric circles in the lower, interlaced with four semicircles, large bosses being used to fill up vacant places, as on some of the Checkley panels. The east side is worn away at the lower part, it is said by the wheels of carts when it stood in the village; the upper part has a system of Staffordshire knots, enriched by the interlacement of an additional band. The west side also has almost perished, but the upper part has two large basket-work men, and the lower has the remains of four very bold triquetrae, arranged as at Checkley.

Thus these four remarkable stones in Staffordshire, two at Checkley and two at Ilam, ring the changes on basket-work images, Staffordshire knots, concentric circles, and interlacements, with a few dragons and triquetrae. There are on them thirty-eight human figures, eight panels of Staffordshire knots, seven sets of concentric circles with four systems of three circles and three of two, and six panels of simple interlacement; two panels of triquetrae, four of dragons or beasts, and one which is as yet a puzzle, but may mean three serpents, complete the inventory. Three of the four stones, it must be remembered, are only the lower parts of shafts, which, from the squareness and massiveness of these portions, may have reached to a very considerable height.

The only example of a human figure formed of basket-work which I have found on a stone other than these four is at Sandbach, in Cheshire. On one of the stones placed upright, round the platform on which the two magnificent sculptured shafts in the market-place at Sandbach stand, is the figure of a man from the waist upwards, the body made of an interlacing band, and the head being, as at Checkley and Ilam, an isolated oval. The Sandbach stone has the peculiarity, that round the neck, as it were, is a separate collar, partly hid of course by the head, which presents the full face to the observer, and emerging from behind the head about half-way up the cheeks. The ends are tucked in at the top of the interlacing band which forms the body, and cross in front like a "comforter." It may be that there has been such an arrangement in some of the Checkley and Ilam figures, but I have not detected any signs of it. Other figures

at Sandbach give me the impression that they have had basket-work ornament on them which has now perished.

On one stone in Scotland (Brodie) the characteristic and unexplained "elephant" has its body covered with an interlacing band, and on another (Glenferness) there are remains of interlacement on the "elephant"; but in neither case is the body formed of the interlacing band, it is merely an ornament covering the body, which has the usual complete outline.

In manuscripts of the Hibernian type, serpents and other creatures have their bodies ornamented sometimes with interacements, as in the case of the Brodie "elephant," but the only figure really formed of basket-work which I have found in a manuscript is the figure of Our Lord, in the "Irish" Psalter at St. John's College, Cambridge. In that case the whole of the trunk is basket-work, the legs, arms, shoulders, and head being shown by ordinary outlines; the beard, too, is a variety of the triquetra, with an interlaced ring, but it has an ordinary outline besides.

It will be clear to any one who knows the very great variety of patterns on sculptured stones, and the remarkable manner in which the early artists contrived to make each stone unlike others, that between the Checkley and the Ilam stones there must have been some unusually close connection. The only key which tradition gives to this connection is the fact that the Checkley stones and the stone in the Ley at Ilam are called battle-stones. Looking to the three accounts of the Checkley tradition, Camden's, Plot's, and the one now current, we see that besides the three important persons, accounting for the number of stones, there is probably another feature in common. The idea of one of the two armies being unarmed is unreasonable, and we may fairly suppose that one army fought in defensive armour, and the other fought without such protection; perhaps the battle was sufficiently early for one of the armies to have but little clothing of any description. This would give us a meaning for the "naked fields." The basket-work trunks of the figures on the stones might represent the appearance of coats of armour, or it is possible that it may have been an attempt to indicate a naked figure in which the bones shewed prominently. Chain armour, when reproduced in stone, has something the air of interlacement, as on the effigies in the Temple Church; one of the finest shields there is covered with "basket-work."

If it had not been for this tradition, I should have looked no further than the well-known fact that wicker-work was very extensively used from the earliest times in this island, times which we may call prehistoric so far as our predecessors here are concerned. And I cannot help thinking that, notwithstanding the special

tradition of the battle-stones at Checkley, and the connection with them which the identity of ornament and of name gives to the Ilam stone, it is to this use of wicker-work that we must look for our explanation. But then there remains the question, to which I confess that I have no answer ready, to what age must we go back to find artists who could design and execute these elaborate monuments contemporaneously with a familiar use of basket-work images? The Sandbach stone, I may remark in passing, seems to me to account, by the collar it gives to the figure, for the high-shouldered appearance presented by early ecclesiastics when shown in profile on sculptured stones. The collar may represent the hood, or it may represent a special part of a priest's dress, something of the nature of an amice.

Mr. G. F. French's paper in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xv.,\* in which he argued for a wicker-work origin for the interlacing ornamentation, at that time supposed to be all but peculiar to the British Islands, brought together a considerable amount of information on the subject. It is rather a fashion now to laugh at the Druids, but I for one quite believe Cæsar's story of their basket-work images of monsters or of men. No theory accounts for the paneled interlacing ornamentation of our English sculptured shafts, and of the crosses sculptured on Scottish stones, so well as that of its being the descendant of early representations in stone of perishable crosses of wicker-work made by the first British Christians. Even if the early inhabitants had not been in the habit in Pagan times of erecting wattle-work pillars in places where monoliths could not be got, we may take it as certain that, when they were told by Christian missionaries to erect crosses as a symbol of their new faith, they would employ for the purpose the beautiful art which had made their manufacture famous at Rome. That wicker-work crosses were made in the Middle Ages is certain; the last example on record, so far as Mr. French's researches went, indeed the only example on record, was in 1630, when Lord Dillon found on "S. Patrick's altar" on Lough Derg (the "altar" being a heap of stones at the east end of the church) a cross made of interwoven twigs.

The parts of these stones which are not occupied by human figures call for the remark that there is nowhere any approach to a foliage scroll. I am accustomed to attribute the superposition of this scroll upon interlacing ornamentation to Wilfrith, and there is a good deal to be said for its being somewhat of a party badge at the end of the seventh century. The Staffordshire knot is not a wicker-

\* A.D. 1859, pp. 63—80.

work pattern, and it is found sculptured at Ravenna. The concentric circles, with semicircles interlaced, could be made in wicker-work, no doubt, and as we are dealing with "battle-stones" it may be that they are the descendants of the representation of a wicker-work shield, in which case the bosses would be something more than a mere device to fill a void space. Concentric circles of this character are uncommon on English stones; there is an example on the fine shaft at Hope, in Derbyshire. Of the dragons and other creatures it is unnecessary to speak.

It is probable that, when once attention is called to these basket-work figures, other examples will be found; indeed, I shall not be surprised if other examples are known already, for the field of sculptured stones is so large that no one need be ashamed not to know them all. However that may be, I feel that their presence requires some special explanation, which I am not at all satisfied that we have as yet got, and I am not without hope that they may open a new and unexpected chapter in historical archaeology.

I may say, in conclusion, that we have examples from Peru and elsewhere of men and animals on metal plaques with their bodies formed of reticulated work, of spiral work, and of an "Etruscan" pattern. The curator of our Cambridge Museum of General and Local Archaeology has two remarkable specimens. But I imagine on the whole that the sole object in that case is to provide receptacles for pigments or enamel, and that the presence of these patterns within the outline of the man's or the animal's form is not the survival of wicker or cable work. No doubt the other side of the question can be argued.

It may be worth adding that Checkley lies geographically between Stafford and Ilam, so that St. Bertram, who, according to the tradition, left Stafford and settled at Ilam in Mercian times, and whose name is connected specially with the Ilam district, and with the shrine at Ilam, and with these stones, may have halted at Checkley, and put up both sets of stones, or may have seen the stones at Checkley and put up those at Ilam. The font at Ilam is very ancient, but there are ages of difference in style between it and these stones, and, curiously enough, the same is true at Checkley. Whether it is possible that there is any connection between the name Battle-Stone and the name Bertram, Bertolin, Bartolin, or whether, as the dedications about Ilam are to Bartholomew, Bertram, Bartolin, Bartholomew, Bartlemy, Battle, have anything to do with one another, I cannot say.



XIX.—*Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1191); his episcopate, and his share in the building of the church of Wells. By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.*

---

Read June 10, 1886.

---

I VENTURE to think that bishop Reginald Fitzjocelin deserves a place of higher honour in the history of the diocese, and of the fabric of the church of Wells, than has hitherto been accorded to him.

His memory has been obscured by the traditionary fame of bishop Robert as the "author," and of bishop Jocelin as the "finisher," of the church of Wells; and the importance of his episcopate as a connecting link in the work of these two master-builders has been comparatively overlooked. The only authorities followed for the history of his episcopate have been the work of the *Canon of Wells*, printed by Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, and bishop Godwin, in his *Catalogue of the Bishops of England, 1601-1616*. But Wharton, in his notes to the text of his author, comments on the scanty notice of bishop Reginald;<sup>a</sup> and Archer, our local chronicler, complains of the unworthy treatment bishop Reginald had received from Godwin, also a canon of his own cathedral church.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Reginaldi gesta historicus noster brevius quam pro viri dignitate enarravit. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 871.

<sup>b</sup> Historicus noster et post eum Godwinus nimis breviter gesta Reginaldi perstringunt quae pro egregii viri dignitate narrationem magis applicatam de Canonicis istis Wellensibus merita sunt. Archer, *Chronicon Wellense, sive annales Ecclesiae Cathedralis Wellensis*, p. 75.

Dr. Archer, archdeacon of Taunton, 1712, of Wells, 1726, and canon residentiary, died 1739. He was the friend and correspondent of Thomas Hearne. His hand can be traced in notes throughout the Wells chapter registers. He has left books of manuscript notes, and a valuable chronicle of Wells history from the earliest time to the end of bishop Drokensford's episcopate, based on most careful study of the episcopal and chapter registers.



We start therefore, with some distrust of our guides, to trace the history of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and his share in the building of the church.

We find now, that the authorities quoted both by Wharton and Godwin are not the only or the original sources for the early history of the church of Wells. They are rather the traditions of the fifteenth century, as understood and interpreted to us by bishop Godwin and Wharton in the seventeenth.

1. The *Canon of Wells* is the title given in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* to a composite document—two anonymous manuscript tracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found in the Wells chapter register,<sup>a</sup> which Wharton has “woven together” to form one continuous history of the earlier episcopates:—

- (a) “*Historia minor*” contains a short catalogue of the bishops from Daniel, the legendary bishop of Congresbury, to bishop Harewell's time, 1367—1386;
- (b) “*Historia major*” is a longer document of the same kind, which begins with Edward the Confessor's time and ends with bishop Bubwith, 1406—1424.

2. Francis Godwin, canon of Wells, bishop of Landaff, 1601, and of Hereford, 1617, was son of Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1584—90. Though he had exceptional opportunities for examining the documents in the Wells registers, yet he seems to have been content to follow these same documents which Wharton has printed, varying his form of statement in the different editions of his book, viz., the English edition, “*The Catalogue*,” &c., printed in 1601, and the Latin, “*De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius*,” printed in 1615—16.

Mr. Hunter has thrown out the conjecture that “the Canon of Wells,” author of the *Historia major* of Wharton, may have been Thomas Chandler, chancellor of Wells, 1454, warden of Winchester, friend of bishop Beckington,<sup>b</sup> and afterwards chancellor of Oxford, 1472-79.

But the discovery by Mr. Hunter, in the register of Bath priory, of the manuscript of the time of Henry II., which he printed in 1840 as the *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Sumersetensis*,<sup>c</sup> has supplied earlier historical evidence down to the end of bishop Robert's episcopate. And now contemporary documents in the Wells chapter registers, which have lately been made more accessible

<sup>a</sup> R. iii. f. 296—302.

<sup>b</sup> Rev. J. Hunter *Introduction to Historia*, p. 4, *Eccl. Doc. Camd. Soc. Publ.* 1840.

<sup>c</sup> *Eccl. Documents* in Camden Soc. Publications. 1840. *A Brief History of the Bishopric of Somerset, from its foundation to the year 1174.* An extract from the *Registrum Prioratus Bathon.*—a MS. in the Library of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn.

to the student, give additional and contemporary information with regard to bishop Reginald's episcopate.

I propose to sketch the history of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and to show, by the help of these unpublished documents, that there is ground for claiming for bishop Reginald a greater share than has been hitherto allowed him in building up the constitution and fabric of the church of Wells.

## PART I.

### *Bishop Reginald's episcopate.*

Bishop Reginald Fitzjocelin de Bohun, and bishop Savaric, his kinsman and successor, were the two last in the succession of foreign bishops who held the see of Somerset from the time of Edward the Confessor. Reginald was of the family of de Bohun, of the Côtentin, the north-west corner of Normandy, where two villages—St. George and St. André de Bohun, near Carentan, in a district of plain and canal like Sedgemoor—still mark the cradle of the family. Richard de Bohun, bishop of Coutances, 1151—1179, was his uncle; his father was Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Sarum, 1141—1184.

Another member of the family, Engelger de Bohun, is mentioned as one of Henry II.'s evil counsellors who incited Henry against Becket, when at Argentan he uttered the hasty words which led to the murder of the archbishop.<sup>a</sup>

Into this family married Savaric Fitzchana, son of Ralph, the lord of Beaumont and St. Suzanne, and of Chana, his wife, daughter of Geldewin, a Dane, lord of Saumur. He himself was made lord of Midhurst, in Sussex, by Henry I.

His son, Savaric FitzSavaric, inherited the lands of de Bohun; but, dying childless, he was succeeded in his inheritance by his nephew Franco de Bohun, son of Geldewin FitzSavaric, and his wife Estrangia. Savaric, bishop of Bath, 1192, in succession to his cousin Reginald Fitzjocelin de Bohun, was younger brother of Franco de Bohun.<sup>b</sup>

Reginald Fitzjocelin was born about 1140, before his father, the bishop of Sarum, had been admitted to the priesthood, yet so shortly before, that the question could be raised as an objection to his consecration to the episcopate in

<sup>a</sup> W. FitzStephen, in *Materials for History of Becket*, vol. iii. p. 129, R.S., "Engelgerus de Bohun, quidam inveteratus dierum malorum," gave the counsel, "Let him be crucified."

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Stubbs in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1863, and Preface to *Epp. Cantuarienses*, p. lxxxvi. note, has supplied materials for genealogies of bishops Reginald and Savaric.

after years. Sufficient testimony was at that time brought forward to satisfy and to remove objections. Either as born of Italian blood, or from early residence in Italy, he bore the name of "the Lombard" or "the Italian." The schools of Lombardy, Pavia, Bologna, Padua, whence had come to Normandy Lanfranc and Anselm, were famous. The towns of Lombardy were asserting their independence of the emperor at this time, and Henry's wide-reaching continental policy, and the foreign marriages of his sons, were bringing Englishmen into close relations with Italians and Germans, as well as French.<sup>a</sup>

Herbert of Bosham, in his life of St. Thomas, names "Reginald the Lombard" among those attached to the archbishop in his earlier days abroad. Though he laments his defection afterwards, in the time of the archbishop's quarrel with Henry, he describes him at this time as a young man high-spirited, intelligent, prudent beyond his years in council, active and able.<sup>b</sup> From the letter of Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, to Reginald, when archdeacon of Sarum, we know that he combined a keen love of hawking with attention to business.<sup>c</sup> These qualities would have been likely to have brought the young ecclesiastic into favour with the chancellor in his earlier days.

In 1158 Becket, then chancellor, was sent on an embassy to Paris, with a large suite and much pomp, to arrange the betrothal of Henry's eldest son, then a boy of seven, to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. The marriage compact was finally completed, not without a quarrel and a reconciliation between the two kings, in 1160.<sup>d</sup> Perhaps Reginald joined Becket about this time, and, as Becket's friend, passed into favour at the French court. In 1164 he received from Louis VII. of France a piece of court preferment, succeeding therein the king's brother Philip as abbot of St. Exuperius in Corbeil. The deed of gift, of which

<sup>a</sup> On Henry's relations with Italy, France, Germany, v. Stubbs' *Pref. to Benedict of Peterborough*, ii. p. xxxi. On Italian affairs of interest in England at this time, v. Stubbs' *Pref. to R. Howden*, ii. p. xcii.

<sup>b</sup> Herbert of Bosham names some Lombards among the "eruditi" of Becket's followers, together with Reginaldus Lombardus; Lombardus of Piacenza, afterwards archbishop of Beneventum, Becket's teacher in canon law; Humbert Crivelli, of Milan, afterwards archbishop of Milan, and pope Urban III. in 1185, and others. Herbert thus describes Reginald:—

"Reginaldus natione Anglus, sed sicut educatione et cognomento Lombardus, pro aetate prudens et industrius, animosus et efficax in agendis, qui extra patriam aliquanto tempore nobiscum fortiter stans, cito doloris nostri fuit principium." V. *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. p. 524.

<sup>c</sup> Peter of Blois, Ep. 61. He reminds him when archdeacon of Sarum, "curam non avium sed ovium suscepisti," and warns him of the danger, "si non oves avibus antefertis."

<sup>d</sup> R. de Diceto, vol. i. p. 302 (R. S.), an. 1158. They were betrothed 1160, p. 304.

the original is extant among the chapter documents of Wells, entitles him "arch-deacon of Sarum," and recites that the preferment was due both to his own merits and also to the solicitations of his friends—"Donavimus pro honestate suâ, et pro amicorum suorum prece." (See Appendix A.)

The year of his appointment to the abbey of St. Exuperius was the year of the archbishop's quarrel with the king.

On January 25, 1164, the Council of Clarendon was held, and, after the meeting at Northampton, Becket withdrew from England to Pontigny. Bishop Jocelin of Sarum, father of Reginald, had been the leader and spokesman of the bishops in the vain attempt to mediate between the king and the archbishop, and to conciliate the archbishop after the scene at Northampton. He and Gilbert Ffoliot, bishop of London, became thenceforth the objects of Becket's violent hostility, and he excommunicated the two bishops, together with John of Oxford, dean of Sarum, and others of his opponents, from Vezelay, on Whitsun Day, 1166. In this quarrel Reginald took his father's side, and withdrew from Becket's party. Herbert of Bosham laments his defection from the archbishop's cause in his struggle and distress; but speaks kindly of him, and acknowledges that in after years his industry and high principle had marked him out for the episcopate.

Peter of Blois about this time intercedes for Reginald with one of Becket's court, and defends him for having left the archbishop in duty to his father, whom the archbishop had denounced. But Reginald had now taken the king's side. His education, ability, foreign experiences, and conciliatory temperament soon made him one of the most acceptable of Henry's diplomatists at the court of Rome, where the quarrel between two violent and headstrong men was mainly fought out.

In 1167 he was at Rome with John of Oxford, dean of Sarum, and Clarembald, abbot of St. Augustine's, when they obtained from pope Alexander the prohibition to the archbishop against publishing his censures pending the attempt at reconciliation.<sup>a</sup> He was there again in 1169, and accompanied to England the legates Gratian and Vivian, who were sent to effect the reconciliation;<sup>b</sup> and he then incurred Becket's violent abuse for his activity and influence at Rome on the occasion.<sup>c</sup>

In 1170, June 14, Roger, archbishop of York, together with the bishops of

<sup>a</sup> W. FitzStephen, in *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. 99, R. S.

<sup>b</sup> *Ib.* vi. 565, R. S.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* vii. 59, R. S.

London, Sarum, Durham, and Rochester, crowned the young king Henry in Westminster abbey. The anger of the archbishop and primate blazed out afresh at this violation of the prerogative of the see of Canterbury. A formal reconciliation was effected with the king for a time; but at the close of this year the six years' struggle between king and archbishop reached its tragic end when the archbishop was struck down by his murderers, the four knights<sup>a</sup> of the court, in the transept of Canterbury cathedral church, December 29th, 1170.

Reaction in favour of the cause of "the martyr" at once set in. Henry, shocked at the outrage and sacrilege, and alarmed at the consequences to his kingdom and to himself, sent at once an embassy to Rome, of men selected as "acceptable to the court of Rome, and well able to plead the king's cause,"<sup>b</sup> of whom Reginald, archdeacon of Sarum, was one. The letter to the king reports the result of the mission—they had arrived on Palm Sunday; had been treated with little respect by the cardinals and denied audience by the pope, who was at Frascati; the king's name was execrated; Maundy Thursday, the day of public absolution or excommunication by the pope, was approaching; Henry's excommunication and the interdict of the kingdom of England was threatened. With the greatest difficulty<sup>c</sup> they obtained suspension of the interdict, and it had been averted by their pledging themselves that the king would stand to judgment and submit to sentence from the pope. So the interdict was averted; but the excommunication of the murderers and of all concerned was proclaimed. The legates were sent to England or Normandy to receive Henry's submission. The king's purgation and penance at Avranches followed in the next year (May 21, 1172); the canonization of St. Thomas, ordered by the pope, was proclaimed on Ash Wednesday, 1173, and December 29 set apart as the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury.<sup>d</sup>

According to one of the conditions required from Henry by the papal legates,

<sup>a</sup> Three of the four knights held lands in Somerset: Reginald Fitzurse—Richard Breton—William de Traci.

<sup>b</sup> Gervase says (i. 233, R. S.): "misit nuntios spectabiles et admodum loquaces." R. Howden gives the names, vol. ii. p. 26, R. S.: Rotrodus, archbishop of Rouen, who stopped in Normandy; Aegidius bishop of Evreux; Roger bishop of Worcester; Richard de Blosseville, abbot of La Valasse; Reginald archdeacon of Sarum; Richard archdeacon of Lisieux; Richard Barre and Henry Pinchun, clerks. For the letter giving report, v. R. Howden, vol. ii. p. 25.

<sup>c</sup> Gervase adds (*ibid.*): "aliam viam supplicandi, more scilicet Romano sunt aggressi—vix tandem quingentis marcis interpositis admissi sunt."

<sup>d</sup> Bull for the canonization of St. Thomas, dated March 13, 1173. R. de Diceto, i. 369.



Henry now proceeded to fill up the English sees which he had kept vacant during his quarrel with Becket.

Reginald Fitzjocelin was nominated to the see of Bath, which had been vacant more than eight years, since bishop Robert's death in 1166. He was duly elected by the two chapters, the prior and convent of Bath and the dean and canons of Wells<sup>a</sup> in conformity with bishop Robert's provision; and his election was confirmed at the Council of Westminster, in April, 1173. At the same time the sees of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, and Lincoln were filled up; and Richard, prior of Dover, the late archbishop's chaplain, was nominated to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

But the young king Henry, under the influence of his father-in-law Louis of France, protested against the nomination of bishops in England without his consent, and lodged an appeal against their consecration at Rome. Reginald was selected to accompany the archbishop-elect to Rome to obtain the pope's confirmation. They started in the autumn of 1173. There were tedious delays and diplomacy with the Roman chancellery; but at last Richard was consecrated archbishop by the pope at Anagni, on Low Sunday, April 7, 1174, and received the pall and his appointment as legate.

The consecration of Reginald and the other bishops-elect was deferred under various pretexts until the return to England.<sup>b</sup>

Soon after, they left Rome, on their homeward journey—one which has many points of interest for us. The travellers crossed the passes of Mont Cenis, and stopped for a time at St. Jean de Maurienne, in the territory of the count of Savoy.

It was at this wayside station, on the old road between France and Italy, that Reginald, notwithstanding the delays interposed at Rome, was consecrated bishop of Bath.

The chronicles do not tell us the causes which brought about his consecration. We are left to infer them from concurring circumstances, by which this distant Alpine district was being brought into close connection with England, and with our own diocese in particular.

Henry had been negotiating in 1173 a marriage, for political purposes, between

<sup>a</sup> The act of pope Alexander reciting and confirming the joint action of the two chapters is contained in *Chapter Documents* i. 40. Cf. R. i. f. 94; R. iii. f. 266.

<sup>b</sup> Howden, ii. 59, v. *Reginaldi Epist. ad regem*, May 5, 1174. He says, "My own consecration and that of the others are deferred. Our lord the pope has determined to settle nothing until reconciliation between you and your son shall be brought to pass."



his son John and the eldest daughter of Umberto, count of Maurienne. Early death in that year saved her from this fate.

In the terms of the marriage settlement, by which certain places commanding the passes of the mountains would have been secured to Henry, Reginald, archdeacon of Sarum, had been named as one of the arbitrators on the king's side, in case of any change being made in the terms. Some business arising out of these settlements, and the closing of the arrangements, may have caused Reginald's delay at this time at St. Jean de Maurienne.<sup>a</sup>

The presence of Reginald in these parts was opportune for another purpose which Henry had in view at this moment.

At this time Henry had undertaken to found three religious houses in England, in partial performance of his penance for the violence of his words against Becket. He had enlarged and reconstructed the religious foundations at Ambresbury and Waltham, and changed the religious orders of the inmates; and he was now planting the first house of the Carthusian order in England. The site which he had given was at Witham, on the borders of the royal forest of Selwood, in the diocese of Bath. Henry was seeking a prior for the new house from the parent house of the order, the Great Chartreuse in the "desert of St. Bruno," near Grenoble.

One of the envoys of the count of Savoy had told him of the fame of brother Hugh of Avalon. "Such a man as would not only ensure success to his new foundation, but would fill the whole church with the beauty of his holiness."<sup>b</sup>

The Great Chartreuse was within easy reach of St. Jean de Maurienne, and letters were sent to the archbishop and to Reginald, to use all endeavours to induce Hugh to come to England, to take charge of the Carthusian colony at Witham.

The bishop-elect of the diocese in which it was planted was the fit person to invite Hugh in Henry's name, and doubtless it was felt that he would speak with more effect if he were the consecrated bishop. So, with this end in view, as we may conjecture, objections at Rome were overcome, and Reginald's consecration was hastened.

<sup>a</sup> R. Howden, ii. 41, 45. Cf. Benedict, who gives the document. By the settlements the passes of Mont Cenis, and four castles commanding them, would have been secured to Henry and put into his hands. In November of the same year Frederick Barbarossa entered Italy through the Mont Cenis passes, burnt Susa, and besieged Alexandria, lately built by the Lombard League. Vide Stubbs's *Pref. to Benedict*, p. xvi. on Henry's projects.

<sup>b</sup> Vide *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 54. R. S. Cf. Preface, p. xxi.

Reginald was required to purge himself by oath of any complicity in the murder of St. Thomas. Testimony sufficient was given to establish the legitimacy of his birth. He was consecrated by archbishop Richard and the archbishop Peter of Tarentaise, in the church of St. John, at Maurienne, on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1174.<sup>a</sup>

Then, as bishop of Bath, in company with the bishop of Grenoble, he journeyed to the house of the order in the "Eremo" or desert of St. Bruno, enclosed under the pines and crags of the Grand Som and between the torrents of the Guier "Mort," and the Guier "Vif," entering it probably from Grenoble on its south-east side by Sappey and St. Pierre de Chartreuse.

Hugh of Avalon, with much reluctance, and only by order of his bishop, undertook as his mission the charge of the new priory in England; and it was the first act of Reginald's episcopate to bring to England, and to plant in his own diocese of Somerset, Hugh of Witham, known afterwards to the whole church as St. Hugh of Lincoln.

Then the archbishop and bishop Reginald continued their journey to meet Henry in Normandy.<sup>b</sup>

In the first days of August they were at St. Lo, in the diocese of his uncle the bishop of Coutances, and in his own country of the Côtentin, and on the 5th of August, 1174, he consecrated the church of St. Thomas at St. Lo, dedicated to the memory of his old master, now the newly-canonized St. Thomas the Martyr.<sup>c</sup>

This church, probably the earliest consecrated to the martyr canonized only the year before, and consecrated by the bishop, who had been active against him, son of a bishop whom he had excommunicated, is a monument of the sudden revulsion of feeling which his murder had caused. It is still standing, though long since desecrated; containing architectural signs of the period of its consecration—in the flat semi-Norman pilasters on the outside, in the massive

<sup>a</sup> "Juga quoque montium transcendens intra valles Morianae, in ecclesia S. Johannis, et in vigilia S. Joannis Baptistae, Batoniensem electum consecravit, archiepiscopo Tarentasiae praesente, manum etiam apponente; accepta prius purgatione Batoniensis electi, quod mortem beati Thomae neque verbo, neque facto, neque scripto procuravit scienter. Alii juraverunt quod, sicut opinabantur, conceptus fuit priusquam Jocelinus pater suus ad gradum sacerdotii promoveretur. R. de Diceto, i. 391. R.S.

<sup>b</sup> Archiepiscopus, Batoniensi comitatus episcopo, Burgundiae promontoria, campestris Galliae, Neustriae littora, cum aliqua remotione transcendit, pertransiit, attingit. R. de Diceto, i. 391. R.S.

<sup>c</sup> The document is preserved in the archives of St. Lo. v. *Somerset Archaeol. Proceedings*, xix. ii. 94.

round columns of the nave, and the apsidal end with six pointed arches resting on the Norman columns.<sup>a</sup>

On August 8th they met Henry on the shore at Barfleur (*Barbari fluctus*), just arrived from England after an eventful month. On July 8 he had landed at Southampton from Normandy. He had gone through his three days' humiliating penance at the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury. He had crushed rebellion in the midland of England, and, with the king of Scots his prisoner, had now landed at Barfleur within the month.

From thence the archbishop and Reginald crossed to England. The archbishop arrived at Canterbury on September 4, to become a witness of the fire which broke out on the next day, September 5, 1174, in his cathedral church, and burnt the choir to ashes. On October 6th Reginald assisted at the consecration at Canterbury of the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, and there made his profession of obedience to the primate. On November 24th he was enthroned with much solemnity by the primate in person, who was then making a visitation of his province as "legate of the apostolic see," in his own church.

It would be interesting to know whether Bath or Wells—the church of St. Peter, or the church of St. Andrew—was the scene. Ralph de Diceto says the presence of the legate made the event of the enthronisation especially memorable;<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The nave of the church is about 144 ft. long, by 30 ft. wide, and is divided from aisles 15 ft. wide by six massive Norman columns on each side. Two central columns on each side, larger than the rest, support a tower. Pointed arches rest on the columns.

It is a painful instance of thorough desecration—the nave is boarded over above the arches, and is used as an agricultural hall on market days; the upper part is a theatre approached by a door at the east end, and stairs. Under the later tower arches is the stage of the theatre—there had been a representation there by a travelling company the night before I was there—on Sunday, June 27th, 1886. There were two traditions told to me at St. Lo about the church; one, that it was built by St. Thomas when in exile—the other, that he was at S. Lo while it was building, and being asked to what saint it should be dedicated, replied, "to the first martyr"—after events led them to take this as a prophecy and direction with regard to himself.

<sup>b</sup> R. de Diceto, i. 398 (R.S.): *Intronizationem Batoniensis episcopi Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, dum officio fungeretur legationis, visitando provinciam, sua praesentia multo sollempniorem effecit, viii.º kalendas Decembris, et futuris reddidit memorialem.*

Archer, *Chron. Wellense*, f. 46, quoting R. de Diceto in support, but, as it appears, incorrectly, assumes Wells to be the scene.

"Ricardus Cantuariensis legationis potestatem exercens provinciam suam visitavit cumque Welliam pervenisset viii. Kal. Dec. die Dominica Reginaldum Batoniensem inthronizavit."

but he does not name the place of the enthronisation. Archer assumes that it took place at Wells, but he does not give any evidence in support.

Bath had been the chief seat of the bishop, *sedes praesulea*, from whence the title was derived since bishop John's time, eighty years ago. Bishop Robert had done much in reasserting the equality of Wells with Bath, but Bath was still recognised by the pope, Adrian IV., in 1157, as the *sedes praesulea*.<sup>a</sup> The bishops now, and for some time to come, until 1245, took their title either from Bath alone, or between 1196 and 1219 from Bath and Glastonbury, and the fair conclusion we are forced to draw is, that the legate on this occasion made Bath, as the chief seat of the bishop, the scene of the enthronisation in person, though, no doubt, the bishop was enthroned in both his churches, and perhaps by the legate also, in Wells.<sup>b</sup>

In the earlier years of his episcopate, bishop Reginald appears as one of Henry's counsellors in the chief national councils of the reign.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> R. iii. f. 268, 289—293. Confirmation of possessions of Bath abbey, by Adrian IV.

Bishop Reginald had been chosen by the joint action of the two chapters of Bath and Wells. R. i. f. 94. R. iii. f. 266. Cf. Doc. 1, 40.

<sup>b</sup> The contemporary documentary evidence is clear and consistent, that the title of the see from bishop John, 1088, to bishop Roger, 1244, was either "Bath" alone, or, between 1196—1219, "Bath and Glastonbury." On the other hand, we have the statement of the "Canon of Wells," writing in bishop Bubwith's time, in the 15th century, "that bishop Robert obtained from the pope a decree that the bishop's seat should be in both churches, that the bishop should be enthroned in both his churches, and that the name of Bath should be placed first in the bishop's style." But this statement is not supported by the *Historia Minor*, nor by early documents in the Wells registers.

Archer, *Chronicon Wellense*, f. 29, had long ago corrected Wharton and Godwin. As to the date of the first assumption of the title "Bath and Wells," he says, "Canonicus noster et Godwinus quin et ipse Whartonus haud satis perspicue rem narrant—Nullus etenim episcoporum Bathoniensis et Wellensis nuncupatus est a prima sedis translatione per Johannem Turonensem facta usque ad annum 1244." Roger was consecrated at Reading, Sept. 11, 1244, by the title of Bath and Wells, "ad instantiam Domini Papae." But he kept the old title of bishop of Bath on his seal. Pope Innocent writes to him from Lyons, May 14, 1245, "We hear from the dean and chapter of Wells that you resist our ordinance. We now enjoin you to call yourself bishop of Bath and Wells, and so to describe yourself on your seal." Vide Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum, Additional MS. 15353, vol. v. f. 235. Cf. R. i. f. 93—96. The subject has been elaborated in two articles in *The Genealogist* for July and October, 1885, *First Bishop of Bath and Wells*.

<sup>c</sup> (1) During Henry's reign—from 1174 to 1189.

Bishop Reginald at Westminster, May 18, 1175.	Howden, ii. 72.
" at Woodstock, July 1	" ii. 78.
" at London, March 16, 1177.	" ii. 120, 131.
" at Toulouse " 1178.	" ii. 151, 165.
" at the Lateran Council, March, 1179.	" ii. 171, 189.

He was present at the Council of Westminster in 1175, at which acts were passed to repress clerical scandals. At the Council of London, in 1177, he was one of the signatories to the award in which Henry adjudicated on the rival claims of the kings of Navarre and Castille. In 1178, he was one of a joint commission, appointed at the request of the count of Toulouse by Henry and Louis VII. of France, to inquire into the heretical teaching of the sect of the Cathari, who were established in formidable numbers in the country round Toulouse and Albi, and became afterwards known under the name of the Albigenses. Bishop Reginald had for his colleagues on this occasion, Peter, the papal legate, the archbishops of Bourges and Narbonne, the bishop of Poitiers, and the abbot of Clairvaux. They held their court of inquiry at Toulouse, and reported in condemnation of the heretical teaching of the sectaries. In the next year Reginald was one of four English bishops<sup>a</sup> sent as representatives to the Lateran council, summoned by Alexander III., March 1179, at which, among other acts of historical importance, the Albigenses sectaries were condemned and excommunicated. He returned from the council with a deed of confirmation from the pope, his friend Alexander III., dated March 4, 1179, confirming the rights and possessions of the see.<sup>b</sup>

During the next ten years of Henry's reign he does not appear much in public affairs. On the death of his friend archbishop Richard, in 1184, he strongly supported the king's nomination of Baldwin bishop of Worcester to the primacy, against the claims of the convent of Christchurch to have the sole appointment, and afterwards he was influential in conciliating the monks to accept Baldwin.

(2) During Richard's reign, 1189—1191.

Bishop Reginald was present at Richard's coronation at Westminster . . . .	Sept. 3, 1189.	Howden, iii. 8.
At the Council at Pipewell . . . .	Sept. 15, 1189.	" iii. 14.
At Canterbury . . . .	Nov. 26, 1189.	R. iii. f. 13.
At the Council in Normandy . . . .	March, 1190.	Howden, iii. 32.
He mediated at "the peace of Winchester," April 25, 1191 . . . . .		R. of Devizes, p. 33, § 42.
" " " " " "	July 28, 1191.	Howden, iii. 135.
He was at the Chancellor Longchamp's trial, Oct. 1191.		" iii. 145.
Nominated Primate, at Canterbury, Nov. 26, 1191.		" iii. 168.
His death took place, at Dogmersfield, Dec. 27, 1191.		Gervase, <i>Opera Hist.</i> i. 512. R.S.

<sup>a</sup> The other bishops at the Lateran Council were Hugh bishop of Durham; John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich; Robert Ffolliott, bishop of Hereford.

<sup>b</sup> This document is quoted later. See Appendix D.



In the dispute which followed between the archbishop and his monks he was appointed one of the pope's commissioners in 1187. After Baldwin's death these events led on to his nomination to the vacant primacy in the last year of his life.

*(a.) Bishop Reginald in his diocese.*

During these years of his episcopate, 1174—1191, bishop Reginald was doing good work in his diocese, and they were years of diocesan life and progress.

Church building was going on around him and under his eye at Bath, at Glastonbury, at Witham, and in other religious houses in the diocese, and gifts and endowments were being made to the cathedral church of Saint Andrew in Wells. It was his policy to carry on bishop Robert's work and constitution at Wells, to make Wells the headquarters and centre of the diocese, and to give it a fabric and a ministrant body worthy of the dignity of the cathedral church of the diocese. He resided at Wells—there is no evidence that he ever resided at Bath. Yet Bath was not neglected—the hospital of St. John Baptist, by which the sick and poor of the city had the benefit of the hot waters, was founded by him in 1180, and endowed with lands and tenements in Bath and its neighbourhood, and with a tithe of hay from his demesne lands. It was put under the control and management of prior Walter and the convent of Bath, who also gave their endowments.

Walter the prior, a man of learning and holy life, was a contemporary and friend of bishop Reginald.<sup>a</sup> Elected in 1175, he was with him in his last hours, when dying at Dogmersfield.

The register of the priory of Bath contains a list of gifts made by the bishop to the convent, of lands and churches, of ornaments and vestments, of a statue of St. Peter, and also, strange to read, of the body of St. Euphemia, virgin and martyr. He also enriched their library with many books.<sup>b</sup>

At Witham, between 1180 and 1186, prior Hugh was at work laying the foundations of his Charterhouse, with a small band of French monks, meanly lodged, and endeavouring to support themselves under severe and ascetic discipline, in the desert of Witham. The chapel of the friary, some remains of which in the transitional-Norman style are to be seen still in the parish church, and the necessary buildings for thirteen monks and about the same number of lay brethren, were finished, and the order and discipline of the house was organised before prior Hugh was taken to be bishop of Lincoln in 1186.

<sup>a</sup> "Vir multae scientiae et religionis," A. S. 585.

<sup>b</sup> See Appendix B.



The house became the home of those who sought a severer discipline amidst the growing laxity of other monastic houses. Walter, prior of Bath, and Robert, prior of St. Swithun's, were two of those who entered the house late in life.<sup>a</sup> Sometimes it was found too severe a life for those who had entered it without counting the cost.<sup>b</sup> Walter left it again before his death. It was the home of retreat year by year for Saint Hugh when he came from Lincoln to take up again the simple life of a monk in his cell at Witham.

The bishop, who had been the instrument to bring Hugh of Avalon to England, continued to support his work in the diocese. The king's charter was granted at Marlborough. A chapel had stood in the "Eremo," the desert of Witham on the outskirts of Selwood forest, belonging to the priory of Bruton. The king gave to Bruton the rectory of South Petherton in exchange, and exchanges of land were made with the Witham owners.

The house was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. John Baptist. The king granted lands which afterwards became the parish of Witham, and lands on Mendip for a cell of the Charterhouse near Cheddar. The house was exempted from all ecclesiastical visitations and imposts; from all claims of sheriffs and officers of the forest. Bishop Reginald on his part, "cum consensu capituli Wellensis," granted exemption from tithes and dues to the Charterhouse in the parish of Cheddar.<sup>c</sup>

Other religious houses were growing up at the time in the diocese.

The abbey of St. Mary at Glastonbury, the great rival ecclesiastical power which had hitherto overshadowed the church of Wells, separated from it by six miles of moorland, was soon about to go through a period of disaster and humiliation.

<sup>a</sup> Richard of Devizes, the chronicler of the "*Gesta Ricardi*," 1189—92, a monk of St. Swithun's, paid a visit there to his late prior, to whom he dedicated his Chronicle, "to see how much nearer to Heaven was the Charterhouse at Witham than the Priory of St. Swithun." He bears his witness to the greater severity of discipline there, not without a touch of sceptical sarcasm. "Robertus prior S. Swithini Wintoniae, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witham, dolore, (an dicam devotione?) deiecit se in sectam Cartusiae. Walterus prior Bathoniae prius ibidem simili fervore vel furore praesumserat, sed semel extractus nihil minus videtur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare." *R. of Devizes*, p. 26, § 30. See also the Prologue.

<sup>b</sup> *Reg. Prior. Bath.*, ff. 315, 316.

<sup>c</sup> Henry's grant is recited in a confirmation to the prior and convent of Witham by Innocent IV. in 1246, in which the boundaries of the land are set out. *Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum*. Add. MS. 15355. vol. v. ff. 374—381.

But under bishop Reginald's episcopate there were friendly negotiations and territorial exchanges and mutual concessions.

Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who ruled the abbey for more than forty years, 1125-1171, had lately died. Robert, prior of Winchester, succeeded. By an arrangement with abbot Robert, the church of Pilton was ceded to the bishop to form two prebends in the cathedral church, of which the abbot held one, without obligation of residence, but bound to pay three marcs to a vicar. The canon appointed by the bishop to the second prebend received ten marcs from Pilton. The abbot thus became a member of the bishop's chapter, and the Glastonbury writers deplore the advantage obtained over the abbey by this arrangement, whereby the bishop received the acknowledgment of jurisdiction from the abbot, as one of the canons of his cathedral church.<sup>a</sup>

At the same time, to put an end to a long-standing controversy between the abbey and the church of Wells, the bishop granted the abbot a separate territorial jurisdiction, to be held by a special officer (the abbot's archdeacon) over the churches which were in the twelve hides of Glastonbury.<sup>b</sup> The church of South Brent, which had belonged to Glastonbury, was ceded to the archdeacon of Wells, in lieu of seven churches of the Glastonbury archdeaconry, which the archdeacon of Wells had claimed, and it has ever since remained appropriated to the archdeaconry of Wells, and in its patronage. The church of Huish, near Langport, was also annexed to the archdeaconry of Wells by bishop Reginald.<sup>c</sup>

Great building work had been going on at Glastonbury under bishop Henry of Blois—the builder of St. Cross near Winchester, founder of Romsey abbey, and refounder of Taunton priory. Abbot Robert carried on the work until his death in 1178. Then the abbey was held by the king, and put into commission to Peter de Marci, a Cluniac monk, as administrator of the revenues during the vacancy. While the abbey was in the king's hands, on St. Urban's day, May 25, 1184, a fire destroyed the whole of the abbey buildings of Henry de Blois, and only a new chamber, which had been built by abbot Robert, with its chapel, and the great bell-tower, remained.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 24, lxix. f. 25, lxxv. Cf. Adam of Domesday, i. 235; ii. 351.

<sup>b</sup> The abbey had claimed exemption for the churches of the twelve hides from all local jurisdiction secular and spiritual, under a pretended charter of king Ine.

The exempt jurisdiction was now conceded, and the jurisdiction of the abbot over the churches made equal to a separate and exempt archdeaconry.

<sup>c</sup> Reginald's grant v. Adam of Domesday. ii. 345.

<sup>d</sup> Adam of Domesday. ii. 333.

Henry, grieved at the loss sustained by the Church while the abbey was in his hands, undertook to rebuild the church, and committed the work to Ralph Fitzstephen, the chancellor, to spend all the available resources of the convent on the fabric. A charter was given by Henry, December 1184, in which he made himself and his heirs responsible for the fitting restoration. The work was of national interest, the revenues of vacant benefices were applied to the work, and a charge was laid upon certain churches in support. Ralph Fitzstephen is described as munificent in his gifts, and the royal treasury supplied what was required. A great store of relics of saints and worthies buried at Glastonbury was now displayed; and the timely discovery or invention about this time of the bones of Arthur and his queen, and the publication of the Arthurian legend, helped to draw a large concourse of pilgrims, and brought much gain of money to the abbey.

So rapidly grew the work, that in the second or third year after the fire, "on St. Barnabas day, 1186,"<sup>a</sup> or 1187,<sup>b</sup> bishop Reginald dedicated the new church of St. Mary on the spot where the old church, the "*vetusta ecclesia*," had stood. At the same time the foundations were laid, and the building commenced, of "the great church," "*major ecclesia*," 400 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth. But with the death of Henry, in 1189, the works were stopped—until 1235. "King Richard's mind was more directed to military affairs than to the building which was begun, so the work was stopped because there was no one to pay the workmen."<sup>c</sup> Soon after began the great war with Wells, under bishop Savaric, continued under bishop Jocelin until 1219, in which the revenues of the abbey were consumed by litigation at Rome. No building was carried on again until 1235; and a whole century intervened before the next consecration of the church, then only partially built, on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1303.<sup>d</sup>

So far we have followed out bishop Reginald's history, as it is connected with the general history of the time, and described in the chronicles of Henry the Second's reign.

<sup>a</sup> Adam of Dom. ii. 335, describes the work, but does not give the year of consecration, "*Ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in loco quo primitus vetusta steterat ex lapidibus quadris opere speciosissimo consummavit, nichil ornatus in ea praetermittens.*" John of Glastonbury (i. 180) names the year thus indefinitely, "*quam dedicavit Reginaldus, tunc Bathoniae episcopus, anno Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo circiter sexto die S. Barnabae.*"

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Parker says, "more probably 1187." S.A.P. vol. xxvi. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Adam of Dom. ii. 341.

<sup>d</sup> John of Glast. i. 255.

*(b.) Bishop Reginald at Wells.*

But we turn to our own local documents, and to the history lurking in the unprinted manuscripts at Wells, to learn more particularly what was going on at Wells during bishop Reginald's episcopate.

Wells was the bishop's seat all through his time, until his translation to Canterbury in the last days of his life.

The charters of his time show his care to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor, and to carry on bishop Robert's policy at Wells: (*a*) by confirming and increasing the privileges of the town; (*b*) by adding to the number of the prebends, and increasing the permanent endowment of the stalls; (*c*) by provision for the building of the fabric of the church.

The municipal history of Wells is ancient and interesting. Its early charters are of especial value, as showing the relation of the town to the bishop, and the growth of the town around the cathedral church.

Two charters to the city by bishop Reginald stand at the head of these contemporary records, and are of general as well as local interest.

Early in his episcopate, certainly before 1180, as the names of the attesting witnesses show, bishop Reginald gave two charters to the town.

In the first of these he recites the charter of his predecessor, bishop Robert; and, desiring to follow the footsteps of his venerable predecessor, and at the request of the burgesses, he confirms with further grants their privileges then conferred. (Appendix C.)

Bishop Robert had forbidden markets to be held in the precincts of the cathedral church, because the tumult of the buyers and sellers interrupted the devotion of the worshippers, and made the house of God a den of hucksterers; and he ordered their removal to the open spaces of the town. At the same time, also, he granted to the citizens fairs with freedom from tolls on three festival times in the year, viz. on the eves and festivals of (*a*) the Invention of the Holy Cross; (*b*) the feast of St. Calixtus; (*c*) the feast of St. Andrew.

Bishop Reginald, in his confirmation of this charter, granted three additional days, viz. the morrow of each of these festivals. He also granted to the burgesses one moiety of the profits arising from the hiring of stalls, which belonged to him as lord.

In the second charter, referring again to the example and the charter of his predecessor, he grants that the town of Wells shall be a free borough; that every

one dwelling within its limits and possessing a messuage in the name of a burgage should have freedom of dwelling, going, and coming; also of mortgaging, selling, and granting their houses, except to houses of religion. He reserves to the bishop the payment of twelve pence a year out of every house in the borough; forbids sale of raw skins, or hides, within the limits of the borough; grants authority to hold a court for settlement of disputes, and for civil and criminal trials, except in cases where deadly wounds or injuries for life had been inflicted, without any fee to the bishop's justices. He reserves to the bishop right of appeal, and right to interfere or revise the sentence of the burgesses if they failed to do justice.<sup>a</sup>

These charters, two of a series of municipal charters, beginning with bishop Robert, confirmed and amplified by bishop Reginald, and afterwards by bishop Savaric, the lords of the manor of Wells, and confirmed by king John, 1202, illustrate the peculiar position and character of Wells as the ecclesiastical city growing up around the church, which Mr. Freeman has described so fully in his history of the cathedral church and elsewhere: "Wells stands alone among the cities of England proper as a city, which exists only in and through its cathedral church, whose whole history is that of its cathedral church . . . . Unlike other cities, it has its municipal history; but its municipal history is simply an appendage to its ecclesiastical history: the franchises of the borough were simply held as grants from the bishop."

They have a further and subsidiary interest as setting out before us the names and designations of the representatives of the ecclesiastical corporation, of the townspeople and their trades, of the owners of land in the neighbourhood, the names of the farms and villages, at the time contemporary with these bishops of the twelfth century.

Bishop Reginald gathers round him the officers and canons of his cathedral church, the landlords and the burgesses and townsfolk, to witness to the charter of purchase, which, as lord of the manor, he freely bestows upon them. At the same time, as their lord, he reserves to the bishop the right of administering justice and reviewing the sentences of the town magistrates.

In the first of these charters, given before 1166, occur the names of the first officers of the newly constituted chapter, as witnesses to bishop Robert's charter: Ivo the dean; Reginald the precentor, nephew of the late bishop John of Tours; and archdeacons Robert and Thomas.

In bishop Reginald's charter, between 1174-1180, there are the names of the

<sup>a</sup> See Appendix C.



second generation of officers of the cathedral chapter: there is another dean, Richard of Spakeston (Spaxton on the Quantock) 1160-1180; another precentor, Hildebert or Albert, 1174-1185; another archdeacon, Richard of Bath, with title of local jurisdiction; William the treasurer; Robert the sub-dean: there are the canons Ralph of Lechlade, afterwards archdeacon of Bath, and dean, 1216-1220; William canon of Haselbury; and Peter of Winchester, afterwards chancellor, 1185.

In both charters of bishop Reginald we meet with the first mention of a name which was to be more known and honoured than any in the history of Wells, Jocelin, the chaplain, the future bishop.\*

A large number of names representing the neighbouring landowners and the townfolk of Wells sign on this memorable occasion in the early life of the city, when canons and clerks, burgesses and tenants, were called together by the bishop, their lord, to receive this first deed of city incorporation. (See Appendix C.)

We gather from other charters in the Wells registers, and the attestations to documents belonging to bishop Reginald's time, the names of some more of his contemporaries in the diocese and in the chapter.

\* The family of bishop Jocelin can be traced in the documents of the time, *e. g.*

Certificate by bishop Rainaud, that Walter Pistor of Bath had sold land at Lanferley, to Edward de Wellis and to Hugh his heir for five marcs of silver.

The original grant made to Walter by the late bishop Robert had been burnt—the fee is surrendered at the Hundred Court.

Witnesses: Ralph of Lechlade, archdeacon of Bath; Richard, archdeacon of Coutances; Robert of Geldeford; Robert of St. Lo (de Sancto Laudo); Joceline, chaplain; John of St. Lo; Godfrid the Frenchman, and others. Bishop Reginald was keeping up his connection with his uncle's diocese of Coutances.—*Chap. Doc. i. 9.*

In *Chap. Doc. i. 10.* Inspeximus of grant by Ralph de Wilton of all his land in Wells to Edward de Wellis for 10 shillings annually, and a present of 50 shillings, and to Wimarc his wife a gold brooch, and 6 pence each to two of his sons. Witness to the original grant: Ralph of Lechlade; Alexander, subdean; Robert Fitzpane, sheriff of Somerset. Witnesses to the Inspeximus: William of Welesley; Alexander, subdean; Jocelin, chaplain; Peter de Winton, Mathias de Winton, &c.

In other documents we find the names of Sarum dignitaries; *e. g.* R. i. f. 36.

Agreement between bishop Reginald and William son of Richard of Melbury (Mauleberg) about 7 acres near the wood of Wokiole, and a meadow of 5 acres near Poulesham is witnessed by representatives of the Wells and Salisbury chapters; bishop Joceline of Sarum; Walter, the precentor of Sarum; Thomas, archdeacon of Wells; Baldwin, chancellor of Sarum; Ralph of Lechlade; Robert of Geldeford; Jocelin, chaplain; Stephen of Tor, canon of Wells, and others.

In another document, *Chap. Doc. i. 13.* among the witnesses occur the names of Edward of Wells, Hugh son of Edward, Jocelin his brother, together with Alexander the dean, Thomas the subdean, William of Dinr (Dinder), William of Weleslia.



The names appear, *nomina tantum* for the most part, of the several dignitaries—dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, the three archdeacons of Wells, Bath, and Taunton, subdean, succentor. Two deans were living through his episcopate: Richard of Spakeston, from 1160 to 1180; Alexander, from 1180 until the third year of bishop Jocelin, 1209.

Two archdeacons, Thomas of Wells, and Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, appear in the history of the time as taking part in public events beyond the diocese.

Thomas Agnellus, archdeacon of Wells, is identified as the preacher of the funeral sermon on the death of the young king Henry, in 1183, which bishop Stubbs quotes,<sup>a</sup> as showing that the young king Henry was looked upon as a champion of the old regime against the reforming tendencies of the father.

Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, 1175—1190, is the learned rhetorician and theologian, and letter writer and literary adventurer, who was known to all the leading men of the day, an active political agent in Henry's court, and at the Roman Curia, of Henry against Becket—of Baldwin against the monks of Canterbury, but changing sides after Baldwin's death. In his letters,<sup>b</sup> he appears as archdeacon of Bath before Reginald's appointment to the bishopric; he anticipates Reginald's preferment, and warns him of the responsibilities; he defended Reginald for taking the side of his father in the quarrel with Becket. In after years he complained to Reginald, as bishop, of his severity in enforcing discipline upon his deputy in the archdeaconry for nonpayment of a debt. He appears to have been put out of the archdeaconry with some disgrace, but in 1192 he was archdeacon of London,<sup>c</sup> and died about 1200.

William of St. Faith, a witness to bishop Robert's charter before 1166, was precentor in 1187. In that year the precentor of Wells and the archdeacon of Bath were at Rome working on Baldwin's side against the monks of Canterbury, while their bishop was the pope's commissary in England, and supporting the monks against Baldwin.<sup>d</sup>

The latter part of the twelfth century, the strong reign of Henry II., following the lawlessness and anarchy of Stephen's reign, was marked by an outburst of zeal and liberality towards the church and objects of religious veneration.

It was a time of foundation and endowment of monastic houses, and of prebends for secular canons in cathedral churches.

<sup>a</sup> Pref. to R. of Howden, ii. p. lvii.

<sup>b</sup> *Epistolae Petri Blesensis*, i. Ep. 62, 58, 149.

<sup>c</sup> R. de Diceto, i. Pref. lxxix.

<sup>d</sup> *Epist. Cantuar.* cxxxv., p. 107. Ep. ccciv.

The registers of the chapter of Wells contain many deeds of gifts of land and churches from clergy and laity made to the church of Wells during bishop Reginald's time. These gifts were employed by the bishop in council with his chapter, in augmenting the common fund of the chapter, or in endowing prebends, or in the maintenance of the fabric.

In this, he was following the action of his predecessor, bishop Robert, and the example of other well-governed churches. The estate of the chapter and canons had been made by bishop Robert distinct from the personal estate of the bishop. The property of the cathedral body was thus secured from the grasp of the crown during the vacancy of the see, and from lapsing into private hands, as had occurred during bishop John's episcopate.

The funds given to the cathedral church were divided into a common fund for the support of the resident officers of the chapter, and prebends were endowed for the support of the several canons of the church.

These deeds of gift were confirmed by bishop and chapter, by king and pope, to secure their permanent validity. Charters of confirmation of the rights and possessions of the see occur frequently at this time, and serve as compendious summaries of the gradual growth of the possessions of the see during bishop Reginald's episcopate.

They also show incidentally the state of insecurity as to rights of property, and the care taken by the bishop to obtain the highest legal sanction for the rights and possessions of his cathedral church.

There are six such charters of confirmation in the chapter registers of the time—

1. By pope Alexander III. in 1176, given at the request, (*pro postulationibus*), of dean Richard and the canons of Wells. (R. ii. f. 46.)
2. By pope Alexander III. in 1179, given to bishop Reginald at the Lateran Council. (R. iii. f. 266.) (See Appendix D.)
3. By king Henry II. in 1185, at Argentan, confirming former royal grants to Bath and to the see. (R. i. f. 15, 16.; cf. iii. f. 333.)
4. By bishop Reginald, of gifts made to the see in the early part of his episcopate before 1180. (R. i. f. 24; cf. iii. f. 10.)
5. By king Richard I. Nov. 26, 1189, confirming royal grants of his predecessors, with special confirmation to bishop Reginald of an agreement with regard to his land at Dynre (Dinder), and grant of the park at Dogmersfield. (R. i. f. 15, 16; cf. iii. 333.)

6. By king Richard I. at the same date, in the first year of his reign, confirming to bishop Reginald the possessions of the see acquired during his episcopate. (R. iii. f. 13 in dors.)
7. By pope Clement III. in 1190. (R. iii. f. 260.)

The two charters most valuable, as illustrating the history of the diocese at this time, are the charters (1) of pope Alexander in 1176, at the beginning of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and (2) of king Richard I. in 1189, thirteen years after, and two years before bishop Reginald's death :—

1. The charter of pope Alexander III., brought back by bishop Reginald from Rome after his attendance at the Lateran Council in 1179, is very full in recapitulation of all the possessions and rights of the see, and also of the bishop's jurisdiction and relation to the great religious houses in his diocese. The bishop has the power of removing the prior of Bath for sufficient reasons, after consultation with the chapter, "or other religious men;" no church or oratory may be erected in the diocese without the bishop's sanction; his rights of authority and jurisdiction over religious houses and churches within the diocese are generally but vaguely defined, with reservation of appeal to the pontifical legate or the Roman court; he has authority to compel attendance at his synod of abbots and priors; none are to officiate in the diocese without his permission; if any monks, or other religious men, clerks or laymen, present themselves or are presented to benefices without the bishop's consent, he may remove them.

2. The charter of Richard I. in the first year of his reign, on the eve of setting out for the Holy Land, November 26th, 1189, presents a summary of the gifts which had been made to the church during bishop Reginald's episcopate of fifteen years, by which sixteen prebends were founded in the cathedral church, and other grants and privileges were bestowed. (See Appendix E.)

Additional privileges of a special character were also granted by the crown at this time: (a) the right of keeping hounds, which his predecessors in the see held, but with fuller privileges of hunting through the *whole* of Somerset, roe and fallow deer only excepted. This was a privilege which, in mitigation of the extreme rigour of the forest laws, as enforced by Henry I., must have been a great boon to his predecessors, and which, from his earlier sporting tastes, bishop Reginald would have been fully able to appreciate. He conferred also, at this time, (b) the more important and permanent benefit to the see of rights of mining for lead (*mineram de plumbo*) throughout all the bishop's lands, and probably, in connexion with this, (c) the power to create a borough and hold market in his land at Radclive, *terra sua de Radeclive*, described in R. iii. f. 266, as also

"the Portus of Radeclive," in the manor of Compton Episcopi and Axbridge—perhaps a "hithe," or wharf, at the head of the tideway on the Axe, for the exportation of the lead ore of Mendip.<sup>a</sup>

But the list in Richard's charter of confirmation does not exhaust the grants made to the church at this time. In the border country of the west of Somerset were the family lands of three of the knights who had struck down Becket in his cathedral church at Canterbury. The Tracy family had given Bovey in Devonshire to the church. Simon Brito, or le Bret, of Samford Bret, now gave the church of St. Decumans, on the headland overlooking the western channel, for a prebend in the church of St. Andrew in Wells, and Robert Fitzurse, of Willetton, in the same beautiful valley under the Quantock hills as Samford Bret, endowed St. Decumans with twenty acres of land, and gave land to a manse for a chaplain to serve a chapel at Willetton, in the parish of St. Decumans.<sup>b</sup>

In the same district, on the borders of Exmoor, William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, founder of Cleeve abbey in 1188, gave the church of Old Cleeve<sup>c</sup> to bishop Reginald; and the church of Wynesford,<sup>d</sup> on the Upper Exe, a few miles above the Augustinian priory of Barlynch, was given by the lady Alicia de Roges.

These documents show how the constitution and property of the church was built up at this time, under bishop Reginald's rule. I reserve for a second part of this paper, notice of those documents which relate to the maintenance of the fabric, and for the consideration of the share which bishop Reginald may have had in the building of the church.

Before closing the general history of his episcopate, it is necessary to notice the events of the two last years of his life, in which he passed from Wells to Canterbury.

Between the year after his return from the Lateran Council in 1179, and Henry's death in 1189, bishop Reginald does not appear much in public affairs.

These quiet years of his episcopate had formed an important period in the history of the diocese. Henry II., his old master, who had trusted and employed him on important occasions, died at Chinon on the Loire, July 6, 1189.

<sup>a</sup> *Ratcliffe* in Stuckey's map, on the Axe, which is navigable so far—*Ratley* in Greenwood's map, in Compton; it is *Ripley* in Ordnance map.

<sup>b</sup> S. Decuman, i. f. 40, Carta Simonis Brito; i. f. 39, Carta Roberti fil. Ursi; i. f. 38, Confirmatio Reginaldi Episcopi, teste Alexandro Decano.

<sup>c</sup> Cleeve, R. iii. f. 382.

<sup>d</sup> Wynesford, R. i. f. 59; R. iii. f. 351.

A time of restless excitement, of foreign adventure, and political struggles at home, followed upon Richard's accession. Reginald, as one of the friends and counsellors of Henry, took a leading part in the first events of his son's reign.

He appears to have been drawn away from his diocese into the political and ecclesiastical intrigues of the court.

Whether justly or not, he incurs the suspicion of having aimed at the chancellorship, and of secretly intriguing for the primacy.

On September 3, 1189, he assisted at the coronation of Richard at Westminster. It was a scene of unusual pomp. In the coronation procession to and from the church, and to and from the altar, Hugh bishop of Durham on the right, and Reginald bishop of Bath on the left hand, walked by the side of Richard.<sup>a</sup> Four barons bore over them a silken canopy supported on four tall lances, and the company of earls, barons, knights, clergy and laity followed in long procession. After Richard had made the coronation oaths, he was anointed and crowned by archbishop Baldwin, the archbishops of Dublin, Rouen, and Trèves assisting;<sup>b</sup> and enthroned by the two bishops of Durham and Bath.

After this, Reginald was at the council of Pipewell abbey, on September 15, when the appointments to the chief offices and vacant bishoprics were made by Richard. The see of Ely and the chancellorship were then given to William Longchamp.

Richard, intent upon an immediate start for the Holy Land, was selling the offices of state, and making conveyances of crown lands, and castles, and towns to the highest bidders. All who could were buying rights and privileges, offices and benefices; "not only to the confirmation of their own, but to the usurpation of their neighbours' rights"—"*et caeteri, quicunque volebant, emebant a rege tam sua quam aliena jura.*"<sup>c</sup>

It is assumed, on a statement of Richard of Devizes, that Reginald made a high bid of 4000*l.* for the chancellorship, which Richard gave to William Long-

<sup>a</sup> Deinde venit Ricardus dux Normannie, et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus a dextris illius ibat et Reginaldus Batoniensis Episcopus a sinistris illius ibat, et umbraculum sericum portabatur inter illos. Et omnis turba comitum et baronum et militum et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesie et sic usque in ecclesiam ad altare. *Benedict*, ii. 81.

<sup>b</sup> It was a mark of honour to the see, and perhaps also in this case to the man. Brompton, writing at the close of the thirteenth century (f. 1158-9) says, "Atque istud privilegium etiam hodie præsules Dunelmenses et Bathonienses sibi vendicant." Savaric, as bishop of Bath, took this same place at the coronation of John.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Howden, vol. iii. 29, for a list of some of the state offices sold by the king at this time.



champ, though he paid for it 1000*l.* less—"Willielmus Eliensis electus, datis tribus millibus libris argenti, sigillum regis sibi retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus quartum millerium superobtulerit."<sup>a</sup> On the strength of this unsupported statement, a charge is brought against Reginald of selfish ambition. Undoubtedly, at such a time only such men as St. Hugh of Lincoln, as St. Anselm in earlier times, could pass through kings' courts and papal chancelleries without taint, or suspicion at least, of worldliness and corruption. Whether he was tempted to offer a high price for the chancellorship or not is doubtful. But it is certain that at this time Reginald was employing his money for the benefit of the diocese in buying from the king confirmations of all the possessions and privileges of the see, and the grant of the manor of North Curry; a costly purchase, which he made over to the canons of his cathedral church.

Reginald was a man who mixed in the world, but he does not seem to have been covetous or personally ambitious as compared with his contemporaries, such as Hugh of Durham, Hugh Nonant of Coventry, and the chancellor Longchamp. He appears to have been pushed forward into prominent positions, and employed by others as a counsellor and an arbitrator trusted by both sides, rather than a self-seeking intriguer for high places. In 1191 he was twice employed as one of the arbitrators in the quarrel between the chancellor Longchamp and earl John at the pacification of Winchester, April 25; and again, between the chancellor and the rebellious sheriff of Lincoln, Gerard de Camville, July 28. He was one of those who opposed the chancellor for his high-handed treatment of Geoffrey; but he took no prominent part in his trial and humiliation in October, 1191.

It was probably his unaggressive, conciliatory line of conduct, which led to his election to the vacant primacy, rather than any secret intrigues on his part.

A struggle had been going on since 1187 between archbishop Baldwin and his chapter, the prior and monks of the cathedral church at Canterbury.

Reginald had been forward in supporting Baldwin as the king's nominee, and in conciliating the monks to accept him, in 1184. But now, when it may reasonably have appeared that the archbishop was using his authority arbitrarily, he did

<sup>a</sup> R. of Devizes. *De rebus gestis Ricardi*, p. 9, § 10, ed. Stevenson. Bishop Stubbs and others assume that bishop Reginald is the person here so named; elsewhere, Richard of Devizes calls him by his ordinary title, *Episcopus Bathoniensis*.

At the same time Hugh, bishop of Durham, paid for the office of justiciar 1,000 marcs; for the earldom of Northumberland, 2,000; and 600 for the manor of Sedbergh. The king, "*decem millia libras argenti de scriniis ejus diligenter extraxit.*" R. of Devizes, p. 8, § 9.



not shrink from opposition to the king, and from taking the unpopular side of the convent. St. Hugh of Lincoln was on the same side afterwards.<sup>a</sup>

The immediate subject of dispute was the foundation by the archbishop, out of some of the funds of the cathedral chapter, of a college and church of secular canons at Hackington, near Canterbury. The project gave much offence to the monks, who thought they saw in it, what was probably the intention, a desire to supplant them in their position as metropolitan chapter, and to substitute a body of secular canons (out of their revenue) who would be more amenable to the primate.

They naturally resisted what in their view must have appeared an act of usurpation and arbitrary authority on the part of their abbot, the archbishop.

The king supported the archbishop; the courtiers, for the most part, went with him. The convent appealed to the pope. The pope, Urban III. in October, 1187, took up the cause of the convent, and appointed a commission, consisting of Reginald bishop of Bath, Seffred bishop of Chichester, and the abbots of Feversham and Reading, ordering them to destroy the building.

With the death of Urban III. in 1187, proceedings were suspended. Henry died in July 1189. A new reign began in England. The quarrel was arranged for a time; and archbishop Baldwin went on the Crusade with Richard.

Baldwin's death at Acre was known in England in March 1191.

The monks used the opportunity of the vacancy in the see to overthrow the scheme of the late archbishop, and to secure to themselves the election of his successor.

In May 1191, pope Celestine issued his mandate peremptorily to bishop Reginald and the commissioners, to execute the order for the destruction of the new buildings at Hackington, and on July 21 they were levelled to the ground.

The monks had succeeded in one of their objects.

They were now eager to secure the election of the archbishop. Reginald is

<sup>a</sup> Vide Stubbs, Pref. to the *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. liii. for the history of this controversy; and letters to and from Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in the collection. Also Letters of Peter of Blois. Ep. cxxxv. ccclv. Vide *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 134-5. At this same time two of the chapter of Wells were Baldwin's agents at Rome, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, and William of St. Faith, precentor of Wells.

The letters illustrate Peter's character. V. Ep. cxxxv., his letter on Urban's death; ccclv., his change of sides, in disgust at not having been paid his expenses. So he writes about May, 1191, "perdidi operam et impensas—meisque peccatis exigentibus permisit me Dominus occasione illius archiepiscopi damnose deludi . . ." and he offers his services to the Convent.

charged with secretly intriguing for the primacy; but there is no evidence that he sought the office, or took any steps to obtain it.<sup>a</sup>

It was likely that his support of the convent, his position as pope's commissioner, and his execution of the pope's orders, should have won him the favour of the monks. He certainly had an active but self-interested agent in his cause in Savaric, his kinsman, who had some mysterious influence with the emperor Henry VI., and the king of France, Philip, son of Louis VII, the patron of Reginald in early life. If Savaric was intriguing for Reginald, he certainly was intriguing also for himself, and for the reversion of Reginald's bishopric of Bath.

Under his influence, the emperor wrote in November 1191, to recommend the convent to take the advice of Savaric "*dilectus consanguineus noster*," in the choice of their archbishop. At the same time, Philip of France recommended Reginald as the friend of his father, who had given him the abbey of St. Exuperius in 1164; and as strongly supported by Savaric, "*our faithful friend*."<sup>b</sup>

The king's justiciars had appointed December 3 for a meeting of council to elect. But before the day, the monks, anticipating the meeting of the council, held a chapter on November 27, to assert their claim and to nominate their candidate.

The prior tried to sound the archbishop of Rouen, the chief justiciar, as to the person who would be accepted by the king. The archbishop, as Gervase hints,<sup>c</sup> intended the monks to choose himself; if so, he must have failed to make himself intelligible, or to have convinced the prior of his merits. "Would the bishop of Bath be admissible?" The archbishop did not say "yes," but the monks interpreted his looks as favourable. "We elect," cried the prior, "the bishop of Bath." The monks re-echoed the nomination, and, laying violent hands on Reginald, thrust him, protesting, imploring, struggling, into the archbishop's chair.

The archbishop of Rouen protested in the king's name; the members of the council threatened further proceedings; but the monks supported their right to elect. Reginald re-asserted his unwillingness, but acquiesced in the election, and announced his intention of awaiting the pope's confirmation, with the words: "*anxius, invitus consentio vel gratulabundus cedo*."

But all that had been done was made void by Reginald's death within a month of the election.

He was on his way to or from his diocese, when he was seized with paralysis at his manor of Dogmersfield on Christmas Eve.

<sup>a</sup> Gervase so says, "*clam ambiens*." Bishop Stubbs, *Pref. Ep. Cant.* lxxxi, thinks "he was quietly laying his plans for the primacy." See also *ibid.* lxxxix.

<sup>b</sup> *Epp. Cant.* ccclxxxi. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Gervase, *Opera Hist.* i. 511. R. S.

The prior of Christchurch was sent for. The archbishop, anticipating his death, ordered him to bring the monk's habit, that he might die as a member of the brotherhood. His last words were, "God willeth not that I should be your archbishop. But I desire to be a monk, and one with you. Farewell, and pray for me without ceasing, as one of the brotherhood."<sup>a</sup>

He died on St. Stephen's day. The body was taken to Bath, and buried before the high altar on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, December 29.

Peter of Blois, no longer now archdeacon of Bath, speaks of him as "*Magni nominis umbra*," and marks—perhaps with malicious humour—the curious coincidence that his days of death and burial were the feasts of the two saints to whom the church was dedicated, which he had been instrumental in destroying. "It was as if St. Stephen had killed him, and St. Thomas had buried him." But Richard of Devizes, to whom bishop Stubbs gives the character of "an ill-natured historian, who never misses an opportunity of speaking ill," is witness to his love for his church of Bath, and the love of his diocese for him,<sup>b</sup> and has condensed in two lines of an homely epitaph—in which he plays upon his name, a high testimony to his character,

*Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat—  
Nemo plus quaerat—quicquid docuit faciebat.*<sup>c</sup>

Reginald's life is connected with interesting scenes and important events in the great reign of Henry II. As a statesman, he was one of the foremost in the second rank of able men whom Henry gathered round himself.

As a bishop, though he was of another type from the ascetic and unworldly Saint Hugh, yet he rose far above the selfish and worldly bishops of his time, who were the scorn of Henry.<sup>d</sup>

Reginald had no opportunity of showing whether he was capable of ruling the church of England as primate, in those troubled times. We may think it was happier for him, and for his reputation, that he had not to undergo the trial. But at least Wells has reason to honour him as one of her chief benefactors, not only in ecclesiastical, but in civil history; zealous and liberal, and wise in government; and a worthy successor of bishop Robert.

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ccclxxxviii. "*Mihi non videtur quod velit Deus quod vester sim archiepiscopus. Vester autem volo et desidero esse monachus. Valet, et gratia vestri incessanter, incessanter, oretis pro me.*"

<sup>b</sup> "*Quam multum diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus.*"

<sup>c</sup> R. of Devizes, p. 46, § 58.

Reginald rightly named, himself and his flock ruled well;

How? What he taught he did; there is no more to tell.

<sup>d</sup> William of Newbury, III. c. xxvi.

## PART II.

### *Bishop Reginald's share in the fabric of the cathedral church of Wells.*

It has been generally assumed by later writers, who have followed the Canon of Wells and Godwin as the original authorities on the history of the fabric, that we have no documentary evidence of bishop Reginald's work on the fabric of his own cathedral church.

The Canon of Wells, as quoted in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and bishop Godwin say nothing of any building works between the times of bishop Robert and bishop Jocelin.

Professor Willis,<sup>a</sup> in his lectures on the church of Wells, passes from bishop Robert to bishop Jocelin, as the next prelate who comes architecturally on the scene.

Mr. Freeman says, "We may pass more lightly over the time of the two bishops who came between the first great founder, Robert, and the second great founder, Jocelin. Their time is a most important time in the history of the see of Bath and Wells; it is the most important of all times in the late history of the church of Glastonbury; but it provides but little matter bearing on the history of the fabric, or the constitution of the church of Wells. The next bishop, Reginald, founded several new prebends, but I do not find any mention of the fabric in his time."<sup>b</sup>

But we have additional evidence, contained in the chapter registers at Wells, which are of earlier authority than the Canon of Wells and Godwin. Professor Willis had access to these registers for his lectures on Wells; and he says, that he "drew from these records many particulars of dates and facts hitherto unknown in relation to the progress of the building in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries."

But, unfortunately, his researches did not extend to the earlier records bearing on this first portion of the history of the fabric.

The first document quoted from his own observation is dated 1286. He exhorts members of the chapter, who have the opportunity, to pursue inquiries into the cathedral registers.

<sup>a</sup> *Somerset Archaeological Proceedings*, vol. xii. part I. p. 17.

<sup>b</sup> *Cathedral Church of Wells*, p. 70.

Mr. Freeman looks forward to the time when these and all such documents "locked up in manuscript" shall be put into print. We may be sure he will be the first to give weight to any evidence there may be "lurking in these manuscripts" to illustrate the history of the cathedral church, which he has taught others to study. For, if we can discover charters contemporary with the episcopates of Reginald and Savaric, they will give a continuity to the history of the fabric, which has hitherto been wanting, for the time between Robert and Jocelin ; and we can test the claim of the Canon and Godwin to represent the earliest history of the fabric.

These documents in the registers of the chapter of Wells have lately been calendared, and their contents printed in a volume published by the Historical MSS. Commission. This is the first step to the publication of separate documents which may have historical value.

I propose to compare some of these earlier documents with the history of the fabric contained in the Canon and Godwin.

The contemporary document in the register of the priory of Bath, the *Historiola de primordiis episcopatus Somersetensis*, gives the history of the church in Robert's time, 1135-1166.

Porro non est oblivioni tradendum quod ecclesia Welliae suo consilio fabricata est et auxilio. Et factum est cum perfecta esset ecclesia Welliae ab eodem domino, Welliae ascitis sibi et adjunctis grandis et praeclarae memoriae tribus pontificibus G<sup>o</sup>. Sar'. et S. domino Wygorn. Roberto domino Herefordiae, consecravit et dedicavit ipsam ecclesiam.

The date of this consecration of the church after restoration is determined, by the dates of consecration and death of the three assisting bishops, as not later than the year 1148.<sup>a</sup> The three bishops were Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, 1142-1184 ; Simon, bishop of Worcester, 1125-1150 ; and Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford, who was consecrated in 1131, and died in 1148.<sup>b</sup>

The writer of the *Historiola*, as if in fresh recollection of the event, goes on to tell how the anniversary of the consecration was marked by the grant from the bishops assembled of one hundred days of remission of penance to all who should come on the anniversary of that day to the church.

The writer ascribes to bishop Robert in general terms the rebuilding of the church ; and the consecration of the work is marked as a great event in the history of the church. No details are given of the condition of the church, or of the parts rebuilt.

<sup>a</sup> *Angl. Sacra*, i. 561.

<sup>b</sup> Stubbs, *Episc. Succession*.



The next writer is the Canon of Wells of the fifteenth century. He goes more into detail about bishop Robert's work than the contemporary writer :

"Dedicavit Ecclesiam Wellensem, praesentibus Gocelino Sarum, Simone Wigorn, et Roberto Herefordensi Episcopis. Multas ruinas ejusdem Ecclesiae destructionem ejus in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit."<sup>a</sup>

Godwin comes after, and varies the words of the canon :

"Ecclesiam annosa vetustate labantem et properante ruina collapsuram partim refecit, partim de novo condidit."<sup>b</sup>

"Whereas our church of Wells at this time was exceeding ruinous, and likely every day to fall to the ground, he pulled down a great part of it and repaired it."<sup>c</sup>

Dr. Archer, who could find nothing in the registers to bear out these statements of the later writers, adds this significant comment, "unde vero isti hauserunt non constat."<sup>d</sup>

Here and elsewhere he puts us on our guard against accepting with implicit confidence the authority of the Canon and Godwin.

Bishop Robert died August 31, 1166.

No mention of the fabric of the church is made by the Canon of Wells or by Godwin in their history of the time between Robert and Jocelin, who succeeded May 28, 1206, and consecrated the church in 1239.

We are left to infer—

1. That no building was carried on in Reginald's time ;
2. That Jocelin found both the Saxon church and Robert's new work in ruins, and pulled down the whole church and rebuilt it.

But we have evidence in contemporary charters which in some measure supplies the blank in the history of the fabric, and leads to different inferences.

While bishop Reginald was receiving and applying benefactions to the church from the clergy and laity of the diocese, he on his own part was making liberal provision by his own acts, both for the augmentation of the common fund of the canons, and also for the maintenance and progress of the fabric of the church.

Early in his episcopate he had made over to the canons the "Barton" or home farm, which was the property of the bishop, free of the annual rent of twelve marks, which they had hitherto paid for it.

"We have given to God, and to St. Andrew, and to the canons there, devotedly

<sup>a</sup> *Anglia Sacra*, p. 561.

<sup>b</sup> *Godwin*, Lat. ed. 1614.

<sup>c</sup> *Godwin*, Eng. ed. 1601.

<sup>d</sup> *Archer's Chronicon Wellense*, f. 42.



serving God, their Barton, free from all service, and expressly (*nominatim*) from the rent of twelve marks, which they were wont to pay to us yearly."<sup>a</sup>

He had also given to the common fund of the chapter the tenths of all mill-dues on his manor of Wells, *ad communam canonicorum ibidem deo servientium*.<sup>b</sup>

These benefactions to the income of the canons, given in perpetuity for himself and his successors, were accompanied with another gift during his own lifetime to the fabric fund of the church.

In a deed done in chapter very early in his episcopate, in the presence of the dean Richard of Spakestons, William of St. Faith the precentor, Thomas, archdeacon of Wells, and "almost all the canons of the church," he made over to the chapter, specially for the uses of the fabric, all the fruits accruing from vacant benefices throughout the diocese, until the work shall be finished.

This grant is conveyed in a charter which recites in the preamble the duty incumbent on the rulers of the church, and his own continual solicitude that God shall not be dishonoured by the squalor and neglect of the beauty of His house. So, with the assent of his archdeacon, and in full council with his chapter, he had set himself to discharge this duty incumbent upon him of providing a fund out of the episcopal revenue, from the fruits of benefices<sup>c</sup> during the time they were

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 25, i. f. 59. "*Bertona est villa vel praedium frumentarium.*" The "canon's barn" is now (1885) converted into the cathedral grammar school, by the liberality of canon Thomas Bernard, chancellor, 1868.

<sup>b</sup> R. i. f. 40, cxlix. "*Carta de decimis molendinorum de Well.*"; R. i. f. cxlviii. recited and confirmed by Savaric afterwards.

<sup>c</sup> "The vacant benefice reverted to the diocesan both in spirituals and temporals. He was the guardian of both, bound to provide for the spiritual care of the flock, and also for the revenues chargeable with that care.

"This custom or rather common law was one of the survivals of the earlier condition of the Church, when the endowments of a diocese were a *diocesan* fund, administered by the bishop and synod, and applied to the support of a diocesan corps of clergy.

"These fruits formed a regular part of episcopal revenue administered by a sequestrator-general, until the Act of Henry VIII. which, in order to secure payment of his first-fruits from the incoming incumbent, gave to the incumbent the fruits during vacancy—leaving to the bishop only the duty of husbanding those fruits by a sequestrator, and providing therefrom for the spiritual duties."—Note by bishop Hobhouse.

Bishop Jocelin in 1216, after consultation with dean Leonius and the chapter, granted to the commune two-thirds of the revenues of vacant benefices, R. i. f. 59.

Bishop Roger in 1246 claimed all the vacant benefices; but the chapter appealed to the grant made to them by bishop Reginald, and the bishop withdrew his claim upon examination of the charters. The chapter then made a free gift to him of the two-thirds (saving to the archdeacon the third part) in consideration of the debts of the bishop and bishopric. But they gave this only for the bishop's life, and their act was not to bind future times. R. i. f. 64.

vacant, which should be entirely applied during his lifetime towards the building of the cathedral church, until, by the help of God, the whole work shall be brought to an end.<sup>a</sup>

Other grants follow, which have a special interest as unpublished evidence bearing upon the history of the fabric.

A group of contemporary documents bear witness that some building was going on in the church at the time, and that grants were being made for the completion of the work. The dates of these early documents are not expressly given; they can only be ascertained by internal evidence and the names of attesting witnesses.

There are three grants of churches neighbouring to one another in the district of Castle Cary, made probably by members of the same family, the Lovels of Cary, either attested by witnesses who were contemporaries with bishop Reginald, or confirmed by Reginald himself.

(a.) Robert de Kari, lord of Lovinton, gives to God and St. Andrew the advowson of the church of Lovinton, with one hide of 160 acres of land, and a messuage near the church.<sup>b</sup>

This deed is confirmed by bishop Reginald.<sup>c</sup>

(b.) Nicolas de Barewe,<sup>d</sup> in ruri-decanal chapter at Cary (in capitulo apud Kari), "*considerata canonicorum Wellensium honesta conversatione et surgentis ecclesie sue laudabilis structura*," gives up his life interest in the temporalities of this same church of Lovinton for an annual pension of two shillings.<sup>e</sup>

Among the witnesses is Adam, the sub-chanter, who also witnessed the grant of Lovington.

<sup>a</sup> "Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit, Reginaldus Dei gratia Bathon. Episcopus salutem in Domino et Dei benedictionem. Iis quibus est divina dispositione pastoralis officii cura commissa et ecclesiarum sollicitudo injuncta summo opere providendum est ut domum Dei ea excolant diligentia quod dignitas Domini in domus squalore non possit devenustari. Hoc igitur zelo ducti de assensu et consilio archidiaconorum nostrae auctoritatis ad hoc duximus, munimen impendendum ut ad fabricam Wellensis Ecclesiae ad cujus regimen sumus domino disponente admissi, fructus et obventiones vacantium ecclesiarum in nostra diocesi existentium quamdiu vacaverint convertantur, et in usus operationis ex toto cedant donec per Dei miserantis auxilium consumetur.

Factum est hoc in capitulo Wellensi, praesente Ricardo de Spakeston, ejusdem ecclesiae Decano, Willelmo precentore, T. archidiacono et omnibus fere illius ecclesiae canonicis."—*Liber Ruber* ii. f. 14.

<sup>b</sup> R. i. f. 38, cxxx.

<sup>c</sup> *Ib.* f. 61, ccxlii.

<sup>d</sup> North Barrow, the next parish to Lovinton. R. i. f. 38, cxxxi.—*Cf.* R. i. f. 61, ccxli.

<sup>e</sup> R. i. f. 38, cxxxi.

(c.) Alured de Punson grants the neighbouring church of South Barrow, "in fundo meo sitam," to God and St. Andrew, to the commune of Wells, and to Reginald bishop of Bath.<sup>a</sup>

Among the witnesses are Thomas archdeacon of Wells, Robert de Geldeford archdeacon, Alexander subdean of Wells, etc.

These deeds follow one another in the register, as if, in the mind of the chapter clerk who copied them, they had connection of time and place.

The attestations to these charters fix their dates to the time of Reginald.

A special interest attaches to the charter of Nicolas of Barrow for the insight which it gives, though but a glimpse, into the state of the cathedral chapter at this time.

The motives which prompted the grant of the church of Barrow, perhaps of others, was a desire to support in their work the canons who bore a good reputation in the diocese, and to promote the building of the church, which was now rising in beauty. He makes his grant "in consideration of the right conversation of the canons of Wells and the admirable structure of the rising church."

These terms in the preamble of a formal document have some force of meaning. They give an interest to the bare names of canons which occur as signatories to these documents of the time, they imply that there was attention to duty, piety, and devotion in dean Alexander and the archdeacons and canons, Robert of Guildford, Ralph of Lechlade, William of Martock, and doubtless Jocelin the chaplain, which commanded the respect of their brethren of the ruridecanal chapter of Cary.

And also at this time the church of St. Andrew was rising and becoming an object of interest and admiration to the clergy and laity of the diocese, so that when Nicolas of Barrow and Michael of Aldeford, and Ralph of Yarlington came up to Wells they would contrast their own little village churches with the proportions and architectural beauty of the buildings rising at Wells, and report that their cathedral church was becoming "exceeding magnificent," and a praise in the diocese, "*laudabilis structura*."

Again there is another charter which tells more definitely of new buildings at Wells, and of the restoration of older work at this time.

Martin of Carscumbe, presumably Croscombe, near Wells, makes a grant of three silver marcs towards the construction of the new work, "*ad constructionem novi operis*," of the church of St. Andrew in Wells, and another two marcs to the

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 61, cexliii.

repairs of the chapel of St. Mary there, "ad emendationem capellæ beatæ Mariæ ejusdem loci."<sup>a</sup>

The deed is attested by an unknown witness, Baldwin the chaplain. But it is dated with a precision which fixes it to certain years—"in the second year after the coronation of the lord the king at Winchester."

Two years are possible. Winchester was the scene of royal coronation twice during the last part of the twelfth century.

At Whitsuntide 1170, the young Henry, eldest son of Henry II. (sometimes called *rex junior*, sometimes "Henricus III.")<sup>b</sup> had been crowned at Westminster without his wife Margaret of France, by Roger archbishop of York. That disastrous event had brought down upon Henry the wrath of Thomas of Canterbury for the violation of the privileges of his see, and of the king of France for the slight offered to his daughter. He was crowned a second time with his queen in St. Swithun's, Winchester, on August 27, 1172.

If we might take our date as the second year from this coronation, and assign 1174 to this charter, it would fall in the first year of Reginald's episcopate, and it would be the earliest evidence of any architectural work succeeding Robert's consecration of the church in 1148. But it is improbable that the young Henry, though crowned and called *rex junior* and *Henricus tertius* in contemporary documents, would have been called *dominus rex* during the lifetime of his father.

There was another coronation at Winchester in twenty-four years. Richard I. who had been crowned in state at Westminster on his accession on September 3, 1189, was crowned a second time after his return to England, as it were "to wipe out the stain of his captivity and his foreign homage," on April 17, 1194, at

<sup>a</sup> *Carta Martini de Karscumbe*. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego Martinus dedi deo et ecclesiae beati Andreae in Wellia pro salute animae meae et animarum omnium antecessorum meorum, tres marcas argenti ad constructionem novi operis—et duas marcas ad emendationem capellae beatae Mariæ ejusdem loci accipiendas de redditu de Maperton quem dominus meus H. de Novo Mercato mihi in solutionem debiti mei assignavit et in carta nostra confirmavit. . . .

Ut haec donatio firma permaneat et inconcussa eam sigilli mei appositione roboravi. His testibus: Baldwino capellano, &c. Anno secundo post coronationem domini Regis apud Wintoniae. R. i. f. 41.

Henry Newmarch (de Novo Mercato) was lord of the barony of Cadbury in Somerset, 6 Richard I. Dugdale, *Baron*. p. 435.

<sup>b</sup> Richard of Devizes, *De rebus gestis Ricardi I.* p. 5, § 3. "Ricardus filius regis Henrici secundi, frater regis Henrici tertii." "Henry, son of King Henry the Second, is frequently styled Henry the Third in the early chronicles and contemporaneous State Papers. He died in 1183." Note by editor.

Winchester. The year 1196 would then be the second year after the coronation, the fourth year of Savaric's episcopate.

In either case the document is evidence that—1. New building was going on in the church at Wells in the latter part of the twelfth century, either by Reginald in succession to Robert, or by Savaric in succession to Reginald. 2. That there was then a chapel of St. Mary which required and was undergoing repair.

We cannot trace any other documentary reference to the "new work" in Savaric's time. But we have some clue to an earlier chapel, which may be the chapel of St. Mary now under repair.

In a charter of bishop Robert of the date of 1136, there is mention of the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which bishop Giso endowed with land in Wotton.

"Dimidium etiam hidam in Wotton cum virgata terrae quam jocundae recordationis Gyso episcopus dedit Capellae Beatae Mariae."<sup>a</sup>

It may be that Giso built this chapel at the time when he was building the cloister and refectory for his canons, on the ground south of the church, where we know a "chapel of St. Mary near the cloister" was standing in Jocelin's time, and afterwards, and is mentioned repeatedly in later documents.

This chapel may have been spared when bishop John pulled down the canonical buildings of his predecessor.

These documents, relating to the years between 1174-1196, bear witness that building was going on at Wells in the latter part of the twelfth century, and in Reginald's episcopate.

There are no fabric rolls of that date, but the charters of gifts and endowments for the sustentation of the fabric and for the completion of work going on, and the acts of confirmation by bishop and chapter contradict the inferences drawn from the language of the Canon of Wells and Godwin, that nothing was done between Robert's and Jocelin's time.

It seems antecedently improbable that Reginald should have left the fabric of his own cathedral church to fall into ruins, or to remain neglected during seventeen years of an active episcopate. It was, as we see, a time of activity and progress in the diocese. The bishop was carrying on Robert's work, "following the footsteps of his predecessors, and led by their example."

He was a vigorous man, a Norman, and might be supposed to have had that love of building which distinguished the race. He was high in favour with the

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 31, "De ordinatione prebendarum."



kings Henry and Richard and John his brother. He had travelled much, and must have seen or known of new buildings rising abroad and at home—in his uncle's diocese of Coutances, and at Canterbury, where the rebuilding after the fire of 1174 was going on throughout his episcopate; in his own diocese—at Bath, where he was the restorer of two churches, the founder and builder of the hospital; at Witham, where St. Hugh was building his first church, and preparing for his greater architectural work at Lincoln; at Glastonbury, where buildings of national interest were going on between 1184 and 1193, under Norman workmen; and he was the consecrator of the first completed part, the chapel of St. Mary.

There would have been sufficient to kindle the ambition of an active ruler to keep up and to beautify the church of one of the seats of his diocese, which his predecessor had begun to rebuild.

But we know now from these documents, and from his own words, that the building of the church was the subject of his care and solicitude. We know that he was promoting the building by a large gift to the fabric fund for his lifetime; that the work was being carried on, and the church was rising and becoming a goodly structure in the land; and that new work and repair of old building were being planned or carried out, to which offerings were made, in the first years of his successor's episcopate.

It is alike against antecedent probability, and against positive evidence, that the church was neglected and falling into ruins between 1174 and 1196.

We turn now to the description of the church in Jocelin's time, as told by the Canon of Wells and Godwin, and compare their statements with contemporary documents.

The Canon of Wells, writing of Jocelin, says: "*Ipsamque Ecclesiam vetustatis ruinis enormiter deformatam prostravit, et a pavimentis erexit dedicavitque.*"

This is the description of a building allowed to fall into shapeless ruin, *enormiter deformatam*, by a century of neglect and decay.

The rebuilding of the whole church is attributed to Jocelin, from pavement to vault, "*prostravit et a pavimentis erexit.*"

We are accustomed to vague descriptions in the accounts of restorations of dilapidated buildings, but it is important to weigh the words used in this case, as they affect the general credibility of the traditions of the church and the date of parts of the present architecture.

When we examine this description more critically, we observe that the same kind of language had been used by the Canon in describing the state of the church at Robert's restoration: "*Multas ruinas ejusdem Ecclesiae (Wellensis) destructionem*



ejus in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit." Again the peculiar expression, "enormiter deformatam," is found in the chapter register of the year 1338, as descriptive of the damage done by the settlement of the central tower. The church is there described as "totaliter confracta et enormiter deformata." So that it is to be remarked that the same words are used to describe the church in ruins in Jocelin's time which had been applied with still stronger emphasis to describe the partial damage caused to part of the nave by the settlement of the tower.

Bishop Godwin enlarges upon the text of the Canon, and describes, with more pretention to exactness, Jocelin's work.

In the English edition he says :

"Moreover, in building he bestowed inestimable summes of money. He built a stately chappell in his pallace at Welles and another at Owky, as also many other edifices in the same houses ; and lastly, the church of Welles itselfe being now ready to fall to the ground, notwithstanding the great cost bestowed upon it by bishop Robert, he pulled downe the greatest part of it, to witte all the west ende, built it anew from the very foundation, and hallowed or dedicated it October 23, 1239. Having continued in his bishopricke 37 yeeres, he died at last November 19, 1242, and was buried in the middle of the quier that he had built under a marble tombe, of late yeeres monsterously defaced."

He varies and amplifies his statement in the Latin editions of 1614-1616 :

"Ecclesiam ipsam Wellensem jamjam collapsuram (quamvis in ejus reparatione ingentes non ita pridem sumptus fecerat Robertus Episcopus) egregie refecit ac restituit, vel potius novam condidit. Nam partem multo maximam, quicquid nimirum presbyterio est ab occidente, demolitus est, ut cum ampliorem tum pulchriorem redderet, structura excitata ex polito lapide affabre insculpto, augustissima et spectatu dignissima. Triennio antequam excederet Ecclesiam jam absolutam dedicavit Octobris vicesimo tertio, 1239."

"Humatus jacet in medio chori a se constructi."

This account of Godwin is somewhat confused. In the English edition he seems to say that the west end was the greatest part which Jocelin pulled down. At another time he says "he pulled down from the west to the presbytery." But under certain variations in detail the language of these two authorities is decisive, that in their view—

- (a.) There was no building going on at Wells in the time between Robert and Jocelin ;
- (b.) That Jocelin pulled down and rebuilt the west end and the greatest part of the church.

We may say, as Archer said of statements by the same authorities on the state of the church in Robert's time: "Unde vero ista hauserunt non constat."

Let us ascend to the earlier authorities.

(a.) In the traditions of fifty or sixty years earlier than the Canon (as given in the *Historia Minor* of bishop Harewell's time, 1367-1386), we have another and a simpler description of Jocelin's work:

Cui successit Jocelinus . . . qui ecclesiam Bathoniensem dedicavit—hic in primo anno consecrationis suae servitium B. M. in ecclesia Wellensi fecit quotidie decantari ipsamque ecclesiam a parte occidentali pro majori parte erexit et eam cum manerio de Wynescombe et advocacione ipsius dotavit—capellas etiam cum cameris de Wellys et Woky nobiliter construxit.

In this description of the building the writer of the fourteenth century at least says nothing about ruins, but fixes upon the western part of the church, and the chapels at Wells and Woky in the bishop's houses, the remains of which are of the same style as the west front, as the new building works by which Jocelin's episcopate was distinguished.

Let us ascend still higher to contemporary documents.

(b.) Jocelin notices the consecration of his work at Wells in two documents. We have no consecration deed—no contemporary historical account of the act of reconsecration by Jocelin, such as the *Historiola* gave of Robert's work in 1148. But the bishop mentions the consecration of the church twice in the introduction and preamble to two charters given to the church about this time.

1. In a charter confirming to the chapter the manor and church of Wynescumb, given "on the morrow of St. Romanus," he says:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit Jocelinus Dei gratia Bathon. episcopus, salutem in Domino.

Noveritis nos in dedicatione ecclesiae nostrae Wellensis quam die Sancti Romani mense Novembris anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1239, in honorem Sancti Andreae Apostolorum mitissimi dedicavimus, dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris in dotem ejusdem ecclesiae nostrae, et decano et capitulo nostro Wellensi manerium de Wynescumbe.

In ejus rei robur et testimonium datum Welliae in crastino Sancti Romani anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1239, et pontificatus nostri anno xxxiv.<sup>a</sup>

No more than the fact of the consecration is here mentioned.

2. Jocelin speaks with more particularity in the preamble to another charter,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 50., iii. f. 53 *in dors.* Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 291.

<sup>b</sup> R. i. f. 51., ii. f. 44, 45, iii. f. 8.

by which, in the last year of his life (1242) he increased the "quotidians," the daily apportionment of the common fund of the canons, and made ampler provision for the maintenance of every member of the cathedral staff:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus praesens scriptum visuris vel auditoris Jocelinus Dei gratia Bathoniensis episcopus salutem in Domino.

Postquam ad episcopatus officium nos promoveri permisit altissimus, omne studium adhibuimus et adhuc adhibemus, ut cultus divini nominis et decus ecclesiae nobis commissae temporibus nostris cumuletur et ampliatur—quicquid ad dispositionem, utilitatem, et ornatum ipsius ecclesiae respiciat semper cogitantes, et ad effectum pro viribus nostris deducere festinantes, *ecclesiam Sancti Andreae Wellensis, quae periculum ruinae patiebatur prae sua vetustate*, cui, Jesu Christo Salvatore nostro permittente, presidemus ipsius auxilium invocantes, *aedificare caepimus et ampliare; in qua de sola sua gratia adeo profecimus quod ipsam divinis precibus et sacris unctionibus, cum altaribus, vasibus, vestimentis et reliquiis ad divinum cultum explendum in eadem devote solempniterque consecravimus*. Et quia ecclesias aedificantibus, non solum de aedificio ipsiusque consecratione cogitandum est verum etiam de ministrantium alimentis . . . . .

Acta in capitulo Wellensi sextodecimo Kal. Nov. anno Incarnationis domini nostri Jesu Christi Mill<sup>o</sup> cc<sup>o</sup>. xlii. (1242) et pontificatus nostri tricesimo septimo.

This charter is sealed by the bishop and the dean, John Sarracenus.

We have traced to its source in Jocelin's own words the tradition passed on to us by the Canon of Wells and Godwin, and adopted from them, that Jocelin was the sole builder of the fabric.

Professor Willis has assumed that "Jocelin himself asserts in one of his statutes that he pulled down the church and rebuilt it."

Do his words justify this assumption? He himself makes no such claim; he recites his share in the completed work of the fabric in a preamble to an ordinance for the better endowment of the church, which was yet to be done, and to which he looks forward as his more special act of grace and benefaction. He does not dwell so much on what had been done as on what remained to be done. He only alludes in the preamble to this past stage of his episcopate work, and passes on to be precise and emphatic on what is the special subject of his charters. He is not even careful to date precisely the day of his consecration of the church;<sup>a</sup> he only

<sup>a</sup> There is a curious variation in the date of the day of consecration. The bishop himself fixes the date as "the day of St. Romanus," and "in the month of November."

Mathew Paris, iii. 638, R. S. names the day of St. Romanus as the day of consecration, but fixes the date as Aug. 9,—"*quinto idus Augusti die scilicet S. Romani*"—i.e. the day of St. Romanus, martyr. The day of St. Romanus, confessor and bishop, archbishop of Rouen, in the Sarum Calendar, is October 23. In the Calendar of the Leofric Missal of the latter part of the tenth century, November 18 is marked as the day of St. Romanus, "*Passio Sancti Romani*."

says it was "mense Novembris," though strictly "the 10 Cal. November," was in the month of October. The words themselves do not demand a fuller or more precise meaning than that he thoroughly repaired, enlarged, and completed the church which he found unfinished, ruinous in parts, and in danger from the effects of a time of neglect. Such an interpretation is in agreement with the evidence already given of continuous work upon the fabric up to the year 1196.

Such partial dilapidation and danger from cessation of work and neglect is probable from the circumstances of the time which had intervened between such a date as 1196 and the recommencement of work under Jocelin.

Let us compare briefly the history of the fabric as far as it is mentioned in contemporary documents, and the chief events of the diocesan history between the last date cited, 1196, and the date of Jocelin's consecration of his church, 1239.

It was about this time that bishop Savaric obtained papal sanction for his ambitious policy of annexing the abbey of Glastonbury to the see of Bath.<sup>a</sup> The abbey appealed. The war with Glastonbury followed; costly missions to Rome, and ruinous litigations drained to Rome the resources of convent and see, and stopped all building, as we know, at Glastonbury, and we may conjecture at Wells.

Savaric himself was an absentee from his diocese. Consecrated in 1192 at Rome, he was abroad, and chancellor of Burgundy to the emperor Henry VI. until late in 1197. Then he came to England, and for the first time after consecration he entered his diocese, but little of his time was spent among his flock. He died August 8, 1205. His erratic career was summed up tersely in lines written after his death—

Hospes erat mundo per mundum semper eundo  
Sic suprema dies sit tibi prima quies.

Though Alexander the dean, Robert of Guildford, and Ralph of Lechlade,

The same day, Nov. 18, is marked in the calendar of the church of Milan as the day of St. Romanus, martyr, of Antioch. There is no mention of St. Romanus in the later Roman Calendar. Did Jocelin consecrate the church on Oct. 23, or Nov. 18? It is an interesting question whether the day of our dedication feast should be October 23, according to the Sarum use, or November 18, following the earlier Ambrosian and Lotharingian Calendars. Godwin assumes that Oct. 23, the day of St. Romanus, bishop and confessor, was the day of consecration—if so, Jocelin, when he wrote "mense Novembris" must have meant the 10th of the kalends of November, an inexact and unusual method of computation.

<sup>a</sup> Adam of Domesday, ii. p. 364, gives the date "VI. Kal. Julii, . . . . m<sup>o</sup>.c.xc.vi." Pontificatus vero Domini Caelestini papae tercii anno sexto.

Jocelin himself as canon, and others of the chapter may have been resident during Savaric's episcopate, it is not likely that the building would have advanced much, if at all, during that time.

Jocelin was consecrated bishop of Bath May 28, 1206. The instruments of his separate election by the two chapters of Bath and Wells are among the chapter manuscripts. They bear witness to his connection with the church of Wells from his earliest years, and his irreproachable character. "Cum in sinu ecclesiæ Wellensis a primo lacte coaluerit et sine querela inter eos conversatus esset." We are familiar with his attestation to documents in Reginald's time, and as a contemporary with Alexander the dean between 1180 and 1209.

He appears to have been also archdeacon of Chichester in 1182 and up to 1205.

There could have been little building going on at Wells at the beginning of Jocelin's episcopate. The political troubles, the interdict upon the kingdom, and Jocelin's exile from 1206 to 1213, when the revenues of the see were seized by the crown, the struggle with Glastonbury until 1219, were causes sufficient to check any building upon the church. Not until after Jocelin's return from exile in 1213,<sup>a</sup> not until after the final concord had been made with Glastonbury, August 11, 1219, could Jocelyn have begun the completion of works left unfinished more than twenty years before, and the repair of older parts which were suffering from longer periods of dilapidation.

The notices of the fabric in contemporary documents for these years are few and scanty, corresponding with such a disastrous condition of things at Wells.

One charter only there is which contains grants to the fabric between the years 1196 and the time of dean Ralph of Lechlade.

A charter of one of the canons, Alexander of Henstridge, contains a grant made to the dean and chapter of St. Andrew of land and money for the purpose of hastening the completion of the fabric.<sup>b</sup> The only internal indications of date are the names of the prebendary of Henstridge, Alexander, and the initial letter R. of the name of the dean at the time.

A series of documents record the grant of Henstridge by the Camville family to form a prebend in the church in Reginald's time, and the initial of the dean's name in this particular charter might have been taken to correspond with Richard Spakeston, dean 1160-80 under Reginald. But a later charter, in which the name of Alexander the canon again occurs, agrees more directly with the date of Ralph

<sup>a</sup> 15 John. May 24, 1213, Jocelin admitted to peace. Rymer, *Foedera*, i. 111, 112.

<sup>b</sup> R. iii. f. 383.



of Lechlade, dean under Jocelin in 1217-20.<sup>a</sup> Alexander the canon gives by this deed for his life the produce of the arable land of the rectorial glebe at Henstridge, half his meadow in Ridgehill and pasture adjacent, and one silver mark from the altarge of Henstridge, to dean Ralph and the chapter of St. Andrew in Wells, for the fabric of the church, "ut fabrica celerius ad optatam consummationem mea sedulitate consurgat." He gives this in lieu of the sum assessed upon his prebend by the chapter; it is to be paid quarterly into the hands of the canons who had charge of the fabric.<sup>b</sup>

We gather from this charter that an assessment had been levied upon the canons for the fabric at this time, that Jocelin had begun to rebuild, and that voluntary offerings over and above the assessment were being made in this instance at least to promote and hasten the work.

The date of building is so far fixed to the years 1217-1220, during which Ralph of Lechlade, long time canon and contemporary with Reginald, was now dean under Jocelin.

Beyond this charter we have very little documentary evidence about the fabric in Jocelin's time, before the year 1239. Fines levied upon any tenant or subject of the bishop under the dean's jurisdiction are to be paid to the fabric under a statute of 1237.<sup>c</sup>

A clause in an early draft of the will of bishop Hugh of Lincoln, brother of Jocelin, dated 1212, when the brothers were in exile, provides for a legacy of 300 marcs to the church of Wells<sup>d</sup>; but the legacy would not have taken effect until after the bishop's death in 1237.

The Close Rolls of Henry III. under the date October 3, 1225, mention a grant from the crown to bishop Jocelin, for the fabric of the church, of five marks annually for twelve years. No mention is made of this grant in the chapter documents.

These are all the notices that have been found making any mention of the fabric in Jocelin's time previously to his own statement of the completion and consecration of the work in 1239.

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 21. Eustachia de Camville, who gives the charter, was wife of Gerard de Camville, 7 John—17 John, and survived him. Vide Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. p. 627.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. instances of assessment for the fabric in later history, in Prof. Willis's *Lecture, Som. Arch. Proc.* vol. xii. part i. p. 23.

The case of bishop Jocelin's levy of one-fifth is referred to as a precedent, in 1248. R. i. f. 69.

<sup>c</sup> R. i. f. 43, *in dors.*

<sup>d</sup> Draft of bishop Hugh's will, R. iii. f. 248, *in dors.*



We can understand how the work taken up after 1219 would go on and increase under favouring circumstances. After the composition with Glastonbury in 1219 the see was enriched by the ceded manors of the abbey. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, brother of bishop Jocelin, was making gifts of manors and advowsons to the see. Other gifts, such as that of Alexander of Henstridge, the crown grant of 1225, the rich legacy of bishop Hugh, falling in in 1237, all were making the see, which had been poor and impoverished between 1196 and 1219, now rich and increased in goods ; and Jocelin was enabled to bring his work of twenty years to completion by consecration in 1239, and then to go on to augment the endowments of the church.

One more document completes the contemporary history of the fabric at the death of Jocelin.

Jocelin died Nov. 19, 1242.

He had ordered that his body should be buried at Wells.

The canons of Wells by a stratagem, which the monks of Bath resented, secured the burial of their bishop in their own church of Wells before they had made known his death to the convent of Bath. Reginald and Robert, and every bishop since John of Tours, had been buried at Bath. But it was fitting that the bishop who had done so great things for Wells should be buried among his own people. The canons gave him burial in the place of honour, as the other bishops had been buried at Bath, before the high altar of the church of St. Andrew.

No arrangements had hitherto been made for the burial ground outside the church ; but now, when the building on the west and south sides was completed, the ground was laid out around the newly-consecrated building, by a statute of chapter passed on July 9, 1243, during the vacancy of the see :<sup>a</sup>

1243. Jul. 9. Die Jovis proxime post translationem beati S. [Thomae] <sup>b</sup> deliberatum est de sepultura Willelmi de Chiue canonici ; statutum est inde ut de caetero canonici residentes sepeliuntur in claustro per ordinem secundum dignitatem ordinis et conditionis—ita quod majores minoribus proponantur [nisi forte sepulturus alibi vel in ecclesia vel extra designaverant in vita sua]<sup>c</sup> et ut incipiat sepultura eorum ad ostium ecclesiae versus austrum, adeo prope sicut fieri poterit, et ut extendet se usque ad angulum claustrum directe—et sic deinceps—cautum est etiam ut nullus laicus vel vicarius sepeliatur inter eos—sed vicarii sepeliuntur in caemeterio versus orientem retro capellam beatae Mariae [et alibi in caemeterio] laici vero in caemeterio versus occidentem et incipiat sepultura eorum juxta huiusmodi ibi plantatos juxta locum illum ubi consuevit esse Hastillaria et sic extendet se versus occidentem—ita quod de caetero nullus laicus sepeliatur

<sup>a</sup> R. iii. f. 363, in dors.

<sup>b</sup> Partially erased.

<sup>c</sup> In a later hand.

ante ostia ecclesiae versus occidentem—maiores autem personae de ecclesia sepeliantur in nave ecclesiae si voluerint ipsi, vel amici eorum. Predicta statuta sunt de canonicis nisi in vita sua de corporibus suis aliter ordinaverunt.<sup>a</sup>

By this the ground plan of the church of Jocelin's time is apparent. The great door of Jocelin's newly-constructed west front opened out on the burial ground, kept inviolate from markets since bishop Robert's order a century before,<sup>b</sup> and now become the lay cemetery. The south-west portal led out to the cloisters, the burial-ground of the canons on the south side of the church. Further east, beyond the east cloister walk, was "the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, near the cloister," round which was the burial-ground of the vicars.

We have now traced in these contemporary documents notices of the fabric, which, though few and scanty, are important, for the purpose of showing the progress of a building with a continuous life growing to completion, though with breaks and stoppages, from the time of Robert's consecration in 1148 to Jocelin's completion and consecration in 1239.

Three periods of building are distinct :—

Robert's work, 1148-1166.

Reginald's work, 1174-1196.

Then, after an interval of about twenty-five years,

Jocelin's work, from 1219 to 1239.

These contemporary documents supply links in the chain of the history of the fabric which have hitherto been wanting. They place in due relation the several workers in the great fabric. They enable us to correct the traditions of later writers, who ascribed all the work to one great benefactor. In the silent attestations to these documents we see the names of Jocelin and his contemporaries, Robert of Guildford, Ralph of Lechlade, Thomas and Peter of Chichester, who had taken part in council with Reginald, living on to be the last workers and finishers of the building under Jocelin which they had seen rising in their earlier days.

Skilled architects may differ as to the parts of the building which belong to Reginald's time, or to his successors, but these documents present a claim that Reginald's share in the work should not be ignored.

High architectural authorities have differed as to the interpretation of the architectural evidence. Judgments have been swayed by deference to the supposed authority of the printed statements of the Canon of Wells and Godwin. It

<sup>a</sup> R. i. f. 61.

<sup>b</sup> Vide R. iii. f. 245.

is time that we were set free from subjection to that authority as decisive in considering the architectural history.

It is evident that the church bears unmistakeable signs of two very different styles of building in the west front and nave. The west front "is built in the fully-developed Early-English style in which Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln are built."

Professor Willis expresses the general judgment that the date of the consecration of the church by Jocelin, in 1239, agrees with "that phase of Early-English work which the architecture of the west front presents, though the sculptures may have been completed long after the tabernacles which received them."<sup>a</sup>

There is a general consent that Jocelin was the builder of the west front. Mr. Irvine, after long and conscientious study of the architecture, has raised a standard of revolt against this general consent, and has boldly asserted that Reginald was the builder of the west front and Jocelin of the nave.<sup>b</sup> But the view that Reginald has anticipated the style of fifty years later in the west front, has been too startling for acceptance. Meanwhile, Mr. Irvine's architectural criticisms deserve the greatest respect, and the contemporary documents support his view that more building was done in Reginald's time than has been supposed or taken into account in the architectural history.

There is more division of opinion as to the date of the building east of the west front.

The church which Jocelin consecrated is generally understood "to take in the nave, the north porch, the transepts, and what is now the choir proper, that is, the three western arches of the eastern limb. It takes in the three towers up to the point where they rise above the roof of the church."<sup>c</sup>

Mr. Freeman says, "The west front, within and without, differs widely in its architectural detail from the arcades of the nave and transepts. The rest of the early work is built in a style which in England is almost peculiar to Somersetshire, South Wales, and the neighbouring counties, and which is much more like French work. It has a good deal of the earlier Romanesque leaven hanging about it ; its mouldings and the clusterings of its pillars are much less free ; the abaci or tops of the capitals are square or octagonal, instead of round ; it makes no use of those detached shafts, often of marble, which are so abundantly found

<sup>a</sup> Lecture reported in *Somerset Archaeological Soc. Proceedings*, vol. xii. part i. p. 18.

<sup>b</sup> *Somerset Archaeological Soc. Proc.* vol. xix. part ii. pp. 13, 14, 23.

<sup>c</sup> *Cathedral Church of Wells*, pp. 75, 76.

in the west front. Now, which of these two, the style of the west front or of the nave is the earlier? The latter is, no doubt, earlier in idea, though this does not absolutely prove that the parts of the church which are built in it are necessarily older in date."<sup>a</sup>

The style of the nave is called a "local and a Somerset style" by Professor Willis; he says: "The character of its architecture is unlike that of any ordinary Early-English building, and deserved to be called the pure Somerset style; it is very beautiful, and did credit to the county, and was manifestly the work of local masons."<sup>b</sup>

Professor Willis tells us that the west front is of later date than the nave, and the western part of the nave is later than the eastern part, the choir, and the north porch; and he enters into detail in his description of differences and breaks in the building. In his lecture at Wells, conducting his audience from east to west in the order of the building, he drew their attention to breaks and stoppages in the work, and signs of differences of construction, which must occur in a building which, in the vicissitudes of centuries, has experienced repairs by different hands. But a general uniformity, broken by regular diversity, is observable in the nave.

He is thus reported in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society*—

"If they examined the spandrils, or open wall-spaces between the sides of the arches down the nave, they would see that three remarkable changes had taken place in the work. The work was commenced, continued, and carried on from east to west in order of time, inasmuch as the stonework in the spandrils improved as it went on, the stones in the spandrils nearest the tower being small and indifferently set as compared with those nearest to the east end. . . . When they got to the west end, they found a change, as if an architect had been then called in who would have his own way and his own style, and that was the common Early-English, and not the (local) Somerset style (of the nave). The two styles were mixed together at their junction in the most complicated way. . . .

The west front was of somewhat later date. He fortified this opinion by explaining how the Somersetshire work abutted against the Early English, and was joined and interlaced with it, and the example of this was the most curious he

<sup>a</sup> *Cath. Ch. of Wells*, pp. 75, 76.

<sup>b</sup> *Som. Arch. Proc.* xii. part i. p. 16. Why it should be called the local or Somerset style, when "it is common to the neighbouring counties and S. Wales, and is like French work," does not appear. The workmen may have come from Normandy and France, and have spread themselves over the opposite counties.

had ever beheld. In some cases the Early English overlapped the Somerset, and was actually superimposed upon previously-erected plinth walls of that style."<sup>a</sup>

If, then, the west front is (according to high authorities) of later date than the nave, and it is the work of Jocelin, finished in 1239, to whom shall we ascribe the rest of the church, which is "unlike any Early-English building, and belongs to a style, on the whole, fifty years earlier ;" a style characterised as "a transitional pointed Norman, an improved Norman worked with considerable lightness and richness, but distinguished from the Early-English by greater massiveness and severity, the style formed in the second half of the twelfth century, which became the fashion in the days of Henry II."

The direct statements of the Canon of Wells and Godwin attribute all to Jocelin. But these statements of writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have not been received without weighty protest, even by those who have accepted them as original authorities. It is well to reproduce architectural opinions formed from the structural evidences of the date of the building in opposition to the general tradition. Britton, writing in 1847, expresses his opinion of the date of the nave—

"Although the whole of the church of Wells is designed and built in the Pointed style of architecture, yet it will readily be seen that from the west end to the third column on each side of the choir there is a regular and nearly symmetrical correspondency in the thickness of the walls and the form of the buttresses ; and that in both respects they partake far more of the massive solidity and heaviness of the Norman character than we are accustomed to meet with in churches constructed in the Pointed system. There is, in fact, such simplicity in all the more ancient parts which include the nave and transept, and the walls of the west part of the choir there, that had not the Canon of Wells so particularly mentioned the restoration of the cathedral by Jocelin of Wells, and bishop Godwin so strongly corroborated his testimony, there could be little hesitation in ascribing it to bishop Robert, and assigning them to the reign of Henry II. (1154—1189)."

That testimony we now can weigh as later tradition : he continues—

"The north porch might still more decidedly be referred to the same period, for it possesses so many characteristics of Norman architecture, that there can be no doubt of its having been erected before the Pointed style had obtained its full ascendancy. The buttresses are flat and plain, and their pinnacles are almost devoid of ornament. The outward arch, though acutely pointed, exhibits amidst its deeply recessed mouldings a twofold series of zigzag or diagonal sculpture,

<sup>a</sup> *Somerset Archaeol. Soc. Proc.* vol. xii. part i. 17.



intermixed with Norman foliage, and the capitals of its banded shafts partake, in their grotesque figures and flowing leaves, of the same character. The panelled front of the surmounting gable also, which consists of six lancet-headed arcades of different heights rising to the weatherings, bespeaks an early age, and even the piercing (to admit light into the roof) of the lower part of the middle panels into three lancet-shaped apertures corresponds with other specimens of the date assumed."

"During whichever episcopacy the earlier parts of the edifice were raised, it is evident that the design was formed at that very point of time when the Pointed style of architecture was first attaining its supremacy over the massive compositions of the Norman builders."

Another writer comments on the difficulty of reconciling "the only known authority for the history of the cathedral," the statement of the Canon of Wells, with the architectural evidence, "which, assigning nothing of the existing church to Robert or Reginald, attributes everything to Jocelin. If internal evidence were with the history or tradition I would not complain, but it is dead against it."<sup>a</sup>

These opinions are borne out by architectural features in the nave and north porch which belong to the transitional style of the latter part of the twelfth century, and by the similarity of architecture in those parts with contemporary buildings of the transitional style. For instance, at Glastonbury the chapel of St. Mary, consecrated by Reginald in 1187, is a dated specimen of the semi-Norman style. Professor Willis<sup>b</sup> remarks on the similarity of details between that building and the north porch of Wells "in the zigzag ornamentation of the later Norman and intricate kind in which straight lines alternate with angles;" the sculptured monsters, and wild imagery on the walls and in panels of the north porch, in the capitals and tympana of the clerestory arches of the easternmost parts of the nave contrast with the more human representations and naturalistic foliage of the capitals in the western arcades of the nave.

With all these evidences of later-twelfth-century work in the eastern parts of the nave and north porch, why has no mention of Reginald as a builder-bishop in the later twelfth century ever been made in the traditions of the church?

Because all the later traditions expressed in the Canon of Wells and Godwin have been followed generally by those who have written on the architecture of the church.

<sup>a</sup> V. Note, part iii. *Wells Cathedral*. Murray, 1861, attributed to Mr. Sharpe.

<sup>b</sup> *Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey*, p. 44.



But now that we have contemporary documentary evidence which enables us to discriminate, it may be pardonable to break away from the ordinary tradition which assigns all the buildings to one great man, and to indulge in some conjecture at least as to the several builders and their work.

Mr. Sharpe may be quoted again :—"Not a word is said about Reginald FitzJoceline's part in the cathedral, but enough is told of his character as a munificent prelate to make it extremely unlikely that he did nothing. My own belief is that he finished the nave, up to the then Norman west front, which he left standing. The history and existing remains of Glastonbury afford collateral evidence of this," which must have been in vigorous progress (though not completed as he says) up to 1193.

With this transitional architecture before us in the north porch and nave, and these documents which speak of buildings going on in the twelfth century, may we not claim that in the nave of Wells we have a remarkable example of transitional architecture intervening between the Norman and the Early-English styles.

We may conjecture with Mr. Sharpe that the general design of the parts east of the west front belonged to Reginald, though the actual work was stopped somewhere in the nave, and the whole has been greatly remodelled in details by successive builders in after years. If, as we are told, all Robert's work has perished, we may see in the three western arches of the choir Robert's work recast by Reginald. If there is one point in the nave where it is allowable to conjecture the great break between Reginald's and Jocelin's work may have taken place, it will be in the part westward of the north porch, the arches of the nave which run on to the west front.

Here, Professor Willis remarks, the masonry improves, here the forms of sculptured foliage and human heads are more free and natural, more characteristic of the later workmen, here he considers that we have the work of a later date. Here it is we may conjecture that Reginald's work stopped; here was the new work to be carried on in 1196; here the work was suspended in 1196, when troubles threatened the church under Savaric, when the war with Glastonbury began. Here may have been for the next three and twenty years, between 1196-1219, the gaping chasm between the unfinished nave and the old Norman front, which, from its age, was showing sign of decay, and was ready to fall, "*pro sua vetustate patiebatur periculum ruinæ.*"

What if Jocelin, after 1219, began to build at the west end, pulling down the old Norman work to the ground, raising up on its ruins the new work in the rich Early-English style of the period, rivalling his brother's work at Lincoln? What

if he then joined it on to the unfinished nave of Reginald, building up the three western arcades of the nave in the earlier style of his predecessor, and uniting here in one glorious whole his own new work with the work of Reginald and of Robert. "Enough glory would still remain to Jocelin in the erection of the west front, and all that naturally accompanies it."

It would have been a noble architectural achievement for the last twenty years of a troubled episcopate.

If he did this and no more than this, it would not be difficult to imagine how the tradition would have grown that he was the builder of the whole church. We can understand how after generations who immediately inherited the benefits of Jocelin's wise legislation and generous benefactions should have cherished the memory of their last builder, as if he was the one and only builder, of the new church.

He was of Wells,<sup>a</sup> his father had lands at Lancherley and round about Wells; his brother was archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards bishop Hugh of Lincoln, and he himself, as chaplain and canon and bishop, had grown up, and lived, and died, and was buried among his own people; his grave and memorial tomb was with them in their church, honoured the more as it was the tomb of the first bishop buried at Wells since the seat of the bishop had been transferred to Bath one hundred and fifty years before. Each generation had before their eyes that part of the church which was Jocelin's undoubted work, gradually rising under the hands of successive builders to the height of its western towers, looking over the burial-place of the dead and the homes of the living. Generation after generation saw the deeply recessed niches, the 600 tabernacles gradually filled with sculptured imagery, telling the whole tale of earth and heaven, of man's fall and resurrection, of the Lord's advent in mercy and in judgment, and of the long roll of saints and worthies of the race, and of their own land.

It was this western face of their church which ever caught their gaze at morning and at noon, and glowing in the evening sunset in the rich materials of Douling stone and blue lias shafts and coloured statuary; and by the time of bishop Bubwith, under whom the north-western tower rose to its full height, the tradition might well have taken root, that Jocelin of Wells, who alone had raised this western front, had rebuilt the whole church, and that as builder, legislator, and benefactor, "there had been none like him before him, neither after him hath any arisen like unto him"<sup>b</sup>—"Qui sibi similem anteriorem non habuit, nec hujusque visus est habere sequentem."

<sup>a</sup> Note on page 20.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Kings iii. 12.

If the fame of bishop Jocelin was gathered up in such a record as this in the century and a-half after his death, it is not surprising that the name and memory of bishop Reginald FitzJocelin and his work should have gradually been confused and obscured before the light of the greater luminary, the last and greatest builder of the fabric and constitution of the church of Wells.

But now with these documents before us we put in a plea that justice shall be done to Reginald among those who have gone before as builders of the church. As Jocelin of Wells, the Englishman, bore the name of his Norman predecessor, Reginald FitzJocelin de Bohun, and carried it on to greater honour, so the church of Jocelin of Wells represents the earlier work of Reginald FitzJocelin, ennobled, finished, and consecrated ; and Reginald deserves to hold the second place of honour between Robert the "author," and Jocelin the "finisher," as one of "the first three" master builders of our holy and beautiful house of St. Andrew in Wells.

# CONTEMPORARIES OF

347

BISHOP REGINALD.	BISHOP SAVARIC.	BISHOP JOCELIN OF WELLS.	
<p><i>Kings:</i> Henry II. 1154, 1189 Henry III. junior, 1170-1183 <i>Pope:</i> Alexander III. 1159</p> <p><i>Archbishops of Canterbury:</i> Richard, 1174</p> <p><i>Dean of Wells:</i> Richard of Spakeston. (Bishop Reginald, Charter ii.)</p> <p><i>Precentors:</i> Reginald. (R. i. 36, 1164) Albert, or Ilbert. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.) William of S. Faith. (R. ii. f. 14)</p> <p><i>Chancellor:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 25)</p> <p><i>Treasurer:</i> William. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Wells: Thomas. (R. i. f. 25; f. 36)</p> <p>Bath: Richard of Poitiers. (R. i. f. 48) Peter of Blois. (<i>Epist. Cantuar.</i>)</p> <p>Taunton:</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> Robert. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. i.)</p> <p><i>Succentor:</i> Galfrid. (R. i. f. 36, 1164)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Jocekin. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. i. ii.) William of Chard. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Walter. (R. i. f. 27)</p>	<p>(b) 1180-1191, Dec. 26.</p> <p><i>Kings:</i> Henry II. July 6, 1189 Richard I.</p> <p><i>Popes:</i> Alexander III. to Sept. 1181 Lucius III. to Nov. 25, 1185 Urban III. to 1187 Gregory VIII. Oct. 20 to Dec. 17, 1187 Clement III. 1187 to 1191 Celestine III. 1191 to 1198</p> <p><i>Archbishops:</i> Richard, to Feb. 1184 Baldwin, to Nov. 1190 Reginald, Nov. 27 to Dec. 26, 1191</p> <p><i>Dean of Wells:</i> Alexander. (R. i. f. 23, et passim; f. 60; f. 61)</p> <p><i>Precentor:</i> William of S. Faith. (R. ii. f. 14)</p> <p><i>Chancellor:</i> Peter de Winton, 1185</p> <p><i>Treasurer:</i> Peter de Winton. (Le Neve F.)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Thomas. (R. i. f. 23) Robert de Goleford, 1185. (R. i. f. 38; iii. f. 357) Ralph de Lechlade. (<i>Ch. Dec. i. 9.</i>) Richard. (R. i. f. 25, and i. f. 48) Peter of Blois. (<i>Ep. Cant.</i>) Godfrid. (R. i. f. 24) Godfrey. (Le Neve F.)</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> Alexander. (<i>Ch. Dec. i. 10.</i>) Thomas. (<i>Ch. Dec. i. 13.</i>)</p> <p><i>Succentor:</i> Adam. (R. i. f. 61)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Jocekin. (R. i. f. 61; f. 23) William. (<i>Ch. Dec. i. 13.</i>) Henry. (<i>Ch. Dec. i. 13.</i>)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Walter</p>	<p>1192-1205.</p> <p><i>Kings:</i> Richard I. 1189-1199 John, 1199-1216</p> <p><i>Popes:</i> Clement III. 1187-1191 Celestine III. 1191-1198 Innocent III. 1198-1216</p> <p><i>Archbishop:</i> Hubert, 1193-1205</p> <p><i>Dean:</i> Alexander. (R. i. f. 23)</p> <p><i>Precentor:</i> William. (R. i. f. 23; f. 57)</p>	<p>1206-1242.</p> <p><i>Kings:</i> John, 1199-1216 Henry III. 1216-1272</p> <p><i>Popes:</i> Innocent III. 1198-1216 Honorius, 1216-1227 Gregory, 1227-1241 Innocent IV. 1243-1254</p> <p><i>Archbishops:</i> Stephen, 1207-1228 Edmund, 1234-1240</p> <p><i>Dean:</i> Alexander (R. i. f. 57), 1209 Leonius, 1213 Ralph de Lechlade (R. i. f. 57, 1216-1220) Peter of Chichester (R. i. f. 27, in d. 1220, 59), 1236 William de Merton (R. i. f. 43), 1236 John Saracenus (R. i. f. 57), 1237-1250</p> <p><i>Precentors:</i> William de Hamme. (R. i. f. 61; f. 57) Thomas de Tornaco, 1213. (R. iii. f. 383)</p> <p><i>Chancellors:</i> Richard de Kenelword, 1235. (R. i. f. 33) Thomas of Retford. (R. i. f. 34; f. 46) 1213. (R. iii. f. 383)</p> <p><i>Treasurers:</i> Peter. (R. i. f. 61) Richard</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Hugh de Welles Ralph de Lechlade William de Wrotham, 1215 Hugh de Wilton William de Bardeneu, 1221. (R. i. f. 44)</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> Thomas. (R. i. f. 57) Lambert. (R. i. f. 27, in d.)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Roger. (R. i. f. 61)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 54)</p>

## APPENDIX A. (p. 5).

## IN CHAPTER DOCUMENTS, 1-7

*Appointment by Louis VII. king of the French, of Reginald, archdeacon of Salisbury, to be abbot of St. Exuperius, Corbeil. Dated Melun, 1164.*

In nomine Sancte et individue Trinitatis, Amen.

Ego Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Nobis honor est, et ecclesiis nostris commodum, quotiens earum curam discretis et honestis committimus viris. Notum itaque fecimus universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod abbatiam Sancti Exuperii<sup>a</sup> de Corbolio, Reginaldo archidiacono Salesberiensis, pro honestate sua, et pro amicorum suorum prece donavimus, habendam et tenendam, sicut frater meus Philippus et ceteri ante eum abbatiam tenuerunt et hoc fecimus salvo jure nostro et canonicorum salva etiam ecclesie dignitate; quod ut ratum sit in posterum scribi [nostra auctoritate] communire precepimus. Actum Miledu[rum incarn]ati M<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>o</sup> Lxiiiij. astantibus in palatio [quorum infra scri]pta sunt nomina et signa.

S' comitis Theobaldi dapiferi nostri.

S' mattei camerarii.

S' Guidonis buticlarii.<sup>b</sup>

S' Constabulario nullo;

Datum per manum Hugonis cancellarii.

<sup>a</sup> St. Exuperius, "a military saint, one of the companions of S. Maurice."

<sup>b</sup> V. Ducange—

*Buticlarus*. idem quod pincerna—

buta = lagena, cupa.

butta = dolium, vas vinarium.

buticula, dim = bouteille —

buticularius Franciae—unus e quatuor majoribus palatii officialibus qui literas et diplomata regia subscribebant.

The document is on a small piece of parchment much worn and torn. The letters within brackets are wanting, and are supplied conjecturally.



APPENDIX B, p. 13.

*Gifts of bishop Reginald to the church of Bath.*

*Vide Registrum Prioratus Bathon., p. 315.*

[R]eginaldus Episcopus hujus loci omnes terras nostras a predecessoribus suis ad opus fabrice Ecclesie nostre diucius detentas devote restituit et que a predecessoribus suis nobis restitute erant affectuosius ab ipso nobis, confirmate sunt. Ecclesiam de Aystona, Ffulconis de Alneto, in usus proprios nobis confirmavit. Ecclesias de Brugges et de Kary et de Radestoke, nichilominus in usus proprios nobis confirmavit. Ecclesiam etiam de Manerio nostro de Fforda in usus proprios nobis confirmavit et proventus ad fabricam Ecclesie nostre assignavit. Oblacionem vero pentecostalem a predecessoribus suis nobis concessam, Ecclesie nostre veluti Matrivi Ecclesie somersetie devotissime confirmavit. Hospitale sancti Johannis in Bathonia, Ecclesie nostre contulit, et de ipso sicuti de propria, elemosinaria nostra nobis disponere concessit. Corpus Beate Eufemie virginis et Martiris<sup>a</sup> ecclesie nostre contulit, et plures reliquias sanctorum cum capsulis eburneis. Albam quoque preciosam auro textam amictum quoque, et Mitram sancti Petri chasecasiensis Ecclesie nostre adquisivit. Cereum vero ardere, ante corpus dominicum, et sanctorum reliquias constituit, et quadraginta solidos ad ca<sup>2</sup> perpetuitatem de Ecclesia de Banewelle, per manus Canonicorum de Briwtone assignavit. Bibliotecam eciam Ecclesie nostre, pluribus libris ditavit. Plura etiam ornamenta Ecclesie nostre contulit scilicet duas Capas preciosas et v meliora et majora pallia. Ecclesiam vero nostram cartis regum de libertatibus, et privilegiis summorum pontificum de dignitatibus sufficienter ditavit. Cujus Anniversarius dies in albis celebretur, et c pauperes reficiantur, et Mensa fratrum copiosius procuretur.

The register of Bath Priory is a manuscript in the library of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, who have kindly allowed this transcript to be made.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*. App. F. p. 280.

## APPENDIX C. (p. 17)

1176—1180.

*Bishop Reginald's charter to the town of Wells, confirming bishop Robert's charter forbidding markets in the church court, and giving free markets to Wells (1135-1166).*

*Carta Domini Reginaldi Episcopi Bathoniensis.*

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit. Rainaldus Divina miseratione Bathon. Episcopus salutem ab auctore salutis.

Ad universitatis vestre notitiam volumus devenire nos cartam Roberti bone memorie Bathon. Episcopi decessoris nostri inspexisse et eam in presenti pagina de verbo ad verbum annotasse

<sup>a</sup> Robertus Dei gratia Episcopus Bathoniensis universis fidelibus tam clericis tam laicis tam Francis quam Anglis salutem et Dei benedictionem.

Postquam divina vocante clementia pontificatus apicem dignitatis conscendimus summa ad hoc animi intentione desudavimus ut Ecclesiæ beati Andree in Wellis regimini nostro commissæ venerationem debitam impenderemus et ab aliis impendi faceremus ; et si que in ea prave essent consuetudines eas a liminibus ejus pulsaremus et honorem ejus et utilitatem quantum in nobis erat amplificaremus.

Nonnullorum autem constat experientie quod tumultus nundinarum que in eadem ecclesia et in atrio ejus hactenus esse consueverunt ad dedecus et incommodum ejusdem ecclesie accedit, cum in ea ministrantibus quam maxime sit importunus quia et eorum devotionem impedit et orationum quietem perturbat. Verum ne contra vocem divinam domum orationis speluncam patiamur esse negotiationis, statuimus et firmiter precipimus ut quicumque illic in tribus festivitibus videlicet in Inventione S. Crucis et in festivitate S. Calixti, et in celebritate beati Andree, negotiaturi convenerint in plateis ville illius negotiationes suas securi et ab omni prava consuetudine et in quietudine libere exerceant, et nullatenus ecclesiam vel atrium ecclesie violare presumant.

Concedimus etiam consilio clericorum nostrorum et constituimus ut omnibus in predictis festivitibus et earum vigiliis quieti de teloneo in perpetuum permaneant. Quod quidem in posterum ratum esse volentes presenti scripto commendamus et sigilli nostri impressione roboramus. Testes : Ivo Decanus Wellensis : Reginaldus precentor : Robertus et Thomas Archidiaconi : Edwardus : Magister Eustachius : Willelmus de sancta fide : Radulfus Martre : Willelmus de Atebera : Petrus de Chiu : Walter Pistor : et alii multi clerici et laici.

Nos igitur venerabilis predicti decessoris nostri vestigiis inherentes, ob reverentiam beati Andree Apostoli et ad petitionem Burgensium nostrorum Wellensium omnes consuetudines et libertates negotiatoribus illic in tribus festivitibus et earum vigiliis venientibus ab eo concessas ratas habentes et in posterum illibatas volumus permanere. Adjicientes ut eisdem libertatibus et

<sup>a</sup> Cf. R. iii. ff. 245, 246.

consuetudinibus in crastino etiam omnium predictarum gaudeant festivitatum; Nobis quidem et successoribus nostris de consensu predictorum Burgensium conductus omnium feldarum medietas in prescriptis nundinis debet in perpetuum remanere.

Que omnia ut rata et intacta in posterum perseverentur presentis scripti testimonio et sigilli nostri appositione duximus confirmandum.

Hiis testibus: Magistro Wilhelmo Thesaurario Well': Roberto Subdecano Well': Magistro Rad. de Lichel: Jocelino Capellano: Wilhelmo de Meleburn: Johanne de Cumb.: Thoma de Dinant: Gaufrido clerico: Magistro Rogero medico: Michaeli clerico: Hugone clerico: Henrico de Armentis: Wilhelmo de Erleg: Philippo de Wika: Ricardo de Ken: Walerando de Wellesley: Wilhelmo de Maulerb': Reginaldo de Wodeford: Eadward de Wellis: Godefr. de Cnoll: Jocelino de Welles: Wilhelmo de Sept: Henrico Bedello. Hugone fabro. Wilhelmo forestar. Rad. Cade. Huberto filio Coci. Alfredo mercatore. Raino Ruffe. Gaufr. Ruffo. Rad. Cusin. Wilhelmo Colo et aliis multis.

Endorsed: Carta dñi Regiñ Ep' Bathon

de tribus nundinis concessis . . .

The silk cord and a fragment of green wax on which is the outline of a bishop's robe and a few letters are attached to the earlier of the two charters.

The seal of the other is in fair preservation (1886); on it is the figure of a bishop in the act of blessing with right hand—a pastoral staff in the left. The legend on it

✠ REGINALDVS DEI GRATIA BATHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS.

Bishop Reginald's charter to the town. Among the charters in the Townhall, Wells.

Carta domini Reginaldi Episcopi Bathon. [A.D. 1174-1180].

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit Reginaldus Dei gratia Bathoniensis Episcopus salutem in domino.

Patrum et predecessorum nostrorum inherentes vestigiis et eorum auctenticis ducti et docti exemplis quod ipsi sua statuerunt industria nos roborandum duximus auctoritate nobis a deo indulta.

Concedimus ergo juxta tenorem carte predecessoris nostri pie memorie Roberti episcopi villam Wellie Burgum esse in perpetuum et eisdem finibus quibus in eadem carta diffinitum est et prescriptum.

Volumus etiam et concedimus ut quilibet intra easdem metas messagium aliquid in presentiam possidens vel in posterum possessurus nomine burgagii liberam habeat commorandi, recedendi, et revertendi, simulque domos suas impignerandi, vendendi, necnon et donandi nisi domibus religiosis licentiam, secundum propriam sue dispositionis voluntatem, reddituum nostrorum integro jure retento, id est de singulis massagiis duodecim denariis annuis.

Volumus preterea si lis aliqua forte dampnosa intra ambitum massagii alicui eorum [emiserit] liberam habeant potestatem ut administrationes concordessint, justitia nostra nullam exigente inde consuetudinem vel emendationem donec Burgenses in justitia defecerint, nisi mortale vulnus vel dampnum corpori perpetuum inflictum fuerit vel etiam nisi aliquis litigantium justicie nostre querimoniam faciat, salva in omnibus justicia regni et dignitate.

Inhibemus etiam ne aliquis in eadem villa pelles crudas vel coria cruda emere presumat nisi fuerit in luna et lagha Burgensium Wellarum.

Huic nostre concessionis et confirmationis testes sunt :

Ricardus Well. decanus.  
Ilbert precentor Well.  
Henricus Exon et Ricardus Bath archidiaconi.  
Robertus Subdecanus.  
Johannes de Cumba.  
Magister Eustachius.  
Godfridus de Hercredeb.  
Willelmus et Jocelinus Capellani.  
Ernisius clericus filius Theobaldi.  
Petrus de Winton.  
Thomas de Dinan Wellensis Canonicus.  
Willelmus Canonicus de Haselburg.  
Adam de Suttone.  
Willelmus de Spinenall.  
Magister Radulphus de Lechelade.  
Gaufridus de Sancto Georgio.  
Robertus filius Hamo.  
Galfridus Giffard.  
Godfridus de Dinre.  
Walerannus.  
Walcelen de Well.  
Gaufridus francus.

The seal and counterseal of the bishop is appended.

APPENDIX D. (pp. 12 and 21).

*Confirmation of the possessions of the church of Bath to bishop Reginald, by pope Alexander III. (Sept. 3, 1159-1181) March 4, 1179.*

R. iii. f. 266, in dorso.

Confirmatio Alexandri venerabili fratri Rainardo Bathoniensis episcopo ejusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum; si omnibus fratribus et coepiscopis nostris cogamur ex ministerio susceptæ amministrationis adesse et apostolicum ipsis patrociniū exhibere, tibi tanto fortius tenemur suffragium apostolicæ defensionis impendere et consideratione tue commissam tibi ecclesiam in sua justitia confovere quanto circa nos et Romanam ecclesiam puriorem devotionem genere comprobaris, eamque nobis certioribus indiciis visus es reddere manifestam.

In hac privilegi confirmatione panis, medo, et capreoli sive porei quæ presentantur in crastino paschæ de Glaston.

Qua propter venerabilis in Christo frater episcopo tuis justis postulationibus clementer annuimus et Bathoniensem ecclesiam cui Deo auctore preesse dinosceris sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscepimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus.

Statuentes ut quascunque possessiones quecunque bona eadem ecclesia in presentiarum juste et canonice possidet aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum, vel principum oblatione fidelium seu aliis justis modis poterit adipisci firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant.

In quibus hæc propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis.

Totam civitatem Bathonie cum omnibus consuetudinibus extra et infra ut liberius habet rex et civitatem aliquam in tota Anglia, cum moneta, cum teloneo, tam in campis quam in silvis, tam in foro quam in pratis et aliis terris insuper nundinas in festivitibus S<sup>ni</sup>. Petri et hidagium quod exigebatur de viginti hidis ad eandem civitatem pertinentibus et omnia placita et leges et justitias et omnes consuetudines omnino et adjutoria et si qua sunt alia quæ Rex Willelmus vel frater ejus Rex Henricus in eadem civitate plenius et liberius habuerunt, quæ ipsi Johanni Episcopo predecessori tuo et successoribus ejus in perpetuum concesserunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt præterea confirmamus, quod manerium de Calveston [Kelston] sit in hundredo Bathonie et in justicia tua sicut prefatus Rex Henricus concessit et confirmavit, parcum etiam et warennam bertonam Hantonam Fordam Clavertonam Lincumban cum molendinis et aliis appendiciis earum in terris aquis pratis pascuis in bosco et plano cum omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus earum eidem civitati adjacentibus et omnia alia ad eandem civitatem pertinentia.

Ecclesiam de Wellis cum universis prebendis suis et ipsum manerium cum Wochi et Westberie cum parco suo cum feodis militum et ffranchelanorum et terris rusticorum ad idem manerium pertinentia cum boscis et planis pratis et pascuis molendinis et vineis aquis et omnibus aliis appendiciis suis.

Ecclesiam de Chyu et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Villam de Yatton cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.



Villam de Banewel et Villam de Cumton cum portu de Radeclive et parte villæ quam habes in Axebrugg ad Banewell pertinente cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Ecclesiam de Ceddre et duas hides in eadem villæ.

Ecclesiam de Evererez et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Terram de Merk que est in Wedmor, quam prefatus Henricus rex predecessori tuo concessit et confirmavit.

Ecclesiam de Kingsbere et ipsum manerium cum hundredo et omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Et Ecclesiam de Cerde et ipsum manerium.

Et Ecclesiam de Hiwis et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in terris pratis pascuis bosco et pasturis.

Ecclesiam de Walenton et ipsum manerium cum Bokelande et ceteris pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Ecclesiam et villam de Lidiard cum hundredo et ceteris pertinentiis et libertatibus.

Ecclesiam et villam de Wivelescumb cum hundredo cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis et Ffidam similiter.

Ecclesiam de Dorkemefeld et ipsum manerium cum socha sacha et tol et theam et infangenethrop cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in bosco plano pratis et pascuis que memoratus Rex Henricus predecessor tuo et ecclesie Bathoniensi reddidit concessit et carta sua confirmavit ejus successor Henricus rex secundus similiter eandem tibi concessit et reddidit cum domibus Winthorne et carta propria confirmavit sicut jus tuum et ecclesia tuæ tenendum in libera et perpetua elemosyna ; feodum etiam de Dinra quod idem rex tibi reddidit et ecclesie tuæ et carta sua confirmavit, quod Henricus de Tille cum ecclesia de Dochemefeld et ipso manerio in curia memorati regis tibi et ecclesie tue quiete clamavit.

Apud Gatinton terram de salinis et ipsas salinas et omnes pertinentes in nova foresta et duas hidas in Cherleton. Præterea duos panes certæ quantitatis et duos barilos medonis certæ mensure et duos capreolos vel duos porcos que annuatim in secunda feria pasche tibi redduntur et ecclesie Wellensi a monasterio Glastoniensi a tempore beati Dunstani ex ipsius institutione.

Præterea de benignitate apostolica tibi duximus indulgendam ut liceat tibi priorem ecclesie tuæ pro manifesta causa depositione digna cum consilio capituli vel aliorum religiosorum virorum a prioratu sine contradictione qualibet amovere.

Ad hec apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut a monasteriis monachorum vel monialium et in ecclesia regularibus que in tuo Episcopatu consistunt, eam decreti de cetero habeas potestatem quam predecessores tui et tu ipse usque ad hoc tempora in eis noscimini rationabiliter habuisse. Prohibemus insuper ut infra (intra) Episcopatum tuum sine assensu et auctoritate tua vel successorum tuorum salvis autenticis scriptis apostolica sedis nullus de novo ecclesiam vel oratorium construendi habeat facultatem.

Si quando vero abbates vel priores aut alii ad tuam jurisdictionem spectantes qui religiosis locis tui Episcopatus precesse noscuntur tibi in his rebelles et inobedientes extiterunt in quibus obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere tenentur, fas tibi sit in eos canonice sententiam promulgare advocatis autem conventualibus seu parochialibus ecclesiis tue jurisdictionis qui non habent in

ipsis ecclesiis quicquid aliud præter jus patronatus easdem ecclesias ordinandi vel in eis quidquam temeritate propria statuendi sine auctoritate et concurrentia tua omnem intercludimus facultatem metropolitano quoque tuo, sine speciali mandato Romani pontificis in eisdem ecclesiis te incon- sulto nisi causam super his ad eum per appellationem deferri contingeret aut apostolicæ legationis obtentu quicquam statuere liceat, vel rite sive manifesta et rationabili causa sententiam pro- mulgare—præsenti etiam scripto tibi duximus indulgendum ut si quando abbates priores vel aliæ personæ que ad tua synoda venire tenentur et precipue que tibi professionem fecerunt ad synoda vocati non venerunt, in eas de auctoritate nostra nisi canonicam excusationem probaverint, animadversionem tibi liceat canonicam exercere.

Illas autem qui super justitiis tuis quas aliquando tibi nolunt exsolvere vel pro alia causa a te duxerunt appellandum appellatione remota liceat tibi compellere, et infra certum et con- venientem terminum quem eis præfixeris appellationem interpositam exequantur vel ad mandatum tuum juxta rigorem juris super his pro quibus appellatum est, tibi satisfactionem exhibeant competentem.

Religiosos vero vel alios ecclesiasticos viros ad tuam ordinationem spectantes si qui te presente sive tua vel te absente sive archidiaconi tui licencia, ordines ab episcopis receperunt alienis infra episcopatum tuum in ordinibus taliter receptis sive tuo vel successorum tuorum assensu ministrare penitus prohibemus. Si qui autem monachi canonici aut alii religiosi viri clerici vel laici in ecclesias tui episcopatus ad præsentationem eorum spectantes earum personis decedentibus intrudere seipsos vel alios sine tua auctoritate presumpserint taliter intrusos dummodo excessus eorum sit publicus et notorius ab eisdem ecclesiis fas tibi sit remove. Et in ipsas si ad mandatum tuum cedere forte noluerint ecclesiasticam sententiam promulgare, præterea benedictiones et professiones abbatum tui episcopatus nec non etiam institutiones et ordinationes ecclesiarum omnes quæ in tuo episcopatu consistunt.

Another page follows with the usual warning and saving clauses.

Then follow the signatures of pope Alexander and the cardinals.

Eighteen cardinals sign.

Datum Laterano, per manum Alberti Sancte Romane Ecclesie Presbiteri Cardinalis et Cancellarii.

IV. Cal. Martis Indictione XI. Incarnationis Dominicæ Anno Millesimo Centesimo lxxviii<sup>o</sup> pontificatus vero domini Alexandri Pape tertii anno vicesimo. (1159-1179.)

## APPENDIX E (p. 22).

*Carta Regis Ricardi de prebendis et terris de novo adquisitis.*

R. iii. f. 13.

Richard by the Grace of God king of England, etc.

Know that we have granted and by this present charter have confirmed to God and the church of Saint Andrew in Wells, and to Reynaud Bishop of Bath and his successors for ever, all donations of churches and other benefices made to him and the aforesaid church as the charters of the givers do testify, viz. :

1. *By the gift of Robert abbot of Glastonbury and the convent there, the church of Pylton and the church of South Brent.*

By a composition between the two ecclesiastical magnates, the bishop and the abbot, whose territories and jurisdictions marched together, two prebends were made by the gift of Pilton, of which the abbot held one, and became a member of the bishop's chapter. By the cession of South Brent, archidiaconal jurisdiction was given to the abbot over seven of the churches of the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury, and was exercised by a special officer, the abbot's archdeacon, exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction.

No longer a prebend. The abbot afterwards gave up the prebend. Pilton became a peculiar in the jurisdiction of the precentor of Wells.

2. *By gift of Richard de Camvilla, the church of Hengestrugg, in perpetuum prae bendam.*

Henstridge, near Wincanton, on the Dorset border, was the gift of Richard de Camvilla, Henry's envoy to Sicily to conduct Joanna, his daughter, to be the wife of William king of Sicily, in 1176. He was present at Richard's coronation, 1189, commanded the English fleet which took Richard on the Crusade, was justiciar of Cyprus, and died at Acre 1191. Gerard, son of Richard, was sheriff of Lincolnshire, and one of the chief opponents of Longchamp the chancellor during the regency in Richard's absence. He confirms the grant of his father, and archbishop Richard (1174-1184) attests it. Charlton Camvill, now Charlton Horethorne, in Somerset, granted to bishop Robert by Richard de Camvilla (*Ad. de Domerham*, i. 298), and Clifton Camville, in Staffordshire, bear witness to the family estates in both counties. Henstridge is a prebend at the present time.

3. *By gift of Oliver de Dynham, the church of Bokelande, in perpetuum prae bendam.*

Buckland Dinham, near Frome, and Corton Dinham, near Sherborne, probably received names from Dinan, in Brittany, the original seat of a family which had lands also in Devon and Cornwall. Hugh de Dinan held under William de Tracy ; also under William de Braosa of the honour of Barnstaple (*Berdestaple*) in Devon. Buckland Dinham is a prebend at the present time.

4. *By gift of William Fitzjohn of Harpetre, the church of Eastharpetre.*

William of Harpetre, one of the family of Lovel of Cary, had before this made restitution to the bishop of his fee of Dynre (Dinder), which his father had taken from bishop Robert. He now added this gift of the church of East Harptre, *in perpetuum praebendam*. East Harptre is a prebend at the present time.

5. *By gift of William Fitzwilliam, the church of Haselbergh, in perpetuum praebendam.*

Haselbury, near Crewkerne, was the scene of the hermit Wulfrie's life and miracles; his cell there was visited by bishop Robert in 1154.<sup>a</sup> Haselbere is a prebend at the present time.

6. *By gift of Hamon of Blakeford, the church of Scanderford, in perpetuum praebendam.*

Blackford in Wedmore or near Wincanton; Scanderford in Essex, now Shalford, is a prebend at the present time.

All these gifts are confirmed by an earlier deed of bishop Reginald,<sup>b</sup> and were given during dean Spakeston's time, between 1174-1180.

7. *By gift of Gerberte de Perci and Matilda Arundel, the church of Compton and the church of Bromfeld.*

Gerbert or Gilbert de Perci gave the church of Childcompton, on the Mendip, "*quantum ad dominum fundi pertinet*," *in perpetuum praebendam*. Matilda de Arundel, his wife, gave the church of Bromfield, on the Quantock range, "*in perpetuum elemosinam*." Childcompton was alienated to Bradenstoke. No longer a prebend.

8. *By gift of Alan de Fornellis, the church of Cudeworth with Cnoll chapel, in perpetuum praebendam.*

Alan de Fornellis (Furneaux), one of Henry's justiciars in 1179, lord of Kilveton, Somerset, held lands in Devon at the time, under the bishop, and under Robert, the king's son. One of the same name was sheriff of Cornwall in Richard's reign. Cudworth is a prebend at the present time.

9. *By gift of James of Montsorel, the church of Wytelakyngton, in praebendam.*

The castle of Montsereau, in Anjou, besieged by Henry of Normandy, afterwards Henry II. in 1151, or the great fortress in the earldom of Leicester, Mount Sorel, we may suppose to be the seat of the family, who now owned Whitelackington, which was Roger Arundel's demesne in 1084 (*vide* Eyton, D. S.). Whitelackington is a prebend at the present time.

Three gifts from Devonshire landowners follow.

10. *By gift of Jocelin de Treminet, the church of Aulescomb, in praebendam.*

Aulescomb, on the south side of the Blackdown hills, near Honiton, "*in Agro Devoniensi et Diocesi Exon.*" No longer a prebend.

<sup>a</sup> Matt. Paris, ii. 203. *Som. Arch. Proc.* vol. xix. part i. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Reginald's *Confirmatio*, R. i. folio 24; R. iii. folio 10.

11. *By gift of Oliver de Traci, the church of Bovey, in praebendam.*

Oliver de Tracy—Traci, near Bayeux, in Normandy—a large landholder in Devon, represented the family of William de Tracy, one of the murderers of St. Thomas. William de Tracy held the honour of Tracy, in Devon, consisting of twenty knight's fees, at the same time.

12. *By gift of Radulf son of Bernard, the church of Holcombe and Lameia, in praebendam.*

Holcombe Regis, in Devon, probably. Lameia does not appear elsewhere. There is a Holcombe in Somerset. Holcome gives name to a prebend at the present time.

13. . . . , *the church of Ceddar.*

The name of the giver of the church of Cheddar is omitted here (R. i. folio 27). About this time the prior and convent of Bradenstoke, in Wiltshire, gave all their rights in the church of Cheddar to Alexander, dean and canon of Wells—witnessed by Walter, prior of Bath; and bishop Reginald gave to the convent of Bradenstoke, with the assent of Alexander, the dean, and the canons, the church of Childecompton, the dean reserving the jurisdiction over it as once a prebendal church (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. folio 209). R. i. f. 27. In 1240 bishop Jocelin confirmed Cheddar to the chapter. R. i. f. 30.

14. *By gift of the sisters Alicia, Christina, and Sara, the church of Tymberscombe, in praebendam.*

Another sister, Cecilia, is mentioned in the bishop's confirmation act: the husbands are named as consenting parties. One, John de Columpstoke (Collumpton), was a Devonshire landowner. Timberscombe is a prebend at the present time.

15. *By gift of Robert de Bolevill, the church of Lydeford, in praebendam.*

One Richard de Bonneville (Bonneville on the Toncques, in Normandy) was holding land at this time in Devon. Robert de Boleville, or Bonneville, made the grant in bishop Robert's time. A suit arose with his brother John, which was arranged in 1187 and impropriation made. West Lydford is no longer a prebend.

16. *By gift of Radulf Wac, the church of Dowlish.*

Dowlishwake, in South Petherton hundred, is not mentioned elsewhere in the register.

One Baldwin Wac (Wake) was present at Richard's coronation, and afterwards one of Richard's hostages in Germany. Dowlishwake, near Ilminster, is the church which preserves the name of the family. Howden, iii. 14, and 233.

17. *By gift of Simon Bozun, the church of Karenton.*

In the register of the priory of Bath, f. 4, the prior and convent grant the vicarage of Carentan to Walter the clerk. Simon Buzun is witness.

Simon Bozun, knight, one of a family of landholders also in Devon, granted Karenton (Carthampton); he retained the appointment for his life to the prebend. It then reverted to the bishop. Carthampton, near Dunster, in West Somerset, or perhaps Carentan, in Cotentin, Normandy, was the original seat of the family. The Bohun family came from near Carentan, where is S. André de Bohun and S. George de Bohun.

18. *By gift of Stephen son of David, a moiety of the church of Waleton.*

19. *By gift of Matilda de Chandos, the church of Stoweia, in perpetuam eleemosinam.*

Maude de Chandos was heiress of Robert de Chandos, who died 1120, the founder of Goldclive, with Isabella, his wife, daughter of Alured de Hispania, Domesday lord of Nether Stowey. Maude married Philip de Colombiers in 1166, who held eleven knights' fees in Devon and Somerset.

20. *By gift of Alured de Punaton, the church of Bereice.*

Alured de Ponsot, or Ponsard, or Punston, lord of South Barrow. One of a group of grants made by Robert of Cary, lord of Lovington, and Nicholas of North Barrow—members of the family of Lovel of Castle Cary.

21. *By gift of Radulf Fitz-William, the church of Werminstere, in praebendam.*

Grant of Warminster, in Wilts, the church of St. Dionysius, by Ralph, son of William (Malet?).

22. *By gift of Galfred Talbot, half a virgate of land at Norham, with all the meadow which he had there, in perpetuam eleemosinam.*

Norham, in North Curry hundred.

23. *By our gift, the manor of North Cory with the church and all its appurtenances.*

The church or manor of North Curry, Wrentich, and West Hache, were grants of crown lands after purchase by the bishop from king Richard, when he was raising money for the needs of the Crusade by sale of lands and offices (R. ii. folio 90). They were bought by the bishop from the crown, and made over by him as a benefaction to augment the common funds of the canons, and formed the largest manorial possession of the chapter. The manor of North Curry included the hundred, and was a great lordship.

At the same time, on the same occasion, and doubtless on the same conditions of heavy payments, bishop Reginald obtained from king Richard charters confirmatory of all the grants and privileges made to the see by his predecessors from William II.'s time.



## APPENDIX F (p. 14).

*Monasticon of Somerset in the time of bishop Reginald.*

(I am indebted to the Right Rev. Bishop Hobhouse for this table).

Name and Order.	Founder.	Date.
<i>Benedictine.</i>		
Glastonbury.	Unknown.	
Bath.	King Osric.	676.
Muchelney.	King Athelstan.	939.
Athelney.	King Alfred.	888.
Dunster. (Cell to Bath.)	William Mohun I.	1080.
<i>Augustinian Canons.</i>		
Bruton.	William Mohun II.	1143.
Taunton.	Giffard and H. de Blois, bishops of Winchester.	temp. Stephen and Henry II.
Keynsham.	Earl of Gloucester.	1167.
Stavordale.	The Barons Lovel of Cary.	12th cent.
Barlinch.	The Say family.	1175.
Woodspring.	The Courteney family.	1210.
<i>Cistercian.</i>		
Cleeve.	De Romarâ, earl of Lincoln.	1188.
<i>Carthusian.</i>		
Witham.	King Henry II.	1174.
Hinton.	Ela Longespée, countess of Salisbury.	1222.
<i>Cluniac.</i>		
Montacute.	Earl of Mortaigne.	1068.
<i>Alien.</i>		
Stoke Courcy	De Courcy family.	temp. Hen. II.
A cell to the Benedictine abbey of Lonley, Normandy.		
<i>Nunneries.</i>		
Mynchin Barrow.	Gournay family.	before 1212.
Mynchin Buckland.	W. de Erlegh.	1166 and 1199.
Canington.	De Courcy family.	c. 1140.
White Hall, Ilchester.	William Denys.	c. 1216.

XX.—*Notes on an Ancient Boat found at Brigg.* By ALFRED ATKINSON, A.M.  
*Inst. C.E.*

---

Read 26 November, 1886.

---

IN the month of April, 1886, during the excavation of a pit at the Brigg gas-works, a most interesting boat, of a very primitive type, was found. The upper edges of the sides were first bared; and, as these differed from the "car wood" or buried trees which are so often found in the neighbourhood, the workmen fortunately made a further examination, instead of chopping up the timber to remove it piecemeal. It was then seen to be a boat, in a very fair state of preservation.

The vessel lay almost at right angles to the old channel of the river Ancholme, the stern being next the stream, and about twenty-five yards away from the water. The place is on the right bank of the river, and some 250 yards below the County Bridge at Brigg. The upper edge of the boat was 2 feet below the surface of the ground at the bow, and 3 feet 7 inches at the stern; the outside of the bottom being at the same places 4 feet 9 inches and 6 feet 11 inches deep.



Fig. 1. SKETCH SHOWING THE POSITION OF THE BOAT.

The vessel rested in and upon the alluvial clay of the Ancholme valley, which had evidently grown around and inside the boat by slow degrees, creeping into and filling every chink and cranny and rift in the wood. This clay in its natural state is moist and soft, and it acts as a wonderful preserver of timber. The wood buried in it is, when first found, so saturated with water that it is almost in a pulpy state; but as it dries it hardens rapidly. Unfortunately, it has, at the same time, a strong tendency to split as the moisture leaves it.

The boat is made out of one huge log of oak, which has been "dug out" or hollowed; the butt or root end of the tree being used for the stern. The length over all is 48 feet 6 inches, and the width originally varied from 4 feet 3 inches at the bows to 4 ft. 6 inches at the stern. The depth outside is 2 feet 8 inches at the bows, and 3 feet 1 inch to 3 feet 4 inches at the stern.

The log appears to have been hewn to an approximately square section, the sides and bottom being flattened. The bows when seen from above are almost semi-circular, and are gradually rounded off into the bottom and sides.

At the stern, where the wood is "end-on of the grain," it is left much thicker than at the sides and bottom; being at the former place about 16 inches through. In each bow there is a hole about 12 inches in diameter. The grain of the wood shows that these are the places where the first great branches of the tree grew. The holes are fitted with plugs, whose ends are rounded off, so as to form a kind of boss. The after-end of the boat has not been made by leaving the solid timber, as in the bows, but by having a separate stern-board or transom fitted. In hollowing the vessel a kind of ridge was left (see fig. 3) at the stern, extending across the bottom and up the sides. This is about 8 inches deep, and 15 inches wide across the floor, diminishing in depth as it approached the top of the boat. In this ridge a square-shaped groove is cut, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width and depth. This groove received the stern-board (fig. 2), which was found a little way from the boat. It is not made of oak, but of some softer wood, and measures 4 feet wide at the top, and 2 feet  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep. The bottom half is rounded off in the manner shown in the drawing. This stern-board is made of two planks,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 inches thick. It was made water-tight by a caulking of moss, which was driven into the groove. The sides of the boat are continued for about 2 feet beyond the stern-board, and are cut obliquely with a slight curve so as to form an overhanging counter; the board itself being perpendicular.

In each gunwale (to use a convenient but not strictly correct term), and abaft the stern-board, two holes are pierced. The first is quite close to the board, the

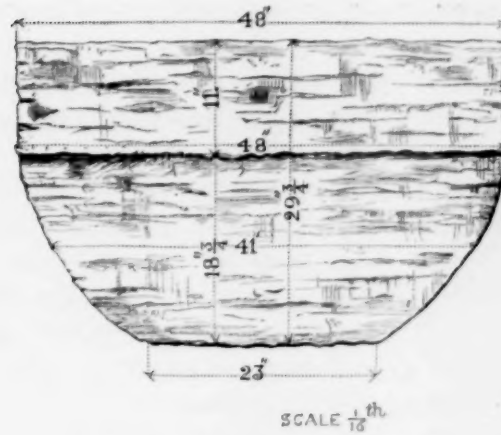


Fig. 2. SKETCH OF STERN-BOARD.

other at the extreme end of the counter. These have evidently been made to receive a lashing or twitch, passing from gunwale to gunwale, to hold the sides of

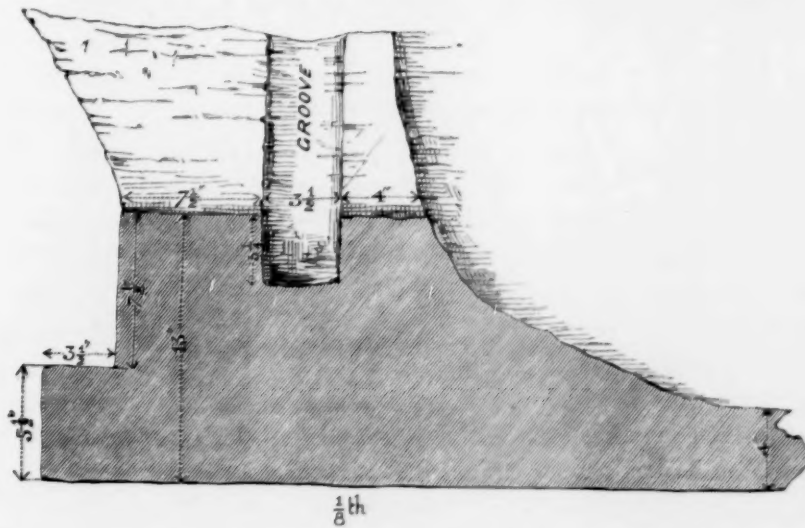


Fig. 3. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF BOTTOM OF BOAT, SHOWING GROOVE FOR STERN-BOARD.

the boat tightly against the edges of the stern-board. There is no evidence of any other mode of fastening. All the length of the boat, and just below the gunwale, holes seem to have been pierced through the sides. These holes are about

2 feet apart, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 inches in diameter. They have possibly been for lashings to hold the sides of the boat together, beams or stretchers being fixed here and there to keep them the proper distance apart. When the boat was first found, such a stretcher extended between the gunwales. It was made of silver birch, with the bark left on.

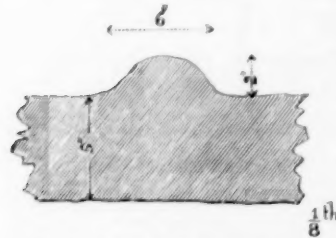


Fig. 4. SECTION OF FLOOR-RIDGE.

In hollowing the boat, three ridges of timber have been left, crossing the boat athwartships. They are about 6 inches wide, and almost half-round in section (fig. 4). These ridges correspond with the floor timbers of a modern craft. In the stern there are shelves or brackets, projecting inboards from each side, about 5 inches below the gunwale. These extend forwards from the stern-board for 6 feet,



SCALE  $\frac{1}{8}$  in.

Fig. 5.  
SECTION OF SHELF AT STERN.

and appear to have been made to carry a kind of after deck. At 4 feet and 7 feet 3 inches from the bow, small brackets have been left on each side. These are about 9 inches long; the first pair are 9 inches below the gunwale, and the second 11 inches. These appear to have carried thwarts or seats. At a distance of 7 feet 3 inches from the bow, there is a hole  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter through the middle of the floor; this was stopped with a plug. A similar hole, 2 inches in diameter, was found near the stern. These may possibly have been used for letting water out when the boat was hauled up from the water. There is no indication of any provision having been made for a mast or rigging. In the bows there is a sort of hollow, which was supposed to have been made for a bowsprit. It is however more probable that it is the result of natural decay, as a bowsprit would not be required in a vessel without sails or rigging. There is a kind of notch in each gunwale near the bows, which may have served the purpose of rowlocks, or they may be places that have been broken out since the boat was disused.

The upper edges of the boat have suffered more from exposure to weather and from accident than the sides and bottom; and the forward part has been more injured than the after end. The bottom of the boat is split quite through in the centre, near the stern; but this may have taken place since the boat was abandoned. In the starboard bilge there is also an extensive rift, which either existed when the vessel was originally made, or took place during the time it

was in use. This crack had been partly repaired by caulking with moss, and partly by patches of oak. The largest of these patches is 5 feet 8 inches long, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide in the middle, tapering almost to a point at each end. It was "let in" from the outside of the boat, so as to leave the surface flush. On the inside of the patch, three cleats or projections have been left, carved out of the solid wood. These cleats are lengthwise of the patch, and are about 12 inches long, and 4 inches deep. In the middle of each cleat a hole has been made. The cleats passed through the split in the side of the boat, projecting on the inside, and wooden pins were then driven through the holes, so as to bear on the firm wood on each side of the rift. The patch was further fastened by being sewed on with a twisted cord, through holes about  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch in diameter, and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches apart. These holes are made round the edge of the patch, and corresponding holes were bored through the side of the boat. The smaller patches were secured entirely by similar lacing, or by small pegs. The cord, when examined under the microscope, shows a structure resembling fibrous tissue, and probably it has been formed of twisted sinews. The mosses used for caulking have been identified as species which grow in woods on sandy soils.\*

The dimensions of the boat are more particularly stated in the following table:—

\* The Rev. H. W. Lett, M.A., of Aghaderg Glebe, co. Down, has examined the moss, and he contributes the following note to the *Scientific Enquirer* for July 1886:—

"The moss which formed the caulking in the pre-historic ship recently brought to light at Brigg consists of portions of two species.

That which is most abundant in the specimen is *Thuidium tamariscinum*. It has a dull appearance, arising from the leaves being covered all over with minute papillæ, or soft superficial glands, and the stem is densely clotted with paraphyllæ, or downy rootlets; both these features are quite distinct and well preserved in the portions examined, which, instead of being green, are brownish. This is one of the most common and beautiful of our *Hypnum*s, or cushion-mosses, and a bank covered with its green branches, which grow out in the manner of a miniature fern, is a lovely sight. It is still much used by the makers of artificial flowers for some purposes of their trade.

The other is *Hypnum triquetrum*, a stout, erect plant, of a bright shining green, that is permanent even when dry. The specimen retains its shining appearance, but the green has been changed to olive by the conditions under which it lay buried in the old craft. This is the moss commonly used for making moss baskets, for which purpose it is sold in the London markets.

The habitats of these mosses are banks in woods, where they may often be found growing together, as doubtless they did when the inhabitants of Lincolnshire plucked their handfuls in days of old to serve the purpose for which oakum is now used."



Distance from bows.		Remarks.	Depth inside.		Width at top outside.		Width at bottom outside.		
Feet.	Inches.		Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	Feet.	Inches.	
2	0	Hole in port bow about 12 inches diameter.							
2	6	Hole in starboard ditto.							
4	0	Brackets for thwart 9 inches below gunwale.							
4	6	_____	2	4	4	3	3	6	
7	3	Hole through floor, amidships, 1½ inches diameter, with plug.							
7	3	Brackets for thwart, 9 inches long, 11 inches below gunwale.							
8	3	Floor-ridge.							
9	0	Beginning of split in starboard bilge.							
10	0	_____	2	4	4	9	3	6	
12	9	Floor-ridge.							
18	9	ditto.							
20	0	_____	—		5	1			
21	0	End of split in starboard bilge.	—		—		3	5	
30	0	_____	2	5	5	7	3	0	
40	0	Shelves or brackets 5 inches below gunwale begins.							
41	6	Hole through floor amidships, about 2½ inches diameter.							
46	3	Centre of groove for stern-board.	{	2	9	5	5	4	6
		Hole through port gunwale close abaft.		3	0				
46	11	Extreme length of bottom.							
47	8	Hole in port gunwale.							
48	6	End of counter — extreme length of boat.							
		Average thickness of sides 2 inches.							
		Ditto bottom 4 inches.							

These dimensions were taken after the boat was removed from the excavation. The widths at the top are probably greater than the original size of the boat, owing to the sides falling outwards. This is clearly the case at the stern, the original size of which can be ascertained from the stern-board. The outside width as shown by the board was 4 feet 6 inches, but it now measures 5 feet 5 inches.

In the bottom of the boat, outside and near the bows, there is a hole apparently left by a dead knot in the wood. This was filled with bladder-wrack, a common seaweed.

By drawing sections of the boat to scale it is found that the smallest circumscribing circle at the stern is 5 feet 4 inches in diameter. Those figures give the minimum dimensions of the oak log; and to them at least 6 inches must be added for sap-wood and bark to find the size of the tree.

Mr. W. Stephenson, of Scarborough (who was one of the first to draw public attention to the discovery of the boat), is an authority on matters relating to trees and timber. He is familiar with all the large trees now growing in England, and says there are none in existence that can compare in size with the enormous tree out of which this boat was constructed. There are trees of larger diameter, but the length of the trunk is much less. Mr. Stephenson believes that the tree was hollow at the heart, and that the hollow extended into the first great lateral branches, which grew about 50 feet above the ground. This accounts for the plugs in the holes in the bows, and for the necessity of having a separate stern-board. Also, probably, for the place in the head of the boat which has been supposed to receive a bowsprit. The natural habit of oak trees is to throw out branches within a few feet of the ground; and it is only when growing in a dense forest, closely surrounded by other trees, that a straight stem shoots up devoid of branches.

It is inconceivable that the constructors of this vessel had the means of felling an oak tree 6 feet in diameter. We must therefore conclude that the tree had completed the term of its natural existence, and had at last fallen through sheer old age. The workmen would find the tree hollowed to their hands, and the work would be finished, perhaps, partly by burning.

The groove in the stern, and the edges of the patches are cut in so clean a manner that metallic rather than stone tools have probably been used. But no vestige of metal was found in or about the boat.

The ground in which the ship was found corresponds exactly with that where the old timber roadway was discovered two years ago, except that the dark bluish alluvial clay is much thicker. The site of the road is 500 yards north-west from the boat. A description of this road, and a section of the ground, are given in the Proceedings of this Society for May 8th., 1884;<sup>a</sup> and also a short sketch of the

<sup>a</sup> 2nd Series, x. 110.

post-glacial geology of the Ancholme valley. The beds passed through in digging are in the following order, beginning at the top:—

- a. Surface soil.
  - b. Peat and forest bed.
  - c. Brown alluvial clay
  - d. Dark blueish grey alluvial clay
  - e. Peat and forest bed.
  - f. Drift.
- } With remains of sedges.

The upper edges of the boat were slightly above the junction of the two clay-beds. Since the discovery of the boat, a further light has been thrown on the formation of these beds. Mr. Edmund Grove, A.M. Inst. C.E., of Saltburn, has kindly made a very careful microscopic investigation of the clays, for the purpose of detecting any diatomaceous remains. After preparing some of the brown clay for examination, he says, he “found the following species of Diatomaceæ very sparingly present. I give the W. Smith nomenclature”—

				No. of specimens observed.
Navicula formosa.	Greg.	-	-	2
„ Jennerii.	W. S.	-	-	1
„ interrupta	Kütz.	-	-	3
Tryblionella marginata.		-	-	2
Nitzschia bilobata.	W. S.	-	-	1 ?
Campylodiscus cribrosus.	W. S.	-	-	2
Coscinodiscus radiatus.		-	-	4
Actinoptychus undulatus.		-	-	7
Auliscus (Eupodiscus, Sm.) sculptus.		-	-	2
Podosira maculata.	W. S.	-	-	4
Melosira (Orthosira, Sm.) marina.		-	-	several short filaments

The above was the total result of many examinations, so that the diatoms are very scarce. Mr. Grove further says, “They are all marine forms, and occurred, with only one or two exceptions, in complete frustules; and, in some cases, two or more complete frustules together. From this, and the fact that I found no fresh-water forms, I conclude that the place was a lagoon or hollow, out of the way of the stream, but accessible to the tide, which washed the diatoms in in a living state. *Auliscus sculptus*, the two specimens of which were perfect frustules,

not water-worn, flourishes in Smyrna sponges, but is found also abundantly in the alluvium of the Thames at Sheerness, and of the Elbe at Cuxhaven." In a sample of the grey clay, Mr. Grove found acicular sponge spicules, but no trace of diatomaceæ.

This investigation shows that the lagoon which the ancient vessel navigated was in open communication with the sea and the Humber. The presence of the sedges indicates however that the water was not very salt. Too much so, probably, for the existence of fresh-water diatoms, and not salt enough for those of marine type to flourish. It would only be high spring tides that could drive salt water so far up the valley, forcing back the fresh water drainage that flowed from the surrounding hills. Mr. Grove's result also indicates that the blue-grey and the brown clay were deposited under very different circumstances, the latter is altogether subsequent to the period when the boat found its long resting-place. The present alluvium or "warp" with which the Humber is now so highly charged is of quite a distinct character from the two clays below the upper peat. Indeed, the bed of the Humber is cut in these clays, and for some distance from that river up the Ancholme valley, the clay is covered with a bed of recent alluvium or warp.

The physical conditions of the Humber itself must, therefore, have been very different in the days of the boat from what they are at present. Long after the old ship was wrecked or abandoned, an elevation of the ground converted the lagoon into dry land, on which an extensive forest grew, decayed and perished. The trunks of enormous oak trees, mixed with the remains of yew, birch, and hazel are frequently found in the upper peat. Another subsidence turned the Level of Ancholme again into a morass, which has been artificially drained within a comparatively recent period.

It has been suggested that this ship may have been made since the Roman occupation. But, on the other hand, the Roman remains are only found in the upper peat, which is of later date than the boat; probably, even the forest which grew over the boat had perished before the Roman period. The existence, a few miles away, of what is doubtless a Roman way across the marsh, tends to prove this.

The Roman roads were essentially military roads; they ran direct from point to point, regardless of villages or local requirements, being made solely for rapid communication. One of the most important ways—the Ermine Street—runs on the west side of the Ancholme valley, and scarcely swerves from a straight line in the thirty miles between Lincoln and the Humber. On the east side of the valley

there was an important Roman station at Caistor. Of course it would be found desirable to provide a means of communication between Caistor and the Ermine Street, but there was the valley and swamp to cross. This difficulty was surmounted, and the remains we find to-day show how it was done. The road was made from Redbourne, on the Ermine Street, towards Caistor, crossing the Ancholme Level in North Kelsey. From the remains it appears that the road or viaduct was formed of rows of oak piles, which carried a platform. Now the important evidence given by this road is the fact that the heads of the piles are found in the upper peat, where they show many signs of decay. The lower portions, which were driven into the clay, are well preserved. The deduction is that the road was made *after* the forest period, and when the Level was again a bog; because oak-trees cannot grow in a swamp, and a forest can be crossed without a timber viaduct. If that be the case, the brown clay was deposited and the forest grew and fell between the time of the boat and the making of the Roman road.

Dug-out boats of more or less rude construction have been found in several places in Great Britain before. The Clyde has been especially rich. Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan, F.S.A. Scot., informs us,<sup>a</sup> that up to 1856 eighteen canoes had been found in or near Glasgow. In 1847, during the widening of the Clyde, twelve more canoes were discovered; and five were found in 1852, one in 1853, and one in 1854, five during 1856 to 1859, and two subsequently. The last was found in 1882 in an imperfect condition, the stern being wanting. The remaining portion measured about 24 feet long, and 3 feet 6 inches at the widest part. Mr. Duncan assumes that it was originally 30 feet long and 5 feet wide at the stern. The next boat in point of size was 14 feet long and 4 feet 1 inch wide; and the smallest was 11 feet 10 inches long and 2 feet wide.

In the historical department of the National Museum at Stockholm there is a similar boat, which was found in the Mosjö (moss-lake) in Nerike. It is 22 feet long, and is stated to be of the stone age.

The ship-building of such skilled workmen as the Romans must have been of a very superior kind to these rude dug-outs. And in Scandinavia naval architecture had made a wonderful advance before the building of the beautiful ship found a year or two ago at Gokstad, in the Sandefjord.

This vessel is very fully and minutely described and illustrated in a book entitled "The Viking-Ship, discovered at Gokstad in Norway; described by N. Nicolaysen," Christiania, Cammermeyer, 1882.

<sup>a</sup> *Trans. Glasgow Archaeol. Soc.* Part II. vol. xi. p. 121

XXI.—*Notes from the Records of the Manor of Bottesford, Lincolnshire.*

*By* EDWARD PEACOCK, *F.S.A.*

---

Read December 2, 1886.

---

BOTTESFORD is a small village in the parts of Lindsey and wapentake of Manley, in the county of Lincoln. The parish before recent alterations consisted of the townships of Bottesford, Ashby, Burringham, Holme, and Yaddlethorpe, and of about half of East Butterwick. The manor of Bottesford extends over the greater part of Bottesford and Yaddlethorpe, and over the whole of that part of East Butterwick that is in Bottesford parish. Except in the case of East Butterwick the boundaries of the townships and the manor are not quite the same. There is a farm in Bottesford and another in Yaddlethorpe that are members of the great manor of Kirton in Lindsey, and on the other hand there were outlying portions of the manor of Bottesford in Brumby, Ashby, Messingham, and other places.

Before the fall of the religious houses the manor of Bottesford had been for a long period in the possession of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem. Its medieval history, though interesting on many accounts, must not be dwelt upon now. In the thirty-seventh year of Henry the Eighth the king sold it, with other property, to Charles Sutton, Esq., who is described as "de villa Cales." It is called the Lordship and Manor of Bottisforth, parcel of the late preceptory or commendatory of Willoughton, in the county of Lincoln, late a priory or hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. The conveyance runs in the usual form, but it is worth mentioning that among other things conveyed were "viginti duos denarios vocatos Warnott rent."\* What this word signifies has not, I believe, been as yet ascertained. Lands called Warenott lands existed in the townships of Northorpe, Spital, Morton and elsewhere in Lindsey, and under the form of Warnutts it is

\* *Patent Roll*, 37 Hen. VIII. m. 17.



said to occur in the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>a</sup> The manor changed hands several times, almost immediately after it fell into the king's hands. In 1547 the lord was Thomas Yorke, Esq. This is the first year of the existing court-rolls. That earlier documents of the same character must have been compiled cannot admit of doubt. That they have been lost or destroyed seems almost certain. The Public Record office, and several other places where it was thought possible that they might have strayed, have been searched for them in vain. The jury of the 29th September, 1547, consists of but eleven persons, all but three of whom bear names which now or very recently have been familiar in the neighbourhood. The ordinary course of business, such as is familiar to students of documents of this kind, was followed; two women were fined for selling beer contrary to assize, and William Yates and Richard Haram were presented because their barns were in want of repair. These people it should be noted were almost certainly freehold tenants. It was ordered that no inhabitant of the manor should dig beates in the common moors or pastures, except by the consent of all the inhabitants of "Bottysford & Yadythorpe," under a penalty of three shillings and four pence. Beat in our dialect means a bundle of flax or hemp,<sup>b</sup> it appears here to signify what, before the commons were enclosed, used to be called bags, that is the upper portion of the peat, consisting of true peat intermixed with roots of grass.

At the court held on the . . . day of May in the same year the business was of a similar character, William Morley was fined for assaulting and wounding Grace Howden three shillings and four pence, and it was reported that one hen value ij<sup>d</sup> had come as a stray into the manor. It was ordered that Thomas Robynson should not keep sheep or cattle within the common pasture under pain of xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>.

The meaning of this entry is by no means obvious. Thomas Robynson must have been a tenant of the manor, or he would not have been in a position to incur a fine. If he were a tenant, unless his sheep and cattle were suffering from some noxious disease, it is not clear to me by what right or custom his stock could be excluded from the common pasture. The next entry induces me to believe that there was either murrain in the manor or great dread thereof, for it was ordered under a like penalty that no one should make ingress and egress with their animals into the common pasture. It was further ordered that the sewers and

<sup>a</sup> Norden's *Survey of the Manor of Kirton in Lindsey*, MS. Pub. Lib. Camb. Ff. 4, 30, foll. 48b, 25b, 49b, 64b, 66b. *Valor Eccl.* iv. 133 i. 137 ii. *The Antiquary*, vol. xii. 207 ii.

<sup>b</sup> Arthur Young, *Linc. Agriculture*, 1799, p. 159.

banks were to be well scoured "*bene escurata*" before the feast of Pentecost, and that all persons were to make sufficient pig-sties, and keep their pigs therein from sunset until eight o'clock in the morning, and that no one should turn his pigs into the sown field until the end of autumn; no one to put mares having foals in the sown field; no one to cut for purposes of sale "*trifodia vocato vppergraftes*" in the moor.

1548. The next court was held on the thirteenth of October, 1548, and Richard Stocks was presented because he permitted his geese to go in the sown field. Orders were made that every one within the manor should fill up "*le ffyrre holes*" before the feast of SS. Simon and Jude next following, and that all persons should well and sufficiently scour "*le watterlotte*" before the feast of All Saints. The "*ffyrre holes*" were the pits which were dug in the peat-moss for the purpose of procuring the buried fir timber and roots which were and are still to be found there. The timber, much of which was sound and strong, was used for gate-posts and the roofs of buildings, the roots for fuel. A waterlot is such portion of a drain as one person is bound by custom to keep in order. These waterlots were abolished here by the enclosure at the end of the last century, but many drains in the immediate neighbourhood are still cleansed in this most inconvenient manner.

1549, the third of May, it was presented that William Reder was a receiver of stolen goods, and that William Robinson had committed a petty theft, and that William Raunald had demised certain lands by indenture which were held of the lord by copy, therefore the lands are forfeited to the lord.

1550. At the court held on the seventeenth of April, 1550, Robert Cooke was fined three shillings and four pence because he had permitted his pigs to root up the common pasture, and two men smaller sums for fighting. It was ordered that no one should turn pigs into the common pasture unless they were sufficiently ringed, nor his sheep into another pasture called the Marsh unless they had a mark <sup>a</sup> to distinguish them. The marsh here spoken of was not boggy land, but, on the contrary, the highest part of the common. It is the Anglo-Saxon *meare*, a sign, boundary or limit, and signifies the strip of land, on the extreme

<sup>a</sup> When the commons were unenclosed, it was necessary for every one who had a right of pasture to have a sheep-mark that could be easily distinguished from those of his neighbours. A letter written by archbishop Cranmer, probably in 1534, shews that these marks were sometimes used for other purposes. He says, "Touching my commission to take oaths of the king's subjects for his highness' succession, I am by your last letters well instructed, saving that I know not how I shall order them that cannot subscribe in writing: hitherto I have caused one of my secretaries to

south of the common, which separated the manor of Bottesford from Messingham. It was also enjoined that no one should keep geese in the sown field after the feast of the Ascension, or put nets or "le lepes"<sup>a</sup> into the common sewer called the "insowlynge"<sup>b</sup> in the day-time.

1551. 3rd April. Orders were made, that no one should glean ears of barley or peas in the autumn until such time as the crop was removed, nor cut grass in the meadow called the "maune medowe." The grass on this meadow was evidently held in common, and when made into hay must have been divided among the several tenants of the manor. If green grass for cattle-food were required during the summer, it had to be obtained from the "head lands" and "banks," or other lands held in severalty. It was further enjoined, that no one was to permit a foal to follow his plough in the sown field; and that all persons were to make good their "burcelles"<sup>c</sup> and fences between themselves and the common field before the feast of the Ascension.

1552. 25 April. Among the orders this year occur, that no one shall permit his oxen (*boves*) to go untethered in the sown field: "Quod nullus le stopup le headlandes sed scinebant vicinos suos habere viam quod necesse fuerit." This entry is interesting from the curious mixture of languages which it presents; it is also important, because it shows that the freehold and copyhold rights of the tenants were of a limited character. The land in the manor of Bottesford was cultivated in very narrow strips; some of these, but by no means the whole of them, abutted on a highway. Those that did not could never be reached by their owners, except by going on their neighbours' head-lands.

1554. 25 October. Richard Cave was fined sixpence because he put hemp into the common sewer. Almost every landowner in this and the adjoining subscr[ib]e for such persons, and made them to write their shepe mark, or some other mark as they can . . . . scribble. Now I would know, whether I shall, instead of subscription, take their seals."—Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings* (Parker Soc.) 291.

<sup>a</sup> A leap or lepe is a long wicker basket employed for catching eels; the word is still in use. At the sessions held at Northallerton, July 12, 1610, Charles Adamson, of Normanby, was presented "for fishing contynually with leape and ell nettes." *North Riding Quarter Sessions Records*, vol. i. p. 197, where there is a learned note on the word by the editor, Rev. J. C. Atkinson.

<sup>b</sup> The outfall of a ditch or drain, sometimes the drain itself. See the author's *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, sub voce.

<sup>c</sup> The meaning of this word is by no means clear. I have never met with it except here, in the court-rolls of the manor of Little Carlton in this county, wherein it occurs three or four times, e. g. in 1603, an order was made that "we do lay in payne that Thomas Overton shall make his bursell sufficient betwixt Edward Barker and himself, betwixt this and the feast of Saint Andrewe next ensuing in peane of x<sup>s</sup>."

manors had a "hemp dyke" of his own, in which to steep the hemp and flax which he grew, for the purpose of making sheets, sacks, and cordage. To steep hemp in the common sewer was no light offence; for it killed the fish, and made the water unfit for cattle to drink.

1562. 27 May. At this court the jury consisted of fourteen persons. A series of orders were made which, for the most part, only reproduce those already quoted; one is worth mentioning. It prohibits any of the inhabitants of the manor digging "le bassokes," for the purpose of taking them out of the manor. The offence was a grave one; so the fine was three shillings and four pence. A bassock was a thick peat-sod used for fuel. The word is now obsolete here; but I have conversed with persons to whom it was familiar.

1563. 12 April. The jury at this court consisted of eight persons only. John Seabank and eight others were fined four pence each for cutting and carrying away trees from the lord's wood. The tenants had, probably, the right of gathering sticks in the wood; and it may safely be presumed that they could take, under the supervision of the lord's forester, what they needed for houseboot, ploughboot, gateboot, and fenceboot. These nine persons, we should gather, had taken timber for some unlawful purpose, or felled the trees at an improper time of the year. Some portion of this wood was remaining until about a century ago. In title-deeds and surveys it is commonly called "Temple-wood." The site of the eastermost portion is still called "the wood-close." Further orders are made as to digging turves: none are to be dug beyond "le southe gate." No one is to go "cum auriga vocata a shod wayne or cart sub le hebbels."

At the court held on the 7th of October this yeare, Thomas Whyttyngnam of Eastbutterwyke was fined iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> because "posuit canes super pecora in moris de Bottysford." It was also ordered, that every one who had sufficient fuel should prepare for himself three cart-loads before the feast of Saint Martin on pain of a fine of vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.

1565. 26 June. An order was issued, under a penalty of ten shillings, that "le kuckstowle" should be made for this manor for "le scolders" before the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel.

1566. 2nd October. Richard Buggyns and John Blacken were fined iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> each, for an assault on Richard Tyrwhit, from whom they drew blood. Thomas Yates was fined v shillings because he took in other persons' sheep. This was a grave offence, with which the manor courts had to deal severely. The taking "to gist," as it was called, "foreign" cattle, was a great wrong to all the per-

\* Probably a wooden bridge. See Atkinson, *Cleveland Gloss.* sub voce Hebble.

sons who had rights upon the common, as these "foreign" animals consumed the food which was the joint property of all the tenants of the manor. Richard Dawber was fined *iiij<sup>d</sup>* because he did not shut up his pigs in their sty at night.

1567. 21 April. No farmer to keep more than three geese beside the gander after Sexagesima, on pain of a fine of *iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>*. No labourer to keep more than two geese and a gander, fine *iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>*. Richard ffreman and Henry Hill to remove the dung belonging to them which lies in the highway on pain of a like fine. Richard ffreman to remove his hedge at the south part of his house "ad le old Rootes" before the feast of Saint Martin, on pain of a like fine.

1568. 4 May. William Emonson fined *xij<sup>d</sup>* because "*dedit illicita verba Johanni Whelewryht.*" Thomas Bingham find *iiij<sup>s</sup>* because he made "inchase and outhase infra dominicum istud."

1569. 25 January. Robert Chapman fined *xij<sup>d</sup>* "*quia vxor eius dyd drye hempe in a fyer Chymney.*" Nearly every Lincolnshire manor the records of which I have been permitted to examine contains entries of this kind.<sup>a</sup> Hemp and its refuse, the bark, or husk, are very inflammable substances, and fires must often have originated from the careless practice of "breaking" and drying hemp in the large open chimneys.

John Healy was fined the large sum of *xl<sup>s</sup>* because he kept two hundred sheep within the lordship, and was not an inhabitant thereof.

22 April. Richard Browne fined *xij<sup>d</sup>* because "*hospitauit vagabundo.*"

4 October. Robert Williamson fined *xij<sup>d</sup>* "*quia puplicauit consilium Juratorum.*"

1570. 24 September. A common way and a common hyrsell<sup>b</sup> ordered to be made on the north and east sides of Bottesford wood for the convenience of the lord and his tenants.

1571. 7 October. Robert Rowbotham and John Cooke fined *ij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>* and *viiij<sup>d</sup>* respectively, because they permitted the servants of other persons to be in their houses contrary to the form of the statute. In the margin is written "*Ludebant apud cartas pictas.*" William Smythe fined *iiij<sup>d</sup>* because "*custodiuit canem malum, vocatum Anglice a vnlawfull dogge.*" George Harryson, Agnes his wife, and Hamo his son fined *v<sup>s</sup>* for being "*pety bryberes de anseris et aliis bonis.*" The meaning of this entry is not clear. The most probable interpretation seems to be, that these persons had committed a trespass with the geese, or broken a by-law concerning them, and that, when discovered, they had endeavoured to bribe some one, probably an official person, to keep the matter secret.

1572. 23 May. Robert Leake fined *x<sup>s</sup>* because he keeps in his house an artificer, called a "cordwayner." John Farray fined *vj<sup>d</sup>* because he had made a

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVI. p. 382.

<sup>b</sup> Probably a foot-path.



dunghill in the highway, and ij<sup>a</sup> because he had infected the water by putting skins into it.

At this court we have for the first time a series of orders made in English. I give them without abridgment :

Ordinatus est quod no cartes nor waynes of Messingham load turves vpon the highe mowre yate except they by them eyther of the towne of Bottisford or Yaddlethorpe vpon payne of euery cart or wayne offendynge contrary to this payne shall be in misericordiam iij<sup>a</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

Item that euery person that will carie ther swyne to the commons shall rynge them vpon payne of euery swine vnrynged after Trenitie Sunday sub pena quilibet porcis defect in misericordia xij<sup>d</sup>

Item that no man offend in gravinge of turves vpon or within the Bottes<sup>a</sup> but that they shalbe in misericordia xl<sup>a</sup>

Item that none grave turues not aboue ffortie thowsand in one yere vpon payne of euery default xx<sup>a</sup>

And also that none shall signe<sup>b</sup> any of ther turuegraftes afore they be graven but after they have graven them they may sell them.

Item that no cotiger that kepes a draught<sup>c</sup> in somer and not aible to kepe the said drawight in wynter do cari any turues forth to any other townes in somer shalbe in misericordia xx<sup>a</sup>

Provided all wayes that yf the towne of Yaddelthorpe bracke any of the paynes aforesaid that then the Inhabitauntes of Bottisford to be at libertie.

1573. 7 April. Richard Harrison fined iij<sup>a</sup> ij<sup>d</sup> "quia cepit stickes from hedges at divers tymes." Robert Williamson, "for plowinge away of dike daille meare, iij iij<sup>d</sup>. The dale here spoken of was one of many divisions of land so called in this and the adjoining manors; they were not vallies, but divisions of land in the open fields.<sup>d</sup> Catherine Chapman, vj<sup>d</sup> for not having a "swinstye," that is a pig-sty. Richard Henrison and William Aliston, alias ffoxe ij<sup>a</sup> "quia cepit certayne horsse shosse oute of [the] shope of henry Page." It was ordered at this court that "noman shall fell no common braycons vnto suche tyme as the cargraves appoint a tyme, in payne of every default xij<sup>d</sup>." Brackens were required for bedding for cattle, and, as there was not much land on the wastes of the manor where they grew, it was necessary to be careful of them.

1574. 17 June. The jurors say upon their oaths "that Oliver Bowton carried thre stray sheppe from Yaddlethorge to Kyrton this laste yere." Also

<sup>a</sup> Butts for archery.

<sup>b</sup> Assign.

<sup>c</sup> Draught of oxen.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the writer's *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, sub voce.



the said jury sayeth "that at mayday laste paste Richard Browen carryed thre stray gesse from Yaddlethorpe to Kyrton, [and] that Robert Atkynson caried thre stray horssees from Yadlethorpe to Kyrton." These entries are curious as shewing the confusion that was caused by small detached pieces of one manor lying within the confines of another. Nearly the whole of Yaddlethorpe is in the manor of Bottesford, but one small farm was a member of the royal manor of Kirton in Lindsey. Constant disputes between the rival authorities seem to have resulted from this unfortunate arrangement, which however is of immemorial antiquity, as certain lands in Yaddlethorpe are mentioned in *Domesday* as a part of the manor of Kirton.

At this court it was ordained "that euery person that gethers peason<sup>a</sup> withoute the lycens of ye husbandman shall be amerced for every time xij<sup>d</sup>."

18 October. It was ordered that every cottager should have four loads of turves called "eldynge"<sup>b</sup> before the feast of Saint Andrew under the pain of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>. This entry is curious, but the object of the order and the heavy fine that was threatened is clear. If a cottager was not provided with materials for his winter fires he and his family would have perished with cold, unless they were relieved by or stole from their more provident neighbours. The authorities had no doubt discovered that some of the people after whom it was their duty to look never called to mind that winter would come again when the days were bright and the sun warm.

1576. 3 May. Widow Walker fined iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> for "breakinge hemp & lyne in her firehouse." Widow ffowler a similar fine for "brakinge de hemp et lynne in her oven."

Wheras the wyffe of Xpofer Crayne slaundered the wyffe of Richard Dawber for a roylle of lynne cloth, we say that Dawbers wyffe is a verie onest woman and withoute blame in that matter and we amerce Xpofer Crayne for the yll vsage of his said wyffe iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Item we lye in payne that euery woman that is a scould shall eyther be sett vpon the cuckstoll & and be thrise ducked in the water or else ther husbandes to be amerced vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> as well the one partie as the others

---

<sup>a</sup> Peas.

<sup>b</sup> The word elding, though nearly obsolete, is still in use to indicate small sticks used for lighting fires. The proverbial saying when something quite worthless is spoken of, that "it is neither good for hedge-stake nor elding," will perhaps hinder it from falling into complete disuse. The word occurs in Scotland. Sir Walter Scott makes Willie of Westburnflat say, "Mony thanks to ye . . . . for collecting sae muckle winter eilding for us." *Black Dwarf*, chap. ix. Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, vol. xi, p. 454. Atkinson's *Cleveland Glossary*, sub voce.

1577. 29 April. Ordered that no one keep cattle or "bestes" in the pasture unless he lives within the lordship, penalty xx<sup>s</sup>.

30 September. A woman named Hill fined xiiij<sup>d</sup> because she had not sufficiently repaired her house "cum thacke and mortar."

1578. 28 March. Further orders were made at this court.

Item that euery man that hathe begune a pytte shall grave it vp in order in payne of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

This relates to digging turves. The upper peat was the best for fuel, because it was less clogged with water, and therefore sooner became dry. It was no uncommon custom for selfish persons to engross several turf pits, only taking the upper "draws" from each.

Item that no manner of person nor persons shall grave neare any cawsye by xx<sup>ti</sup> fott of eyther syde in payne of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

The object of this order was to preserve the "causies" from being disturbed by the peat on which they were made settling into the holes made by the turf diggers. There was also another good reason. These "causies" did not run straight like a modern road, but twisted about so as always to be on the highest land. The holes where turves had been dug were full of water in winter, and would have been highly dangerous for travellers by night, had they been close upon what was in fact, though perhaps not in law, a highway.

Item that euery man have a sufficient swyne cote before mayday next in payne of iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

Item that euery man shall mak his hedges sufficient betwixt this and mayday next in payne of xij<sup>d</sup>

Item that none shall gleane in herueste but fower landes of from any stowekes<sup>a</sup> in payne of xij<sup>d</sup>

Item that none shall kepe any diseased horses or mares goinge of the common pastures in payne of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Item that none shall grave any sodes or turves nor bassockes<sup>b</sup> of the Sowthe Easte syde the grene gaitte and abuttinge of the Southe West of grene howe<sup>c</sup> in pena vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> A stook or stowk is ten sheaves of corn set with their heads together in a slanting position, for the purpose of drying, preparatory to their being stacked. The word is still in common use.

<sup>b</sup> A thick grassy sod.

<sup>c</sup> Greenhoe is a sandhill near the middle of the moors. A farmhouse is now built thereon, which is commonly known as Yaddlethorpe Grange.

16 October.

It is laid in payne that Robert Waplay, vxor Walker, Peter Smythe, Xpofer Craven, John ffarra, & Stephayne Tupman shall euery of them repaire their houses before candlemas next in payne of euery one found faltie to forfeit to the Lord iiij<sup>s</sup>

It is almost, if not quite, certain that most of these persons were freehold tenants, not copyholders.

1579. 1 April.

It is layd in payne yt no cottager in the towne nor in ye thorpe<sup>a</sup> shal kepe no catel vpon the lordes commones after ye lords officer haue gyne him warning but euery [one] so doing to forfeit vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

Item that no cotiger kepe at any tyme within this Lordshippe above tenne sheppe vpon payne of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

Item that everie husbandman within this Lordshippe to sett euery year vj willowes & euery cotiger iij and to preserue them from cattell, in doinge the contrary euery husbandman to forfayte xij<sup>d</sup> and every cotiger vj<sup>d</sup>

1580. 8 April. Several persons were fined small sums for appropriating "bottelles" of furze.

Imprimis we lye it in payne y<sup>t</sup> no man lode anye countrie wayne after sonne set, or afore sonne ryse in ye morninge, in euery on so taken ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

A "country wayne," probably, means a waggon belonging to someone who was not a tenant of the manor.

Item we lye in payne y<sup>t</sup> vidua Rowbotham repaire y<sup>e</sup> Nether howse before Lammas day next comeing in payne of xx<sup>s</sup>

1581. 5 October. John Bramley fined xx<sup>d</sup> for not sufficiently making and repairing his hedges and "burcelles." Nicholas Nedam fined vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> because he "graved vpp the cawsie."

1585. 18 May. Anthony Cartwright fined xij<sup>d</sup> "quia non pitt le carion ad nocumentum vicinorum."

6 October. Orders were made—

That euery man scower his watercourses or dreans before St. Lukes day next in payne of euery default iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> i. e. Yaddlethorpe.

Item that euerye chimney be sufficiently made and repayred before St Andrewes day  
sub pena . . . . . iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Item that William Balderston make a sufficient covering for his well before Saturday  
next sub pœna iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Item that no man kepe any vndertenant in Bottesford and Yaddethorpe that be nowe  
dwelling there after Candlemas next in payne of euery default xx<sup>s</sup>

1586. 12 April. Several persons were fined twenty shillings each for keeping  
undertenants in newly-built houses. It was ordered that—

euerye man make his lotte in the lane after the woode syde before thursday next sub  
pena . . . . . xij<sup>d</sup>

That is, everyone was to do his share in the repair of this road; which, from a  
former entry already quoted, seems to have been a new one.

Item that Hawcliffe dike be made before thursday next sub pena . . . . . xij<sup>d</sup>

Item yt is ordeyned that Thomas dawber shall make sufficient againe the out shotte which  
he hath taken downe before the next court sub pena xx<sup>s</sup>

1587. 9 October. James Stephen was fined xij<sup>d</sup> for taking fish "in le becke,"  
without the lord's licence.

1589. 6 October. Robert Kirke fined vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> "for wayning over the Beck  
banke contra ordinationem to the great decay of the water walls."

1590. 5th October, James Burkill fined x<sup>s</sup> for keeping three scabbed horses  
on the common. Richard Manewell fined xij<sup>d</sup> because his wife and boy carried  
away "le elding" belonging to other people. William Burley was fined iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>  
"quia non habuit le elding pro hieme." This entry is remarkably interesting, as  
showing that the authorities exerted themselves for the good of the various house-  
holds when the head thereof was idle or careless.

1591. 10 May. Margaret Bowyer, widow, lady of the manor. William  
Elvylsh fined iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> for "dogging beast" in the common pasture.

8 October. Marmaduke Tirwhitt, lord of the manor. Walter Emerson fined  
iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> because he had dug three turf pits at the same time. Robert Whaplott  
was fined viij<sup>d</sup> "quia non posuit porcos ad le swineherde."

1594. 26 April.

It is laide in payne by the Jurie aforesaid that euery housholder within this lordship shall  
yearlie provide sufficient elding and fewell for wynter in payne of every one making  
default iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

1595. 17 October. Thomas Vrrie and William Shaw, lords of the manor.

1601. 12 April. Thomas Vrrie gentleman, one of the lords of the manor,  
fined xij<sup>d</sup> for not cleaning out a drain, "vnum le drean," on the east side of the  
orchard. This ditch can still be identified, as the orchard yet exists. It is curious

to find one of the lords of the manor fined by his court, as it has been generally assumed that the manor courts had no such power. There is evidence that in at least one other Lincolnshire manor the lord was threatened with a fine. In the court roll of Little Carlton of 1603, of which Charles Cooke was lord, occurs the following passage: "Item we do lay in payne that M<sup>r</sup> Cooke shall apoynte vs a place to sett our common fould on with sufficient wood for to make yt betwixt this and martynmas next in payne of v<sup>li</sup>." In this case we feel fully assured that legal proof could be given that the M<sup>r</sup> Cooke threatened with this heavy fine was identical with Charles Cooke the lord.

1602. October 15. Thomas Vrry and John Shawe, lords of the manor.

1603. 14 October. George Roger was fined xij<sup>d</sup> "for keping a decayed chimney and laying thinges near the same." Cuthbert graunger xij<sup>d</sup> "for digging fur stockes vnder Wymehowe hill."

It is layd in paine that none shall sell anie bassacks except to there owne neighbors and not out of the towne in payne of euery defalt for euery burthen vj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>

1606. 13 October. It was ordered—

that none shall take eny stubble of their land after harvest be don in payne of euery defalt iij<sup>s</sup> iij<sup>d</sup>

There can be no doubt that this order was made to hinder the manorial tenants from impoverishing the land. It seems to point to a time when the soil was not held in severalty but redivided annually.

1607. 13 April. A fine of vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> threatened for all who stock "the comon pasture" not having a right to do so. A fine of xij<sup>d</sup> for all who "pull their neighbors shepe;" that is, those who catch the sheep and pull locks of wool from their fleeces. This is an offence by no means obsolete at the present day. The wool that was dragged off the sheep by bushes, or came off naturally, was in most manors the perquisite of the women of the manor.

1508. Under this year it may be well to note that the Kirton in Lindsey manor roll furnishes an instance of the inconvenience which arose from a portion of Yaddlethorpe not being in the manor of Bottesford. It appears that William Ellis took a sheep with its lamb which was astray from the common pinder and fled with it into the manor of Bottesford.

1616. 15 April. An order that in case any cattle should die of "fellen or morren," a fire is to be made by the owner of brushwood, furze, and peats, and the body burned therein, the bones not consumed to be buried.

1617. 13 October. An order made that cattle which died of the "fellow or morren" should be buried, and the place where the said cattle had died burnt.



XXII.—*On excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire.*

*By* GEORGE WILLIAM THOMAS, *Esq.*

---

Read March 30, 1882.

---

IN the latter part of November in the past year I heard that in the course of operations consequent upon the widening of a portion of the Grantham, Sleaford, and Boston Railway, there had been several discoveries of human remains, accompanied by beads, fibulae, pottery, and spears. I was therefore led to ask permission to make a systematic exploration of the locality. Through the kind favour of the Marquis of Bristol, the owner of the property, of his kinsman and representative, R. H. Hervey, Esq., and by the courtesy of the tenant, J. H. Marston, Esq., I was enabled to carry out what I believe to be an exhaustive examination.

Before entering into the details of the excavations, I propose making a few remarks upon the locality in which these remains were discovered.

The place in question is a grass field about one hundred yards to the south of the town of Sleaford, which was included in the Saxon kingdom of Mercia. This town is of considerable antiquity, and was doubtless from a very early period a place of some importance.

The following account is given in *Domesday*:—

In *Eslaforde*. habet Bardi .xi. carucatas terrae ad geldum Terra ad xi. carucatas. Ibi habet episcopus in dominio .iiii. carucatas et xxix. villanos et vi. sochemannos et xi. bordarios habentes .xiiii. carucatas. Ibi presbiter et ecclesia et viii. molini de x. libris et ccc. et xx acras prati et i. acra silvae minutae Marescum ccc. et xxx acrarum. Tempore Regis Edwardi valebat xx. libras, modo xxv. libras.

British remains have not infrequently been found in the immediate neighbourhood, a fine camp being still discernible at South Kyme, only a few miles distant,



Sleaford is situate upon the small stream or river Slea, which discharges itself into the Witham, and would thus afford a direct means of communication with the sea. The town lies about twelve miles from Grantham, and about eighteen from Boston. It adjoined a branch of the northern Roman road, Ermine street, and was within easy distance of the immense navigable canal of the same people, the Car Dyke. The road crossed a ford of the stream a few hundred yards to the east of the now existing town, and led in a direct line from Durobrivæ, or Castor, to Lincoln. Certain localities in the neighbourhood of this street or road shew unmistakable evidences of a lengthened Roman occupation, in the frequent occurrence of coins and pottery. The settlement would seem to have been afterwards colonised by a tribe of the Saxons, or Angles, and, from the abundance of the remains now discovered, the occupation was evidently an extensive one. The configuration of the face of the country having been so much changed by cultivation, it is impossible to fix with certainty the absolute boundary of the Saxon cemetery; a high road, a railway, and farm-buildings, more or less intersect the lines of burial. Judging, however, from the space which I have examined, I believe the cemetery to have been rectangular, based upon a due east and west line, and of an area of about 3,600 square yards, the southern base being at the least 60 yards, and the probable form an oblong. The space is intersected diagonally by the line of the Great Northern railway, which, from its width at this point, has unfortunately caused the destruction of more than two-thirds of the original cemetery; for I find on inquiry that not only upon the recent widening of the line, but also, many years ago, upon the original making of the same, bodies and relics were found in great profusion in the position which would be included in the space I have suggested. My operations were therefore confined to the southern portion of the cemetery in the angle formed by the railway and the high road. The small corner on the opposite side of the line was used many years ago for the purpose of digging gravel, and was found to contain similar remains, as was also the site of the farm-buildings on the other side of the high road.

Although some of these relics have fortunately fallen into the hands of persons through whom they are made known to the antiquarian world, in the very able and interesting history of Sleaford, written by a Fellow of this Society, the Right Reverend Edward Trollope, bishop of Nottingham, yet there has been no systematic exploration of the ground, and consequently no record of the details of the interments. The great majority of the relics discovered on these previous occasions seem to have utterly disappeared, and some them may have been again entombed in the course of railway operations.

There is but little elevation in the ground occupied by the cemetery, perhaps a rise of about two feet at the highest point, and, the country being slightly undulating in its outline, there was absolutely nothing in external appearance to mark it as a burial-place. I estimate the number of interments in the entire cemetery to have been at the least six hundred, as the burials in the portion that I have examined were arranged in rows coinciding with the external southern line of the cemetery, and were at a tolerably uniform distance of about ten feet from each other for about three-fourths of the space explored. Beyond this portion the interments were very irregular, in some instances many square yards being utterly unproductive. In these barren spots I found the soil to be generally composed of gravel, which would thus appear to have been avoided for the purposes of burial, there being no evidence whatever of any interment therein; as, even should the bones have perished from the more rapid percolation, yet the fibulae, pottery, and beads, would have remained. My impression is that in this part of the ground there was originally a series of tumuli, within which the interments were made, and that such tumuli have been ploughed down.

Without there being an absolutely fixed rule, there was a marked difference in the character of the burials, indeed sufficiently so to be noticed by my labourers. The bronze fibulae, beads, and pottery were chiefly found in burials at the western extremity, and the iron spears and shield bosses at the eastern end, while the extreme south-west corner, although perhaps more closely filled with bodies than the average of the remainder, was singularly barren of relics.

One great peculiarity of the whole is the fact that, contrary to the usual custom, with but about a dozen exceptions (the majority of those being children), the bodies were in a doubled-up position, the knees bent and the hands before the faces, exactly as in earlier interments. The bodies were laid on the left side with the heads to the west, thus facing the north, except in one instance, where the head lay to the east, and on the right side; but with this body there were no relics.

The original depth of the interments was probably about two feet nine inches, and I have, therefore, in the subjoined detailed account, made no reference to the depth, unless in the two or three cases where the average was exceeded. The surface of the ground was slightly undulating, having been ploughed into ridge and furrows, so that the depth varied.

The subsoil is a well-defined stratum of white silt, upon or slightly within which the bodies lay, and thus affords, not only a good index to the original depth of the interment, but also, from its unmixed purity, a sure indication that there was no lower burial. The upper soil is a very porous sandy loam, which but ill

preserves the bones and pottery, both of which were in a very decayed condition. Sparsely scattered throughout this soil were fragments of pottery, not of a sepulchral character, as well as charcoal, and animal bones, and these occurred without reference to the graves. I can vouch for the position and number of all the relics to each interment, my plan having been never to allow any excavation beyond a foot in depth without my presence, and no bone or relic of any description to be removed from its site except by my own hands. I am thus enabled to furnish what I believe to be a close and accurate account of the ground that I have examined.

I would call particular attention to the fact that not a single sword was found in the entire cemetery, and that they have not disappeared from decay, is proved by the discovery of much smaller iron articles, such as knives and buckles, in fair condition, and also by the absence of any sword ornaments in other materials. I think it well to call attention to the remarkable symbol that occurs on the fibula from interment No. 143 (Pl. XXIV. fig. 2), being the swastika or fylfot, so well known as an Aryan symbol, and which not only occurs on some of the antiquities discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, and Mycenae, but is also still used as a symbol by the Buddhists. The forms of the fibulae in Nos. 95 and 182 are also modifications of this sign.

In interments Nos. 121 and 155 the silver and bronze wire articles which formed ornaments for the wrists remind one somewhat of a gold ornament from the lake-dwellings at Mörigen (Keller, trans. Lee, Pl. LVII. 9), a type not common in Saxon cemeteries.

That the settlement was an early one may, I think, be fairly assumed from the fact that cremation was still existing in its absolute and not merely symbolical form, as in six cases (Nos. 10, 38, 70, 139, 172, 183) the calcined bones were deposited in urns in the ordinary manner; and in other cases the presence of charcoal bespoke the existence of the rite in a modified form.

I would also specially advert to the annular objects of ivory accompanying the articles which have been variously called girdle-hangers and chatelaines (Plate XXIV. fig. 4). In five of the eight cases in which I have found these girdle-hangers

<sup>a</sup> Two ivory rings were found by Mr. Akerman in graves of women in the cemetery at Bright-hampton, Oxon. and seem to have been 5 inches in diameter. See *Archaeologia*, XXXVIII. pp. 86, 89. They do not appear to have been accompanied by girdle-hangers, but in one were a number of silver coins, and the silver mounting of a purse. Mr. Akerman suggests that these ivory rings "appear to have formed the framework of a kind of bag, probably for holding sewing materials and implements of housewifery." *Ibid.* p. 92. See also Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 15.

I have found the annular object with them in the form of an incomplete circle, with an opening of two or three inches, which was lying towards the hinges of the chatelaine. I am informed that these have rarely been noticed, indeed I am not aware of any having been reported or made known to archaeologists. May they not have formed the framework upon which a pouch or satchel of skin or woven fabric was stretched, the impression of which latter is distinctly retained upon one? The majority of the hangers have small perforations at the angles, and, being ornamented on one side only, they would seem to have been attached to some material in the manner suggested. The frames without doubt formed some portion of the chatelaine, as they all lay in precisely the same position with regard to the bronze hangers, and were never present without them.

The clasps of the various bracelets were uniformly surrounded by, and imbedded in, a black substance, evidently leather, which probably formed the bracelets, but it was in too decomposed a condition to enable me to ascertain whether it was ornamented in any manner, or plain. I have noticed in several instances the presence of very fragile seed capsules of about the size of a bean, and with a smooth surface, intermixed with the necklets, as though they might have been strung among the beads, but they were all so very thin that they perished immediately upon exposure. That they formed part of the necklets may, I think, be assumed, because I found them occupying the spaces between the beads, which, without them, would have been at irregular distances from each other. With regard to the necklets themselves I can confidently assert that they were not used in the sense which is understood by the word necklet, but that they were simply festoons of beads, in many instances double ones, extending from the one shoulder to the other, supported at either end by a fibula or pin. This, I believe, has been found to be the case in some of the continental cemeteries: see for instance the graves of Livonia (Bähr, *Gräber der Liven*, Pl. 9), where chains are used in the same manner. The position of the skeletons laid on their sides enabled me to ascertain that all the beads were *in situ* in front of the body, and none of them either under or behind the vertebrae, which must necessarily have been the case if they had encircled the neck.

I have found no coins other than Roman ones (chiefly those of Constantine and Maxentius), and only in one instance have they been deposited as coin *per se*, being generally perforated and used as pendants to the necklets. The one exception is that of No. 85, where six coins neatly piled in two heaps lay among and on the bones of the hand of the skeleton of a child. I would again call attention to the fact that in several instances I have found charcoal and carbonaceous earth

freely intermixed with the soil in immediate contact with the body, which would imply the existence of some sort of sacrificial rites, and in two cases animal bones had been deposited with the body at the time of interment. In one instance the head of a child lay upon the jaw of a pig, and in the other three of the cervical vertebrae of a pig, with their processes *in situ*, and evidently placed there when covered with flesh, lay immediately behind the head of an adult.

The brooches or fibulae generally were of the usual type of the more northern districts, but in one instance (No. 194) the form was a purely southern one, being the saucer-shaped disc usual in Gloucestershire, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire, and those of graves 71, 117, and 233 are of a very uncommon form.

The pelvis bones were unfortunately in such an imperfect condition that the sexes were not easy to distinguish, and I have therefore in the analysis of sexes given below<sup>a</sup> mentioned the numbers as implied by the character of the relics accompanying the bodies, those accompanied by spears and shield-bosses being evidently males, and those by beads and fibulae being presumably females, while of the rest having urns, knives, &c. I have returned the sex as uncertain. Such of the femora and tibiae as were sufficiently sound and perfect, I have compared with my own, and pronounce the average height to have been 5 feet 6 inches. In only two or three instances have I found bones larger than my own, and the females were decidedly of a slight build, and of a size rather below the average. The crania which I have been able to preserve are mainly of a marked dolichocephalic tendency, that is to say, much more nearly approach the dolichocephalic than the brachycephalic type. The superciliary ridges are strongly developed; the frontal region in the main is oblique. The *normae* show in the *norma lateralis* a low forehead and flat crown, and in the *norma verticalis* a long skull, narrow laterally, with very square frontal region. There is no tendency whatever towards prognathism. Several of the skulls showed signs of wounds, which, though of a very severe character, had been received some years before death. I have called attention to such points as seemed to me worthy of particular note, and shall now let the detailed account of each interment which follows speak as to the general character of the important cemetery which I have had the good fortune to explore.

<sup>a</sup> Males 51; Females 86; Children 18; Uncertain 92.



*Detailed account of the interments.*

[The pins of all the fibulae have been, or are, of iron unless otherwise stated.]

1. Adult. Long spade-shaped fibula<sup>a</sup> of bronze on left shoulder; small necklet of fifty-five beads, chiefly amber, with a few of glass; turquoise and white opaque glass bead from earring; iron knife near femur.

2. Adult. Two long spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders; necklet of thirty-seven beads, chiefly amber, of elongated form, with a few of glass; pendant formed of two circular discs, of bronze gilt, with impressed circles round the edges; iron knife near femur. Body inclosed in rude cist of unshaped stones.

3. Adult. Bronze annular fibula at shoulder; bronze ring (diameter,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch), with iron ring overlapping it at hips; small bronze pin at chest; and iron knife near femur.

4. Adult. Bronze twisted wire earring; small necklet of nine beads, one large amber, the rest glass; with one large blue glass bead with white zigzag, accompanied by fragments of bronze wire sockets, &c., forming pendant of indefinite form; pair of bronze clasps at wrist. Rude stone cist.

5. Adult. No relics or ornaments. Rude stone cist.

6. Adult. Iron knife near femur.

7. Adult. 5 feet 9 inches deep. Urn close to face; iron ring at hip, and knife near femur.

8. Adult. Large urn close to back of head. Rude stone cist.

9. Urn in fragments; soil black and carbonaceous. No skeleton.

10. Urn, with about a quart of calcined bones; upper portion gone; no sign of skeleton, or of local burning.

11. Stone cist; but no trace of bones, beyond a few fragments of skull. No relics or ornaments.

12. Fragments of bones, but no trace of relics.

13. Adult. Large cruciform fibula and fragment of another, both upturned, the interment having been evidently disturbed.

<sup>a</sup> This spade-shaped fibula is similar to one found near Rugby, engraved in Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. xviii. fig. 7; but has four small holes in the square part.



14. Adult. Bronze annular fibula with iron acus preserved, and two small bronze Roman coins, much worn, perforated as pendants.

15. Adult. Flat annular bronze fibula, with pattern of impressed horseshoes; small necklet of seven glass beads, one of them double.

16. Two adults, much intermixed. Flat annular bronze fibula, ornamented with two rows of impressed rings, and portions of bronze clasps. Pair of bronze tweezers; boss of shield; large spear; and small urn near back of head.

17. Adult. Flat annular bronze fibula, and portion of a bronze pin with eye near chest; small necklet of seven glass and amber beads.

18. Adult. Flat annular bronze fibula, ornamented with transverse cross lines and circles with central dots; iron buckle at waist, with bronze plate.

19. Adults. Two annular bronze fibulae like split-rings at shoulders, and small penannular fibula of bronze tinned, with bronze acus, moveable round the circumference, at throat.

20. Adult; bones much decayed. Fragments of urn near head, and iron knife near hips. Stone cist.

21. Adult. Head of spear near back of skull; large iron buckle, with bronze plate, near hips.

22. Adult. Small iron buckle and knife near hips.

23. Fragments of skull, and other bones. No relics.

24. Adult. Iron conical point, perhaps of dart or ferule of spear or staff, near face, and large iron ring ( $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter) at hips.

25. Fragments of skull and other bones of adult. No relics.

26. Adult. Three beads, two of glass and one of amber, and small earring of twisted silver wire.

27. Adult. Iron spear-head in front of face.

28. Adult. Iron spear-head near hips and hand, one arm being extended by side.

29. Adult. Necklet of sixteen opaque glass beads of different colours. Rude stone cist.

30. Adult. Large spear-head and boss of shield, close to face.

31. Adult. Two flat annular bronze fibulae, ornamented with two rows of punched S-shaped marks.

32. Adult. Two long bronze fibulae at shoulders, one spade-shaped and the other cruciform. Rude stone cist.

33. Adult; much intermixed with those of last interment.

34. Adult. Spear at back of head, and knife near hips.

35. Adult. Necklet of five opaque glass beads.
36. Adult. Iron spear-head in front of face, and knife near femur.
37. Adult. Iron spear-head and shield boss at back of head, knife near femur.
38. Urn filled with, and standing in, ashes, and fragments of bronze burnt; the whole enclosed in a rude cist. An iron tag on the top, with large socket of iron, plated with bronze, about a foot to south of cist.
39. Adult, much decomposed. Fragments of bronze plates riveted on wood and leather near hips.
40. Adult. Iron spear-head and knife near back of head.
41. Adult. Necklet of fourteen beads, amber and glass, the latter variegated; knife near hips.
42. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae at shoulders, one ornamented with double line of impressed crescents, the other with transverse lines and S-shaped marks; necklet of seventeen amber and glass beads, with fragment of silver disc as pendant.
43. Adult. Two bronze fibulae; one annular, with transverse lines, and the other flat annular, with transverse divergent lines; a much worn Roman bronze coin as pendant near throat.
44. Adult. Knife near hips.
45. Bones much decayed. No trace of implement or ornament.
46. Similar to the last.
47. Also similar to the last.
48. Bones of young person, in extended position, arms crossed on breast. Small bracelet of seven glass beads; bronze clasp on right wrist.
49. Adult. Large cruciform fibula,  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, two iron buckles, and knife near hips; small necklet of twelve glass beads. Very large cist.
50. Adult. Very large cruciform fibula of bronze gilt on left shoulder,  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches long (Plate XXIII. fig. 1); small spade-shaped fibula on right shoulder; necklet of forty-seven large and eighty-three small amber, crystal, and glass beads, with animal's tooth as central pendant (Plate XXIII. fig. 5); ring  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, apparently made of the crown of a deer's horn, on chest, with fragment of iron, probably a key; remains of bronze armilla, embedded in leather on each arm; small bronze ring clasp, and bronze wire, portion of pendant; fragment of silver finger-ring and stone; two bracelets of amber and glass, nine beads each, with bronze clasps, and bronze tag (Plate XXV. fig. 5). Very large cist or cairn of unhewn stone.
51. Adult. Coin as pendant to necklet; pair of clasps on right wrist, and iron knife at hips.

52. Bones, much decomposed ; no relics.
53. Same as the last.
54. Adult, with two flat annular fibulae, much broken, at shoulders.
55. Adult. Two long fibulae, one cruciform, the other spade-shaped ; small necklet of ten glass and one amber beads, and bone spindle-whorl,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter.
56. Traces of bone, but no relics.
57. Intermixed with the last.
58. Adult. Urn close to face ; fragments of flat annular fibula and of iron.
59. Adult. Two spear-heads lying side by side, one pointing upwards, the other downwards, close to face of body.
60. Adult. Urn about 1 foot from hips ; rude cist surrounding same.
61. Bones in fragmentary condition, and portions of large urn.
62. Bones much decayed. No relics.
63. Small urn, with contracted mouth (Plate XXV. fig. 10). No body or relics.
64. Adult. Boss of shield reversed under head, and spear-head 6 inches from face.
65. Adult, with two small long fibulae, one cruciform the other spade-shaped ; necklet of twenty-two amber and glass beads ; bracelet of nine beads, amber and glass, and single flat glass bead, opaque white with blue spiral line, from an earring.
66. Child about seven years of age. Two long fibulae at shoulders, one cruciform, the other spade-shaped ; and one flat annular fibula, ornamented with two rows of incised circles ; bead from earring of opaque yellow glass ; necklet of thirteen amber and glass beads, and two simple wire bracelets with running slip-knot.
67. Child about three years of age. Traces of small bronze buttons or fibulae at shoulders staining the clavicles. Portion of the skull of adult touching same, but no trace of any other portion. Urn near natural situation of hips.
68. Adult of which the skull shows a large wound extending from coronal suture to brow, penetrating skull in two or three places ; edges of bones smooth and round, and evidently healed in lifetime. No relics.
69. Adult. Iron spear-head at the back of head, and knife at hips.
70. Adult, embedded in rich black earth, with fragments of charcoal and burnt bones extending the whole length of the body. No ornaments or implements, but pieces of bronze plates, about 2 inches long and 1 inch wide, at one end, by  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch at the other, rivetted upon wood about a quarter of an inch thick,

lying in confused heap about 3 or 4 inches from crown of head; perhaps portions of a bucket.

71. Adult. Square bronze buckle, ornamented with line of incised dots; small necklet of eight glass beads.

72. Adult. Small bronze buckle and tag near hips, with iron knife. Stone cist.

73. Adult. Flat annular fibula upon sternum; necklet or pendant thereto of five glass and amber beads.

74. Child. Fragments of small urn about 8 inches from head. No other relics.

75. Adult. Rude, simple bowl-shaped urn close to crown of head.

76. Adult. Knife near hips; no other relics. Rude stone cist.

77. Adult. Boss of shield close to face, and the upper portion of a pair of tweezers, with portion of ring for suspending them near hips.

78. Adult. Large bronze ring,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter, at hips, and girdle-hanger with portion of ivory ring or frame; part of bronze circular pendant in front of chest.

79. Adult. Large cruciform fibula,  $5\frac{1}{8}$  inches long, and small annular ditto, which has had a bronze acus and small necklet or pendant of five amber and glass beads.

80. Adult. Large cruciform fibula,  $5\frac{3}{8}$  inches long; flat annular fibula, ornamented with a double row of small impressed circles joined into an S form; small necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads, and pair of bronze bracelet clasps.

81. Adult. Small necklet of six glass beads; three Roman coins, pierced as pendants; and a pair of bronze clasps of bracelet.

82. Adult. Small urn with incised pattern near face, and knife at hips.

83. Adult.

83A. Interment beneath the last. No relics; bones much decomposed.

84. Adult. Knife near femur. Head of another person at feet, but no trace of further bones.

85. Young person about ten or twelve years of age in extended position, hands crossed on chest. Small bracelet of eight amber and glass beads, and seven coins piled in two heaps in left hand, near right elbow.

86. Large cist or cairn beneath 85 containing interment at 5 feet 6 inches deep of adult. Large cruciform fibula  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long in front of chest, two flat annular fibulae with egg-and-tongue pattern; pair of bronze clasps; necklet of one hundred and twelve amber, crystal, and glass beads with fragments of small bronze pendant chased and gilt; girdle-hanger at hips with ivory framework,

within which lay several small bronze tags riveted together upon leather, and iron knife; portion of iron buckle and bronze tag at waist.

87. Portion of skull and humerus of child. No other remains.

88. Adult. Head to east; tibiae and fibulae in almost upright position, arms in front of face, whole position of body showing carelessness of burial. No relics. Stone cist.

89. Bones of skeleton much decayed. No relics.

90. Young person, twelve or fourteen years of age, in extended position. Fragments of bronze clasp at wrist, and small necklet of six glass beads.

91. Bones much decayed. No relics. Stone cist.

92. Adult. Knife near femur. Stone cist.

93. Adult. Skull broken and much compressed; other bones decayed. No relics. Stone cist.

94. Adult. Spearhead about 10 inches from back of head.

95. Adult. Two large flat circular fibulae with pierced centres, forming a swastika pattern, and ornamented with double lines of impressed semi-circles; large bronze pin,<sup>a</sup> 6 inches long, in front of chest, with head richly chased and gilded (Plate XXIV. fig. 1.); two circular discs of silver, with central bosses and incised ornaments on breasts (Plate XXIII. figs. 6 and 7); two pairs of bronze clasps on wrists; necklet of one hundred and twenty-five amber and glass beads; two bronze rings and knife at hips; and portion of bronze fittings with wood between the plates. Large stone cist.

96. Adult. Two large flat annular fibulae ornamented with *repoussé* dots; small silver disc with central boss; necklet of six beads, five large amber and one green glass bugle; a bead from earring of blue glass with white spiral line. Stone cist.

97. Adult. Two long spade-shaped fibulae; two pairs of clasps on wrists; these are of a somewhat unusual kind, having each a hollow tube fixed to them; small fragment of bronze tag, and an iron buckle.

98. Adult. No relics. Head and shoulders previously disturbed. Stone cist.

99. Adult. Iron spear-head 6 inches from face; a portion of bronze fitting 8 inches behind head; knife near hips. Stone cist.

100. Adult with urn and shield-boss close to back of head; iron spear-head 8 inches from face; knife near hips. Stone cist.

<sup>a</sup> One of the same pattern from Islip, Oxfordshire, is engraved in *Proceedings*, 2d S. ix. 90.

<sup>b</sup> A rich pin of the same general form, but jewelled, from Wingham, Kent, is engraved in Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. XL. fig. 3.



101. Young person. Bones much decayed. No relics.

102. Very large stone cist or cairn. Fragments of tibia of adult. No trace of other bones or relics.

103. Very large cairn at a depth of 5 feet 6 inches. Adult. Large bronze bowl, 1 foot in diameter and 5 inches high, with two small loops for suspension in the form of heads of swans or serpents. The bowl was in an upright position closely imbedded in clay and stones about 8 inches from back of head. There were indications of two other loops, but I was unable to find them. Framework of large bucket (Plate XXV. fig. 1) 16 inches in diameter and 1 foot high, having upper hoops of bronze  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, bound at both edges with iron, and three other hoops of iron; the handles, consisting of two large iron rings about 3 inches in diameter, attached to two iron scrolls; two other scrolls equidistant gave the circumference between the two upper hoops the appearance of an almost continuous serpentine ornamentation. The woodwork perished on exposure, but portions still adhere to the inner margin of the bronze hoop. There were originally four iron stays extending from the top to the bottom hoop. This was embedded in clay, and lay at 1 foot distant from the feet of skeleton. At the hips was a pair of bronze tweezers.

104. Adult. Spear-head and knife at hips.

105. Bones much decomposed, close to and almost intermixed with No. 103. No relics.

106. Child; only portion of skull, humerus, and femur remaining. No relics.

107. Large adult. Knife at hips, lower jaw and portion of skull of child at feet. Stone cist.

108. Adult much decayed. Fragments and stains of iron in considerable quantities. Remains of urn near head; charcoal in lumps throughout the grave. Stone cist.

109. Child about ten years of age in extended position. No relics.

110. Child; position undeterminable, skull resting on scapula of pig.

111. Adult. Fragments of bowl-shaped urn at feet; no other relics. Large cist and cairn.

112. Adult in extended position; body inclined upwards, head within 1 foot of surface, and 2 feet higher than feet. No relics.

113. Adult. No relics. Small cairn.

114. Adult. Knife at hips.

115. Similar to last.

116. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, richly chased and gilt, with remains of

plates of silver riveted to ends, deposited in front of chest, Two flat annular fibulae at shoulders, in fragments, ornamented with two lines of incised circles divided into segments by groups of transverse lines; small circular disc with raised centre on breast; one and a half pairs of richly-chased and gilt massive clasps for bracelets on wrists (Plate XXIII. fig. 5); iron ring and knife at hips.

A post hole driven through part of this interment had doubtless caused the loss of the part of one clasp; as, notwithstanding a most careful search, no remains of it were found, and its massive character would preclude the supposition of decay.

117. Adult, close to 116. Upon shoulders, two fine S-shaped fibulae, ornamented with border of incised semicircles (Plate XXIII. fig. 9). Rude stone cist.

118. Adult. Knife at hips.

119. Adult. Large spear-head at hips, of unusual shape; blade leaf-shaped, and 11 inches long by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide; socket 6 inches long; point of junction of socket and blade disproportionately light (Plate XXV. fig. 7).

120. Adult. Knife and iron key, under hands.

121. Adult. Two circular fibulae at shoulders, ornamented with rows of impressed dots in lines; four ornaments in two sets at wrists, embedded in decomposed leather; the ornaments are like large modern hooks, and consist of two spirals of silver wire, with a shank or junction of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, terminating in a hook (Plate XXIV. fig. 6). Necklet of ninety-seven beads of amber, glass, crystal, and porcelain; and iron ring near hips.

122. Adult. Fragments of iron, and knife at hips.

123. Adult. Two annular fibulae, with egg-and-tongue moulding at shoulders, and one long cruciform fibula on breast; two pairs of clasps at wrists, and fragments of iron at waist.

124-125. Two adult skeletons, much intermixed. One pair of clasps at wrist; and one small flat annular fibula at shoulders; remains of small tube of bronze, about 2 inches long by  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, at hips, and spear-head between the heads of the skeletons.

126. Adult. Two small spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders; bronze buckle, knife, and fragments of iron at hips.

127. Adult. Spear-head near back of head; also, small urn with contracted neck; and the skeleton of a child, contained in an irregular-shaped cist, close to head of the adult.

128. Adult. Spear-head behind head; shield boss in front of face; and knife at hips.

129. Adult. No relics.
130. Similar to last.
131. Adult. No relics. Femora and tibiae very perfect, but no trace of any other bones.
132. Child of about seven years of age; head to the east in extended position. No relics.
133. Small cist containing small urn on its side, with the mouth to the north; no trace of bones or relics, and no marks of cremation.
134. Adult. One flat annular fibula, ornamented with two rows of punched circles, and one small cruciform fibula at shoulders; necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads, including one large fluted porcelain bead; two pairs of clasps at wrists; bead of opaque yellow glass from earring; fragments of bronze plates on wooden base; and knife at hips.
135. Adult. Pair of tweezers near hips, under vertebrae; knife at hips; and spear-head near elbow.
136. Adult. Spear-head near hips; shield-boss reversed, with boss ornamented with white metal plating 6 inches behind head; two ornaments of bronze, the centre thickly gilt, the spreading ends plated with silver (Plate A, fig. 3), with the remains of wood to which they have been riveted; on shoulders iron buckle, and knife at hips.
137. Child in extended position. No relics.
138. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, ornamented with rows of punched dots and triangles; necklet of twenty-two glass beads with a bronze embossed pendant disc  $\frac{3}{16}$  inch in diameter; two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists; and iron ring, remains of small iron keys, with fragments of bronze tags, &c. at hips.
139. Lower portion of large urn, capacity about a gallon, two fragments of upper rim about 6 inches distant from the rest. The whole lay not more than 7 inches from the surface, and had evidently been destroyed in ploughing; it contained about a pint of calcined bones.
140. Adult in extended position, arms straight by sides. One flat annular fibula, fragmentary; and two small penannular, with swelling ends and bronze pins, freely moving round the circumference.
141. Adult, almost touching last interment. Two small spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders, and fifty-four highly-coloured glass beads strung on wire in cable-pattern between them.
142. Very large cairn or cist, containing adult. Small spear-head at hips; knife at elbow; and iron buckle with pair of bronze tweezers at waist.

143. Large grave containing two interments, evidently females, close to each other; one having only a single long fibula with large square head and small projections at angles, the other having a large richly gilt and chased cruciform fibula, on which is engraved a swastika (Plate XXIV. fig. 2), and a small spade-shaped one at the shoulders; large necklet of two hundred and seventy-one beads, chiefly amber. Two discs of silver of about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter upon the breasts; silver bulla in two hemispheres before the chest, evidently pendant to the necklet (Plate XXIII. fig. 8). Two silver armillae of strips about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch wide, and making almost a twist-and-a-half round the arm, ornamented with rows of impressed crescents at each margin; remains of bronze clasp of bracelet, and fragments of small bronze rings, &c. of wire; girdle-hanger near femur composed of three bronze hangers, one of them reversed in position (Plate XXIV. fig. 4); ivory frame of pouch; large bronze ring, about 2 inches in diameter, to suspend same. Within the space inclosed by the ivory frame was a small article of bronze, about  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inch in diameter, in the shape of the head of a windlass, evidently forming the point of junction for two crossed straps; iron buckle and knife at waist.

144. Adult. One flat annular, and one simple annular fibula at shoulders; necklet of thirty-four glass beads; corroded mass of iron, evidently a girdle-hanger and keys, with several small bronze tags at hips.

145. Well preserved skeleton of adult, one foot to west of the last interment. No relics.

146. Young person, bones much decayed. Knife at hips; no other relics.

147. Adult; head to the south, and body in very distorted position upon back, with arms and legs extended almost at right angles to body. Bronze annular fibula, with egg-and-tongue pattern, on left shoulder; two pairs of embossed clasps on wrists. About two feet to the east of this interment was a mass of about a gallon of carbonaceous earth and charcoal, but no visible remains of any urn.

148. Adult. Iron buckle, bronze tag, and knife at hips; spear-head in front of face.

149. Adult. Broken shield-boss and spear-head before face; knife and band of bronze bent over and riveted with iron, containing fragment of wood, at hips.

150. Well-preserved bones of adult. Urn of bowl-shape, decayed, near knees. No other relics.

151. Adult. Two large flat annular fibulae at shoulders, ornamented with double line of crescent-shaped impressed marks; two pairs of embossed bronze clasps at wrists; small necklet of thirteen amber beads, and as pendant a bronze disc coated on one face with silver; large bronze massive ring at waist (Plate XXV.

fig. 2), from which were suspended three iron keys (Plate XXV. fig. 3), and one bronze girdle-hanger; ivory frame of pouch shewing impression of canvas covering; small bronze tags within.

152 and 153. Two adult males in extended position, the head of one resting in the hollow of a reversed shield-boss, and a small diamond-shaped spear-head near left side of head; the other with long spear head between the tibiae, and knife at hips; four large iron discs round shield-boss deposited in two pairs on opposite sides.

154. Adult. Two flat oval annular fibulae at shoulders, with necklet of nine-teen amber and glass beads, and two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists.

155. Adult. Two small cruciform fibulae at shoulders, small necklet of seven amber and glass beads, with bronze ring for pendant; two spiral wire ornaments (probably similar to those of silver described in grave 121); pair of embossed clasps on one wrist, and simple circlet of bronze wire on the other; large piece of iron of undefinable shape near right elbow, and iron buckle near hips.

156. Grave only distinguishable by colour of soil, and a few fragments of skull of adult. No relics.

157. Adult, in much decayed condition. No relics.

158 and 159. Two adult females, close together, bones much intermixed. One with large cruciform fibula before chest, and two flat annular fibulae, one of them ornamented with a double row of impressed circles; two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists, and necklet of ninety-five amber and glass beads, with fragments of small bronze tubular pendant; girdle-hanger at hips, with fragments of iron mass, probably keys, suspended by iron ring. The other body had two flat annular fibulae at shoulders, ornamented with double row of double impressed circles, with segmentary divisions of transverse lines; necklet of forty-six amber and glass beads.

160. Adult. Two small fibulae at shoulders; one flat annular, ornamented with double row of circles impressed, and the other simple annular; small ornament of four glass beads; and two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists (part of one pair destroyed).

161. Adult. Iron buckle, bronze tag, and knife at hips.

162. Adult; very much decomposed. No relics.

163. Grave 4 feet 6 inches deep, containing bones much decayed, of an adult. Remains of bronze clasps at wrists; flat annular fibula ornamented with impressed circles forming an S-pattern; plain pin of bronze, which has had a loop at the end, now imperfect,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, on breast; bronze finger-ring, a plain circlet, on left hand; coin pendant of bronze, and remains of another. At the waist a



large bronze ring, 3 inches in diameter, with mass of corroded iron—probably keys. The whole of the grave was filled with soil of an unusually dark colour, and in immediate contact with body seemed to be composed mainly of decayed leather.

164. Young person about fourteen years of age. Knife at hips; no other relic.

165. Fragments of three urns lying about a foot from each other, and in a vein of sand. No trace of skeleton or of cremation.

166. Adult. Spear-head in front of face, and large knife under left side at breast.

167. Adult. Spear-head in front of face, and small knife near left elbow.

168. Adult. Two long spade-shaped fibulae; small necklet of fourteen beads of amber and glass, and two pairs of massive bronze clasps with traces of gilding, at wrists, imbedded in decayed leather; knife and key at hips, with small ring of wire.

169. Adult. Large cruciform fibula, richly chased, gilt and silvered, with flat garnet in square setting at one end; one of the arms of the cruciform part missing; two other small cruciform fibulae on shoulders; necklet of forty-three amber and glass beads, with fragments of bronze disc as pendant; iron buckle and knife at hips, and rude bowl-shaped urn in front of face.

170. Adult. Spear-head and two urns near face.

171. Adult, remains in much confusion, evidently disturbed. Fragments of urn (Plate XXV. fig. 8) intermixed; small necklet of twenty amber and glass beads.

172. Lower half of a large urn, capacity of about a gallon, and containing about a quart of bones and ashes.

173. Adult, imbedded in clay; bones so much decayed as to make position unrecognizable. No relics.

174 and 175. Two adults, side by side, legs crossing each other; one had a spear in front of chest, and a second spear and reversed shield-boss beneath the head, and also a pointed ferule or pike-head of iron near the knees (Plate XXV. fig. 6). The other one with the head doubled over and lying face downwards near the hips, the clavicae and heads of humeri being 8 or 10 inches behind the skull; a shield boss of pyramidal shape occupying the natural position of head; knife at hips.

176. Adult. Two long fibulae of unusual shape (the lower part lozenge-shaped, the upper semicircular with five radiations) with small necklet of fifteen amber and glass beads; two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists; and fine urn with incised pattern before face.

177. Adult. Two annular fibulae at shoulders, one being flat, ornamented with a single row of incised dots, and the other cylindrical in section; a necklet of eighteen amber and glass beads with coin as pendant.

178. Adult. Spear-head near back of head.

179. Adult. Buckle and knife at hips, and pair of bronze tweezers; larger buckle slightly above the interment, probably of later date.

180. Adult, much decayed. Large urn, bowl-shaped, in front of face.

181. Stone cist containing bones of adult much decayed, with urn close to face.

182. Adult. Two large cruciform fibulae, and one flat annular fibula with pierced centre, forming a swastika, similar to the one in grave 95; knife at hips, and urn close to face.

183. Stone cist containing small urn with carbonaceous earth, fragments of bone, and stains of bronze and iron among the ashes.

184. Adult. Spear-head close to face, and small urn at hips.

185. Adult, embedded in clay; grave 4 feet deep. No trace of any relics.

186. Adult, much decayed. Spear-head near back of head, and knife under chin.

187. Adult. Spear-head near back of head.

188. Adult. Knife at hips. Rude stone cist.

189. Large cruciform fibula, much decomposed, embedded in rich carbonaceous earth, evidently the result of decay of animal matter. No trace of bones or other relics.

190. Stone cist, containing urn, but no trace of bones, relics, or cremation.

191. Adult. Two small flat annular fibulae with egg-and-tongue pattern; necklet of eighty-nine amber and glass beads, a portion of them being set in a framework of iron and bronze; coin as pendant to necklet, with fragment of woven fabric adhering, and a remarkable pendant of dark blue glass, nearly black, with a turquoise zigzag band round the body and a loop for suspension (Plate XXIV. fig. 3); three small bronze wire rings and fragments; large heavy bronze ring at waist nearly 2 inches in diameter, with tooth of carnivorous animal perforated and suspended thereto by bronze wire loop (Plate XXIV. fig. 5); four small tags of bronze and large gilt bronze plate with corroded iron buckle at hips; long pin on chest with annular head, broken. Two small urns lying on sides, mouth to mouth, close behind sacrum. (One in Plate XXV. fig. 8).

192. Adult, much decayed. No relics.

193. Adult much decayed. Urn lying on side with mouth towards the south, and near head of skeleton; in front of mouth of urn remains of flat armilla of

bronze tinned, with hook-and-eye fastening, and with small punched ornaments.

194. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, ornamented with a row of impressed dots on shoulders; solid saucer-shaped fibula, having pattern of intricate interwoven lines and central raised boss, in front of chest; necklet of twenty-three amber and glass beads; fragments of bronze armilla ornamented with central waved line.

195. Adult. Buckle and knife at hips.

196. Adult, much decayed. Iron flat annular fibula, and bronze fibula with double line of impressed comma-shaped marks, with segmentary divisions of transverse lines; pendant of three amber beads and one glass.

197. Adult, much decayed. Two large flat annular fibulae, engraved with four sets of transverse lines; necklet of twenty-six beads, chiefly amber, with two of rock crystal, faceted, and one ribbed bead of blue porcelain, with pendant bulla composed of two hemispheres of silver, forming perfect sphere; small earring of simple twisted wire, and silver finger ring, making one and a half turn round finger; large clasps at wrist and knife at hips.

198. Adult. Spear-head at back of head and knife at hips.

199. Adult. Spear-head at elbow.

200. Adult. Spear-head at back of head and shield-boss behind sacrum.

201. Adult. Knife at hips and fragments of clasps at wrist.

202. Adult. Bowl-shaped urn, small knife, and bronze ferule at hips.

203. Adult. Iron pin and iron ring at shoulders in the usual place of the fibulae; small necklet of twelve fine amber beads and one of rock crystal, faceted.

204. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, much decayed, at shoulders; head of pin of saucer-shape, with gilded interlaced lines, and rude human head, the rest of pin gone; two pairs of clasps (embossed) at wrists, fragments of bronze ferule at waist; necklet of seventy-nine large amber and glass beads.

205. Adult. Two cruciform fibulae at shoulders, and one large flat annular fibula in front of chest, pair of massive bronze gilded clasps on wrists, necklet of forty-three amber and glass beads, large bronze ring, and portion of iron buckle and bronze tag at hips.

206. Adult, with bones of small child of about seven years of age intermixed. Small iron arrow-head or ferule. No other relics.

207. Adult. Embossed bronze clasps at wrists, remains of girdle-hangers and ivory ring or frame; small wooden bucket about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, bound with bronze, at waist.

208. Adult. Knife at elbow, whole body embedded in carbonaceous earth and charcoal.

209. Adult. Two small cruciform fibulae at shoulders, and long pin with ornamental head on breast; two bronze finger-rings, and one and half pairs of massive gilt clasps at wrists.

210. Adult. Spear-head and knife near hips, and another spear-head about 6 inches from front of face.

211. Adult. Fragments of urn near face; small iron axe about 6 inches above body.

212. Adult in extended position. Two small spade-shaped fibulae at shoulders; iron ring at hips; one pair and portion of another pair of clasps at wrists; thick disc of iron with studs at back above interment. This grave is the only one in the entire cemetery that was of a regular and even shape.

213. Adult. Two small annular fibulae with bronze pins at shoulders, and necklet of fifteen amber and glass beads; two urns, burnt red, near head. Stone cist.

214. Adult. No relics.

215. Adult. Iron buckle and knife at hips.

216. Adult. Bronze circular fibula with remains of enamelled circles, and evidently Roman. Two pairs of embossed clasps at wrists; bronze finger ring, having double turn round finger; necklet of ten amber and two bone beads, and two coins pierced for suspension. These are base denarii of the emperor Postumus; one having on the reverse the inscription, *SALVS POSTVMI AVG*, with figure of Salus; the other, *PAX AVGVSTI*, with figure of Pax.

217. Adult. Necklet of thirty-five amber and glass beads. No other relics.

218 and 219. Grave 4 feet deep, containing bodies of two adults; skulls close together, and bones intermixed. Shield boss and four large iron studs in two pairs, about 3 inches from heads; two spear-heads corroded together behind heads; pair of massive and richly-gilt square ornaments to waist-belt, with central garnets in square setting; large pair of tweezers suspended by small ring of bronze; small gilt tag and bronze buckle plated with silver, and rivet with gilt and ornamented head, at waist.

220. Adult. Spear in front of face, and remains of iron buckle at hips.

221. Adult. Spear in front of face.

222. Adult, much decayed. No relics.

223. Adult. One cruciform and two flat annular fibulae, the latter ornamented with a row of concentric circles and cross lines; necklet of forty-two amber and glass beads.

224 and 225. Grave containing the remains of two adults; one with two flat annular fibulae and necklet of fifty-one very small amber and glass beads; the other with shield-boss at back of head; small bronze ring, iron buckle, and knife at hips, and truncated cylindrical urn at back of head.

226. Adult, evidently disturbed. Among the bones a fragment of a cruciform fibula, part of that found in grave 233. No other relics.

227. Adult. Two flat annular fibulae, having marginal ornamentation of triangular indentations, and small silver disc of the size of a shilling, ornamented with a marginal circle of punched circles, with three radiated lines of similar circles from centre; necklet of eighty-two amber and glass beads; Roman intaglio in onyx, without setting, representing Minerva with a snake at her feet (see woodcut); and two pairs of highly ornamented and gilt massive clasps at wrists



Roman Intaglio  
(full size).

(Plate XXIII. fig. 4).

228. Adult, evidently disturbed. Portion of a flat annular fibula among the bones; no other relics.

229. Adult. Flat annular fibula with bronze acus, and necklet of thirty-seven small amber and glass beads.

230. Adult, much decayed. No relics.

231. Child, much decayed. Small simple circlet of wire on wrist, and plain urn at crown of head.

232. Adult. Remains of clasps on both wrists, two medium-sized cruciform fibulae and necklet of sixty-nine blue glass and amber beads; bronze tags at waist, part of bronze pin with hook at chest, simple wire earrings, Roman coin at feet.

233. Adult. Remains of clasps on both wrists; large cruciform fibula; flat annular fibula; and double-ended spade-shaped fibula, with bronze pin (Plate XXIII. fig. 2); small necklet of nineteen amber and glass beads; fragments of urn at head; bronze semicircular strap, suspending knife and keys, the latter much corroded.

234. Adult. Head of spear in front of face.

235. Adult. Bowl-shaped urn with ornamentation of simple diagonal scorings in front of face; knife at hips.

236. Adult. No relics.

237. Child. No relics.

238. Adult. Simple bowl-shaped urn in front of face, small annular fibula (egg-and-tongue pattern) at shoulder; necklet of thirteen opaque yellow glass and amber beads.

239. Adult. Urn at back of head, fragments of shield-boss at crown of head; knife at hips (no spear).



240. Adult. Shield-boss reversed under shoulders, four large rivets; spear-head in front of face.

241. Adult. Spear-head near knees, buckle and knife at hips.

242. Adult. Two annular fibulae at shoulders, and iron tweezers near hips.

There were obtained from the same ground, without any details as to the finding, a medium-sized cruciform fibula, a flat annular fibula with flat acus, and a very fine long fibula with square head, having projections at the upper angles; the whole richly gilt and deeply cut, with central stone in square setting. Also four beads of glass and earthenware.

These were all obtained by purchase, having been found before my excavations, and were indeed the means of indicating the locality of the cemetery.

[The collection of objects discovered by Mr. Thomas, and described in this communication, was sold by auction at Boston in February, 1883, and acquired by Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A. by whom it has been presented to the British Museum.]

---

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

### Plate XXIII.

Fig. 1. Cruciform fibula of bronze, thickly gilt. It has been anciently repaired with two coarse rivets below the bow. There are nine projecting ornaments, in which are set glass pastes, now much decayed. The pin, which has been of iron, has rusted away. The three terminations of the upper part and the central portion of the lower represent, it will be seen, grotesque human faces. Grave 50.

Fig. 2. Bronze fibula of unusual form expanding at each end. This appears to have had a bronze pin, now lost. Grave 233.

Fig. 3. One of a pair of bronze clamps with two pins for attachment, with small square nuts, leaving a thickness of about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. They have been attached to wood, of which a fragment remains. The central portion, which is ornamented with small punched circles, has been thickly gilt, while the expanding ends are covered with plates of silver. Grave 136.

Fig. 4. Pair of clasps of bronze gilt, which have formed the fastenings of a bracelet, probably made of leather. Such clasps seem to have occurred in many of the graves in this cemetery, but are by no means common elsewhere. A second pair of similar design was found in the same grave. Grave 227.

Fig. 5. Pair of clasps from a bracelet, of bronze, partly gilt. Grave 116.

Fig. 6. Silver disc or pendant with central boss and punched ornaments forming a kind of rude arcade. Grave 95.

Fig. 7. Similar disc of silver with punched dots forming a triquetra pattern. In one place near the edge is a small hole by which the object was suspended. Grave 95.

Fig. 8. Two hemispheres of silver, which have been originally joined together so as to form a hollow ball. Each has six sets of bands partly gilt. Grave 143.

Fig. 9. One of a pair of bronze fibulae, the pins of which were of iron. They are of an S shape, and the terminal ornaments seem to be intended to represent animals' heads. The surface has been tinned and ornamented with small crescent-shaped punch marks. Grave 117.

#### Plate XXIV.

Fig. 1. Pin of bronze, the surface of which has been partly tinned and partly gilt. The ornament seems to be intended for a grotesque head. Grave 95.

Fig. 2. Cruciform fibula of bronze, partly gilt. The central ornament of the head consists of a swastika engraved on the surface. Grave 143.

Fig. 3. Glass pendant of an unusual kind. It is of dark blue, with a serpentine line of an opaque greenish colour. Grave 191.

Fig. 4. Three girde-hangers suspended from a loop, all of bronze, with punched ornaments on one face only. One of the side pieces was found with the plain face upwards. Grave 143.

Fig. 5. Canine tooth pierced at the root, and with part of the bronze ring by which it was suspended. Grave 191.

Fig. 6. Hook formed of silver wire. Grave 121.

#### Plate XXV.

Fig. 1. Framework of a bucket of unusually large size, the diameter of which is 16 inches. The broad band round the mouth is of bronze edged with iron, and the three lower hoops, the handles and ornaments are also of iron. The wooden staves are now entirely decayed. This bucket is probably the largest that has been found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, though greatly inferior in size to the specimen found near Marlborough, and published in Hoare's *Ancient Wilts*, vol. ii. Pl. VI. This measured no less than 2 feet in diameter and 21 inches in height. It seems, however, to belong to a pre-Saxon period. Grave 103.

Fig. 2. Solid bronze ring with four projecting knobs. Diameter  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Probably connected with the iron keys found in the same grave. Grave 151.

Fig. 3. Three iron keys about 6 inches in length. Grave 151.

Fig. 4. Iron shield-boss of somewhat unusual type, being narrower and higher than the others from this cemetery. Diameter  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

Fig. 5. Bronze tag formed of a double band riveted together at each end. On one face lines of crescent-shaped punch-marks. Length  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches. Grave 50.

Fig. 6. Iron spike or ferule, probably from the butt end of a spear. Length 4 inches. Grave 175.

Fig. 7. Spear-head of slender make and unusually graceful outline. Length 12 inches. Grave 119.

Fig. 8. Diminutive urn of black ware, with seven projecting bosses on the body; band of impressed dots round the neck. Height  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Grave 191.

Fig. 9. Small urn of brown ware, having on the sides four triangular compartments filled with impressed circles bordered by lines. Height 5 inches.

Fig. 10. Diminutive urn of rude make, with scored lines (much injured). Grave 63.

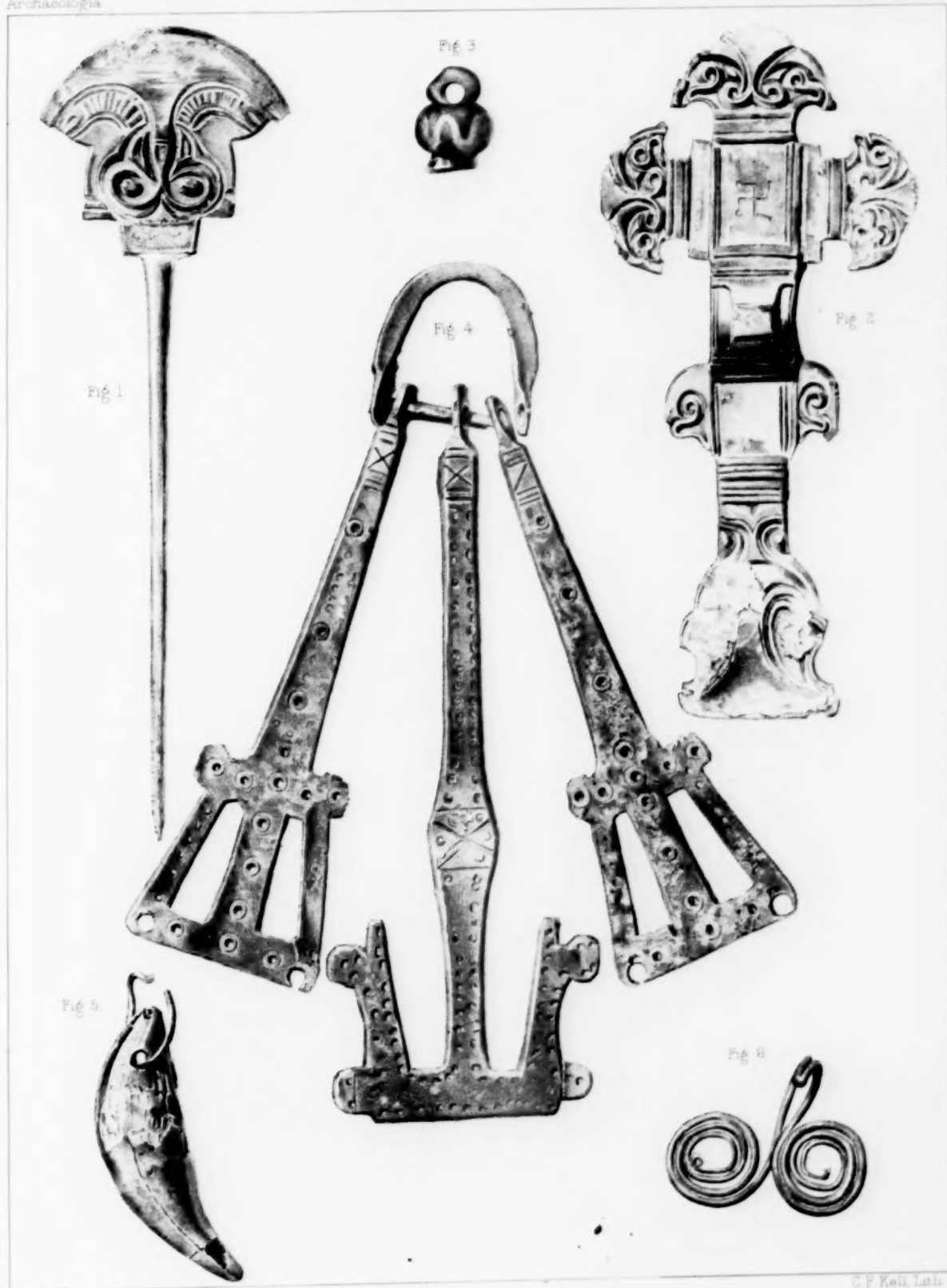


C. F. Keil, Lith.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SLEAFORD, [FULL SIZE]

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1887.*





ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SLEAFORD (FULL SIZE)

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1892*







C. F. Keel, Lith.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN AN ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY AT SLEAFORD.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1887.*



XXIII.—*On certain churches on the eastern coast of Italy.* By  
EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., Vice-President.

---

Read December 14, 1882.

---

I NEVER consider my holiday well spent if I am not able to bring back from it something of interest to tell the Society.

I am afraid what I have to tell upon this occasion is very poor, but I hope at a future time to improve upon it.

I had so often passed Bari and the towns on the eastern coast of Italy that I was glad of the opportunity (being obliged to leave England late) of visiting this district.

There is a series of towns situated along the east coast of Italy, commencing just south of the little lump caused by the projection of a spur of the Apennines at Monte St. Angelo (Monte Gargano) into the sea. The first of these towns is Barletta, and the last may be said to be Taranto. South of Monte St. Angelo the Apennines recede altogether to the western side of Italy, and the country from Monte St. Angelo down to the heel is, speaking approximately, flat. It consists of a series of undulating stone hills, backed with downs about the height of our English South Downs. The whole district is cultivated to the highest extent with vines and olives. In some places wheat is grown, but the staple products of the district are wine and oil; corn is found only on the higher hills and the plain of the river Ofanto. To those who are interested in tracing the history of antiquities, these vineyards will be instructive. In each of them is a circular house, built of stone, and domed, looking exactly like a bee-hive, and bearing, I suppose, a great resemblance to the ancient British houses found in the neighbourhood of Holyhead and elsewhere in Wales. The towns along the coast generally are built upon slight projections into the sea, which must in the times of the early Greek colonists have afforded safe harbours to the small ships then in use, and

which even now are available for a certain amount of protection. Thus we find Barletta, Trani, Molfetta, and Bari, all built in similar situations upon slight promontories running out into the sea, while Brindisi, the great natural harbour of this coast, is built upon a promontory between two arms of the sea, and Taranto upon a rock projecting between two seas.

There is another series of towns built along the line of the Via Appia, which fall into the seaboard series at Bari. These are Canosa, Andria, Corato, Terlizza, Ruvo, and Bitonto. The names Canosa, Ruvo and Bitonto, will be recognised by those who are acquainted with Horace's amusing account of his journey from Rome to Brindisi, as lying between Beneventum and Bari.<sup>a</sup>

I had not the least idea what I was to expect from the journey. I had only seen these towns—sometimes by moonlight, sometimes in the glaring sun of a southern Italian sky—from the train, and all I could tell was that each seemed to possess a large church with a prominent tower.. I went expecting to find some remains of the Byzantine occupation.

The interest attaching to these towns is that the country was occupied by the Normans, about the same time as the Norman conquest of England, and taken from the Greeks (the last remnant in Italy of the Roman empire), who had governed it until then; moreover, the district is, I believe rarely, if ever, explored by an Englishman.

The difficulty in doing this, particularly if you are travelling with a lady, is the trouble there is in finding any point from which the exploration can be made. With the experience I have had now I think I can see how a bachelor might see much more than I was able to do, if content with rough accommodation; but for any one travelling with his wife I think the plan that I adopted was the best, but it was by no means a cheap expedition.

In one respect the visit was a disappointment. As far as I could judge, the Normans have unfortunately destroyed every vestige of the Byzantine occupation.

I shall presently tell the adventure I had in searching out what was stated in Murray's *Hand-book* to be the remains of an old Greek church, but, although there was abundant evidence at every turn that the Normans had copied largely from their Greek predecessors, I did not find except at Taranto a single trace of what I might call the Byzantine occupation of the country.

I determined to make Bari my headquarters, believing that I should find there, at all events, some accommodation. In this I was right.

<sup>a</sup> Iter Brundisium. Q. Horatii Flacci Sermonum, Liber I, Sat. 5.



Bari is the largest of the maritime towns, and has an establishment which may be called a hotel, named *Il Resorgimento*. The old town is, as I have said, situated upon a slight promontory jutting out into the sea. The old port lies to the south-east of the town. A new and really magnificent port has been built to the north, capable of accommodating a large mercantile fleet, and during my visit there was a fair sprinkling of vessels in it. It is between these two ports that the old town lies; it is surrounded by a wall, with a castle at the northern part.

The buildings of interest consist of the cathedral, the abbey church of St. Nicholas, and a small church dedicated to St. Gregory, forming the northern part of the enclosure of the abbey of St. Nicholas.

The cathedral is a Norman building, consisting of a nave, two aisles, a transept, and three apses. At the crossing of the nave and the transept is a dome. At the south-west end is a tall square tower of the same date as the rest of the building. At the south-east side is a large court in which is the house of the archbishop.

It is impossible to give any account of the interior, or even to say if the pillars are original; they have all been painted and whitewashed, the capitals painted, plastered and whitewashed, and I do not think that there is in the interior of the church anything which can with certainty be called old, although from what I shall presently say I believe that if the whitewash and plaster were removed, the old work would be found intact, except where it has been picked over for the purpose of making the plaster to adhere.

I think, however, that the ceiling, which is flat and panelled, is ancient.

Under the east end, and extending also beneath the transepts, there is a crypt. This crypt is approached by steps at the eastern extremity of the two aisles, and I am not sure that a small portion of the balustrade leading down to the crypt is not old. The crypt itself has been rather less hardly dealt with than the church, and is not unlike the crypt at the east end of the cathedral churches of Winchester or Canterbury, though not entered in the same way.

The outside of the church is almost entirely perfect, and is as beautiful a specimen of the Norman architecture of the time, influenced by the country and the architecture of the people the Normans found there, as could be seen. The arches are all round, and so are the windows. The dome is a real dome, so far as I could make it out, supported on Byzantine pendentives, and is a true roof, that is to say, it is not a mere ceiling covered with a roof. The ornamentation of the arches of the doorways and windows is most elaborate, and is such as you

would expect to find just at the period before the Norman architecture in England fell into Early English. I would give as an example of the ornamentation the south-western transept of Ely, although from the nature of the stone and the goodness of the climate the details of the outside are fresh and sharp. The pillars at the doorways are in many cases supported by animals, which were, I think, almost invariably elephants.

There is a large circular building attached to the north-west end of the cathedral, which is, I think, of the same date as the rest, and may have been used as a baptistry. I cannot speak very certainly as to this, as the inside is hopelessly mutilated, but a very little investigation, if one was allowed to pick off the plaster, would prove this. Several of the windows in the cathedral have the original stone lattice, which is very interesting. There was originally a stone porch at the west end, but this has disappeared. I did not find a single mason's mark upon any part of this, or the other buildings, although I searched for them very carefully.

The next building in the town is the church of St. Nicholas. This building holds equal rank with the cathedral in point of dignity; it has a chapter of its own and has also, I believe, a bishop, who is independent of the bishop of the cathedral; at least this is the explanation that was given to me by an intelligent resident engineer employed by the Italian Government, who has offered to be of assistance to me in any further investigations I may wish to make in this district. Unlike the cathedral, the interior of St. Nicholas is almost untouched, and where it has been touched the alterations are no great detriment.

The account given to me by the engineer of the peculiarity of this church is that St. Nicholas was a royal foundation instituted by the Normans, and had preserved its original charter and constitution; I suppose it is to this fact, and its independence of outside influence, that the complete condition of the church may now be traced.

The church, like the cathedral, consists of a nave with two aisles and a transept. There is no tower or dome at the crossing, and the transept is slightly higher than the nave and aisles. Applied to the transept are three apses; the tower of the building, which was to have occupied the same position as that at the cathedral, is unfinished. The building is a T-shaped basilica.

The exterior of the church is somewhat plainer than that of the cathedral, although here, again, the details are of the most beautiful Norman that can be imagined.

In the interior the pillars, which have been taken from some older building,

have upon them capitals which I believe to be Norman imitations of the Roman or Greek work which the Normans found there. The Normans did not take the Roman capitals and apply them to their buildings as was done in churches in other parts of Italy, but executed for themselves capitals in imitation of the Roman or Greek work. At some period the Normans were not satisfied with the strength of the building, and built two arches tying the church together across the nave. These arches are also Norman, but of a date, I think, somewhat subsequent to the original building, though not much later.

The chancel is raised and the altar stands under a baldachino, something like that at St. Lawrence's without the walls, at Rome. It is square at the bottom and octagonal at the top, but this also is Norman, and the date, twelfth century, is fixed by an inscription. There is some mosaic work in the floor, and the archbishop's throne at the extreme east end is *in situ*, all of Norman work. The north and south apses have been closed, but they are perfectly visible, and indeed you can go into them. The church is square at the east end, offices being built outside the apses, and this is not an unusual arrangement in this district; the roof is wooden.

The great interest of the church lies in the crypt. Under the high altar lies the body of St. Nicholas of Myra, which was brought from Myra in Lycia, to Bari, at the time when the rapid approach of the Turks made it clear that the Christians would no longer be able to preserve the relics from the Infidels. This took place about the time of the Norman conquest of this part of Italy, and the bones were removed and placed in the church built for them by the Normans.

The crypt in this church is exactly similar in situation to that in the cathedral. It is in a great measure intact, but has unfortunately been modernised just in the place where it might be expected to be most interesting, namely, over the tomb of St. Nicholas. St. Nicholas's tomb lies under the altar in the crypt, and it is somewhat of a business to get a sight of him. I had announced beforehand that I intended to be present with Mrs. Freshfield, but I had no idea at the moment of what was going to happen to me in consequence. On arriving at the church and going into the crypt we found the front of the altar uncovered. It is a beautiful piece of silver-work, about two hundred years old, representing different occurrences in the life of St. Nicholas and the translation of his remains. The altar is hollow, and the inside is approached by a low round archway from the western side. When we got there we found the church filled with people, and two or three canons awaiting our approach. Two large cushions were put one on either side of the priest and the canon who was

kneeling in front of the altar, and Mrs. Freshfield and I had to kneel on either side of him. A short service was then read, in which the canon asked me to join, and when this was finished the canon lighted a taper, and kneeling down went head first under the altar into this hole, and let the taper down, and then, having come out, he called upon Mrs. Freshfield to enter—all this of course had to be done upon one's knees; and Mrs. Freshfield went in, and stayed, as she thought, a sufficient time and came out again, but the canon considered it was not sufficient, and she had to go in again. I profited by this, and stayed at least ten minutes in the hole, but I regret to say that I did not bring away any information which can be with interest communicated to the Society. I did see what I believe to be St. Nicholas's bones at the bottom. It seems, however, that upon St. Nicholas being deposited there a miraculous spring of fresh water came up, and the canon proceeded to let down a little silver bottle (having previously shown us it was quite empty) very like a reading-lamp into the hole, for the purpose of bringing out some of the water, and presently brought it up full. This water he poured into a most beautiful little silver cup, and handed it to Mrs. Freshfield to drink. Mrs. Freshfield, like myself, is painfully particular upon the subject of drinking-water abroad, and I can conscientiously say that for twenty years I have never tasted a drop of it. It was a startling fact to be called upon to drink water which professedly came out from a dead man's bones—concentrated essence of typhoid fever. Mrs. Freshfield, therefore, put the cup to her lips and handed it to me. I did the same; but this did not satisfy the canon, who said that Mrs. Freshfield and I had not drunk enough to benefit us and we must drink more; whereupon we proceeded to repeat the operation, and, before the canon could get the cup a second time, I got hold of my courier and told him that it was a part of his duty to relieve us from the difficulty, and he must drink the water off, and I gave him the cup. I cannot say whether he suffered from the operation, but he is still alive. The populace afterwards were allowed to see the relics and have as much water as they pleased; afterwards I got two bottles full of it, but I think they got broken; I also obtained a little picture.

From there we went into the sacristy. The things preserved here were not very curious; there was a large Russian picture of St. Nicholas, and several pieces of the cross preserved in a not very old case of cruciform shape. There was however an iron crown said to be that of Robert Guiscard, and a smaller crown said to be that of his wife. The iron crown I should think may be old, although it must have been I think the ornament of a helmet and not of a head from its

great size: it is quite plain. The smaller crown, which would have fitted a head, I think must have at some time or another adorned a statue of the Virgin, but it did not seem to me to be old.

There were in the sacristy one or two prettily illuminated manuscripts and one old printed office-book, with what I should think is a very early instance of engraving; but both the title-page and the last page were torn out, and I could not tell where the book had been printed.

The third building at Bari is the church of St. Gregory, a small chapel consisting of a nave and two aisles with the usual triple apse, as in the cathedral, the central apse only being used. This is Norman and of the same date as the cathedral and St. Nicholas. There is nothing very particular in this building, though as forming one of a group it is worthy of note.

The next church which can be visited easily from Bari is the church of Bitonto. Bitonto is a large town standing inland upon the Via Appia. This building is also Norman, of the most gorgeous description, more like in design to St. Nicholas than to the cathedral, there being no dome to it. It consists of a nave with two aisles, transepts, and the usual triple apse. This church has been modernized in the inside, but I observed that the authorities have commenced clearing away the plaster at the west end, and the Norman details will be found completely preserved underneath, picked over to enable the plaster to adhere; but with an extraordinary perversity it is clear that those who modernized the interior did not even trouble themselves to follow the line of the arches, as is seen plainly by the moulding over the arch which has been uncovered in the process of removing the plaster. The church possesses a very beautiful Norman font, two pulpits more or less decorated with mosaic, the larger pulpit having a stone eagle in front of it. The crypt is also more or less uninjured, the two entrances being ancient. In the third chapel from the west on the south side there is a beautiful piece of Norman carving in imitation of the older Byzantine work, but obviously Norman. The whole of the interior of this church is very beautiful; perhaps the most beautiful feature is an arcade in the south aisle, one of the most gorgeous pieces of Norman architecture I ever saw. There was formerly an open narthex or porch in front of the western doors of this cathedral. The platform of this remains, but the porch itself has been destroyed.

In this church also the T-shape of the basilica has been used.

The next building I visited is the church at Trani; this is like the church of St. Nicholas at Bari; that is to say, it has a nave and two aisles, a transept without any tower at the crossing, the transept higher than the nave. It has



also three apses and a beautiful tower. The outside of this church is perfect, and has been judiciously restored by the Government. The inside has been so entirely modernized as almost to make it unrecognisable. There is in addition to the crypt under the east end a crypt lying under the whole body of this church; that under the body of the church is in the hands of the Government, who have repaired the outside; it is in good preservation, but it is somewhat difficult to get access to it. The situation of this cathedral upon the furthest point of the promontory, like that at Molfetta, makes it a very beautiful object.

There are some plain bronze doors on the south side of the church which are of a very early date. This church has also had a narthex.

There is in this town another church worthy of inspection, but it has been so knocked about as to make it more difficult of identifying than the others I have mentioned; it is in the High Street, and is a small building consisting of a nave with two aisles; the nave is roofed with three domes; the inside is modernised, but the outside preserves a good deal of the Norman work, and the west end is particularly good.

And this brings me to the church of Molfetta, which lies between Trani and Bari. I had not intended to visit Molfetta, but I was attracted to it by a statement in Murray, that just outside the town there were the remains of a Byzantine church, and so I drove there from Trani. Murray describes the Greek church as being in the Vigne de San Giacomo. I found the Vigne after some trouble; it is now used as a soap manufactory, and nothing is left of the Greek church. They show you where there was a building, and I will not say that it might not have been part of a church, but it might as well have been the part of a tower or a water-cistern. But I was amply repaid by my visit to Molfetta. The principal church there, which is as large as either that of St. Nicholas or Trani, is perfect, and is one of the most interesting churches that I saw on the seaboard. It is a tall church, the nave roofed with three domes; the central and the first dome towards the east being true domes, that is to say, being supported upon Byzantine pendentives. The westernmost dome appears to have been repaired at a later time, when it was supported, in the fashion of Lombard domes, upon recessed arches; the easternmost dome has an ornament round the rim in the inside.

The aisles of this church are lean-to, with semi-circular stone roofs, which are extremely curious. As in the churches at Bari, there are three apses to this church, but only one is used. There is also a crypt under the building at

the east end as in the other churches. It has two tall towers at the east end, which is rendered thereby externally square. This church has really no transepts, though in the inside it is arranged so as to seem that a bay of the aisle on each side is part of a transept.

The building, like that at Trani, is situated upon the sea, and is, to my mind, one of the most interesting, as I said before, in the district.

There is another church at the southern extremity of the town roofed with two domes. This has been so much modernised that I cannot be certain of its age, but it is I believe also Norman.

From Bari I made an excursion to Canosa. I went by train to Barletta and took a carriage from thence to Canosa. It is a long expedition, but the church, which is entirely different from any of those before described, is quite worth a visit.

The town of Canosa is situated on the northern slope of the low hills forming the southern boundary of the valley of the river Ofanto. The valley stretches out before you, and there is a most beautiful view over the battlefield of Cannæ to Mount Gargano while from the brow of the hill you can see the whole seaboard of the Mediterranean, from Manfredonia to Bari. The town must have been a very large one; the distance from the church, which is at the south-eastern extremity, to the Roman arch over the road at the entrance of the town, is at least a mile and a half. The present town clusters round a castle upon a high hill, approached by steps. The most interesting building is the church. This is as curious a building as I have seen anywhere. It is in the shape of a Latin cross, consisting of a nave and two aisles with transepts. The church is very low; the roof of the nave consists of three domes, and the roofs of the transepts of one dome each. The church is therefore roofed with five domes. East of the transept is an apse covered with a semi-dome, with two other apses on the north and south. All the arches in the church are round. The church is entirely and unmistakeably Norman. There is a crypt under the east end of it, also Norman. The domes are supported upon Byzantine pendentives. The pillars appear to have been taken from some older buildings. Some of the capitals are Norman, and some classical. Whatever may have been the original construction of the domes they are at present covered with tiles. The building is in every respect most curious, and it may throw some light upon the domed buildings of which the church of St. Front at Perigueux is an example.

Attached to this church, in the south-east corner, is a building which is,

I suppose, unique. You go out of the doorway, at the end of the south transept, and find yourself in a little court, now considerably below the level of the churchyard, which surrounded the church. In this small court is a large octagonal building faced entirely with white marble. This building covers the tomb of Bohemond, prince of Antioch. It is also Norman; and the great interest in it arises from the fact that it is a good Norman imitation of the building called the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem,<sup>a</sup> and I have no doubt that Bohemond's representatives, considering his position as a crusader, and his rank, built this mausoleum for him. The doorways are old bronze, and covered with curious inscriptions. There is a small hole in the centre of the building in which are shown Bohemond's bones. This building is under the care of the municipality, and is difficult of access. It contains a candlestick of Egyptian alabaster.

In the church there is a pulpit like that of Bitonto, and some ornaments round the altar which are of the same age as the church. At some time or other a modern porch has been added to the church, probably taking the place of an older one, but it is unfinished. In the sacristy is a cross which may be Byzantine.

Returning from this expedition we came to Barletta; this is a large town, next in size to Bari, though not so beautifully situated. The church has been much modernised; it is like the cathedral at Trani, but has no towers; on the south of it is an exceedingly interesting bronze statue of the emperor Theodosius, part of the plunder of Constantinople. The statue represents him in his dress as a Roman emperor of the classical times, with the orb in his hand. I see it has been suggested that the statue is that of the emperor Heraclius, but it is much too classical, both in design and dress, to be of his date. The figure is much larger than life-size.

The next building which I shall mention, but which is not the next I visited, is the cathedral at Taranto, which is also Norman. This building is larger than any of the others. It is in shape like the church of St. Nicholas at Barri, but there is now no crypt under the east end, although I think there originally has been one. The church has, unfortunately, been very much modernised inside, as well as built round on the outside, but it retains its original pillars and some of the most interesting capitals which I ever saw in any

<sup>a</sup> I have hazarded this suggestion, but the original Christian church at Antioch was octagonal in shape; and it is just possible that this building may be a miniature representation of the church of Bohemond's city.

church. Some of them have been taken from classical buildings, but a great many of them are Norman copies, and extremely curious.

There is a curious chapel on the south-east of this church, in which, I believe, an Irish saint, named Cataldus, is buried.

The outside of the cathedral retains some of its Norman features—quite enough to fix it as undoubted Norman. In this case, as in the case of Bitonto, I have no doubt if the plaster were removed the whole Norman details could be found. The cathedral is situated in the middle of the town, which, I believe, occupies the position of the old citadel of Taranto; it faces south, and overhangs the Ionian Sea. The situation is most picturesque; a large bay runs inland for several miles, and the citadel has been built upon the rock forming a promontory between the sea and this bay. The mouth of the bay is extremely narrow and has now been bridged over, but I understand the Italian Government, who are executing large works here for an arsenal, propose to open the channel into the bay again, and to use it for the building of ships. There are very slight traces of the old theatre, and there is a long Byzantine aqueduct by which the water is still brought to the town from the neighbouring hills; this is not worth a visit, as it is extremely plain, and has been from time to time modernised, so as to keep it watertight.

I made another expedition from Bari, which is of sufficient interest to be mentioned. Lying upon the downs, at the back of the Appian Way, is a large castle, built by the emperor Frederick the second, which stands entirely by itself upon a conical hill. It is called Castel del Monte, and is, I should suppose, as remarkable a building as could be found. It is octagonal in shape, with eight hexagonal towers at the corners. The building is in the most wonderful state of preservation; it must have been untenanted for centuries, except by shepherds; it has been built entirely of marble from Barletta. A great deal of the carving has been broken away, but quite enough remains to make it perfectly capable of being understood.

The entrance is from the south or south-east. From it you get a view more extensive than that from Canosa, embracing the whole of the same district; and in the distance Mount Vulture. The arches are all pointed, and the architecture is of the finest thirteenth-century work. The centre of the building is now open to the sky, but it is apparent, from the doorways opening into it from the rooms, that originally it must have been covered, in part at all events, with wood; the places can be seen where the beams were fixed. I should think it could not have been entirely covered, otherwise it is difficult to see how it could have been

lighted except by skylights. In the interior there are two stories; the rooms lie between the inner and outer walls of the octagon; they all have groined roofs; the roofs of the rooms in the first floor, which were apparently dwelling-rooms, being very beautiful, and the pillars supporting them, in many instances, remaining. Four rooms have chimney-pieces, and all the rooms seem to have been lined with variegated marbles. The earth-closets seem to have been in the towers. The Italian Government, who are taking charge of this building, have preserved it in such a way as to prevent it from suffering any more from the weather or from the shepherds, and in doing so have preserved an extremely curious feature, namely, the method of supplying water. Every drop of water falling upon the castle was collected. In the top of each tower was a large water-tank, and when this tank was filled there was an overflow pipe from it into a large underground cistern at the bottom of the building, so that the emperor Frederick had discovered a plan by which to lay on water to all the upper rooms. The engineer whom I mentioned to have seen at Bari had the charge of the work, and told me that he had had the most careful drawings made of every detail in it.

The position is extremely inaccessible, but I will tell you how I got to it. There is a steam tramway running from Bari along the old Via Appia, by Bitonto, Ruvo Terlizza, and Corato, to Andria; here the tramway leaves the Via Appia, and proceeds to Barletta. I took this tramway as far as Corato, and from there I went by carriage, which I had sent on from Bari, to the castle, which is some eight or ten miles off. Coming back again my guide thought to shorten the road by going to Andria, which resulted in our missing the last train and having to drive to Trani in order to get back again.

Going by the train, I had the opportunity of seeing the church at Ruvo, which is also an extremely interesting Norman building, much like the building at Bitonto, but, as it seemed to me, rather later. It is in shape exactly like it, consisting of a T-shaped basilica, with a transept rather higher than the nave, and a grand west entrance.

The church at Corato, which I also visited, is too much injured to be worth describing.

There still remains a group of churches at Brindisi. These are neither as large nor as interesting as the churches I have before described. The cathedral is entirely modern, the only feature of interest that I know in it being the coloured tiles with which it is floored.

There is a circular building, now roofless, and filled with weeds, which is



Norman, and is said to have been a church of the Templars. This is on the high ground above the harbour. Close to the harbour is a church called "the church of the Greeks," which is also Norman, consisting of a nave with two aisles and an apse. This church is also filled with weeds, and is without a roof. There is no indication whatever that it has ever been used for the Greek ritual, and it is decidedly much later than the churches at Bari.

About two miles from Brindisi, upon the hills, is a small church called Santa Maria de Casale. This is also said to be Norman, but I should say it was of considerably later date; it is attached to a monastery. It is a small building consisting only of a nave. The most interesting feature in this is the porch, of which I exhibit a photograph. I should say that this church is not older than the time of the emperor Frederick. The monastery to which it is attached is desecrated, and the monks offered to sell me the chapel, to take away if I liked it, for £1,200.

I unfortunately had not time to visit either Lecce or Otranto.

It will be seen that there are in this district three distinct descriptions of churches. First: the group represented by St. Nicholas, where the building is a T-shaped basilica with the transepts higher than the nave. Secondly: the buildings represented by the church at Canosa and those at Molfetta, and the small church at Trani, where the buildings are entirely domed. And thirdly: the cathedral at Bari, where the building is a T-shaped basilica with a dome at the crossing.

There are also the following peculiarities: (1.) All the churches have three apses. (2.) Several of the churches have square east ends applied to the apses.

I should say that the Normans borrowed the domical features from the Greeks, the domes being all purely Byzantine in construction; the westernmost dome of the cathedral at Molfetta being as I should suppose a reparation by some person more acquainted with the Lombard style of building. The three apses, which are unintelligible in a Latin church, also seem to represent a Greek feature; but, with the exception of a small piece of carving that I saw in the third chapel of the church of Bitonto, there was not one which I should say was a reproduction of the distinctly Byzantine clinging acanthus. The circular Norman windows form one beautiful feature in these buildings.

I could not quit this part of the country without passing over to Salerno in order to compare these buildings with the glorious Norman cathedral there. Whether having regard to its size, or its arrangement, or the internal decorations,

its pulpits, candlesticks, mosaics, or ivory altar-piece, it is one of the most beautiful and interesting buildings I ever saw.

Although it is not in my line I cannot leave the subject altogether without saying one word about the Via Appia. I do not know at what time of the year Horace travelled along it. He arrives at Canosa and there he describes the gritty bread.<sup>a</sup> If any one chooses to buy a piece of bread in modern Canosa they will find it still gritty, caused as I believe by the softness of the stones with which the flour is ground. Horace describes that, as he left Canosa, the way became worse and the weather better;<sup>b</sup> this was, I have not the least doubt, owing to the fact that he was really getting into the south-eastern climate: all the bad weather goes up the valley of the Ofanto, and as he got round under the shelter of the downs he would find himself in a true southern country. Many a time we saw storms going along the valley into the sea, while it was perfectly dry fine weather at Bari and in the neighbourhood. The road here is over a stony ground, and is infamous.

I had comforted Mrs. Freshfield, who had been somewhat starved on the journey, by telling her that at Bari at all events we should have good fish because Horace had called it "fishy Bari."<sup>c</sup> One portion of our impedimenta, consisting of Mrs. Freshfield's box, always remained in our sitting-room, and we were painfully reminded of Horace's epithet as applicable to Bari by the fact that this particular box had been put by the guard of the train into the fish depôt at Bari, and for the rest of our journey we were reminded that Bari was and still is fishy.

I had originally intended to amplify this paper and illustrate it with some photographs; but after I had written and read it, I found that the subject had already been dealt with much more fully, though not in the same connexion in which I have treated it; my object having been to trace the Byzantine influence on the northern architecture.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra  
callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator;  
nam Canusi lapidosus. *Serm. Lib. I. 5, 89, et seq.*

<sup>b</sup> Postera tempestas melior, via pejor, ad usque  
Bari moenia piscosi. *Ib. I. 5, 96.*

<sup>c</sup> "Denkmaeler Der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien," von H. W. Schultz. Dresden, 1860.

XXIV.—*The History of Malmesbury as a Village Community.*  
By G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.

---

Read January 20, 1887.

---

IN the north-west of Wilts is a district which contains some remarkable reminiscences of the two dominant races who have influenced the history of this country. In tracing out the history of this district, as it has come down to us by the traditions and records of early chronicle writers, we arrive at an important epoch when for the first time is brought into strongly marked prominence the outline of the community which had settled there. This community, known to us later under the local name of Malmesbury, is one of the most perfect types of the primitive village which has survived in England, and to the elucidation of its chief characteristics it is proposed to devote some little attention. Keeping before us the outline made known from early records we shall see how this is gradually filled in from facts, which though gleaned from later and modern records, are nevertheless stamped as belonging to the earliest stages of history. And when this local mosaic is completely pieced in we shall be able, I think, to satisfy ourselves that what has so persistently clung to locality in later days originally belonged to a social group, types of which are still to be found in Eastern Europe and India, where society is in a state of arrested progress and has not advanced along the lines which mark its development in Western Europe.

At the commencement of our researches we meet with some significant facts which in the first place give some kind of definite outline to a district which has Malmesbury for its centre point of interest, and in the second place enable us to discover in this district strong traces of the continuance of Celtic habitation unbroken by the Saxon conquest. It is necessary to clearly understand these facts.

The western boundary of this district is the British trackway marked in most maps as Akeman Street, running from Bath to Cirencester, while on the eastern side the great forest of Braden spread its thick foliage. In the north-west angle

of this district was situated the British fortress of *Caer Dur*. The present topography of the place sufficiently attests that it was once a position of importance, and by nature well adapted for the site of a fortress, while the lane leading to it by Back Bridge affords, says Mr. Akerman, to this day, one of the most perfect examples of the roads by which our ancestors were wont to travel.<sup>a</sup> Before the Romans left this island they had turned the British trackway into a foss road and *Caer Dur* into one of the defending halting places along the line.<sup>b</sup>

Driven out of *Caer Dur* by the Romans the British settled in a fortress two miles off which they knew as *Caer Bladon*. That this seems to have been the course of events is borne out by the fact that no Roman remains have been found on the site of *Caer Bladon*;<sup>c</sup> and curiously enough there still exists a tradition among the inhabitants of the place that *Caer Dur* is "one hundred years older."<sup>d</sup> *Caer Bladon* was built on the summit of a hill surrounded on all sides but one by two rivers, and its position as a formidable hill-fortress had probably much to do with its later most interesting history.<sup>e</sup>

We have thus clearly before us by the light of modern topographical remains the two British strongholds of *Caer Dur* and *Caer Bladon*, and our next point is

<sup>a</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 257.

<sup>b</sup> Traces of Roman work at *Caer Dur* are noted in *Wilts Arch. Soc.* viii. 6.

<sup>c</sup> An account of some *Ancient Triangular Bricks Discovered at Malmesbury* is given in *Gent. Mag.* 1831, part ii. pp. 499, 500. These are concluded to be Roman in *Journ. Arch. Assoc.* xxviii. 41, by Mr. Syer Cuming, who, writing about some triangular bricks discovered in Marden Castle, Dorchester, says, "Triangular bricks have been discovered at Malmesbury [*Caer Bladon*], and near Canterbury, having perforations through them of about the same diameter as those in the Dorset examples. The date of the Malmesbury bricks is *not* well defined; but those met with in Kent positively belong to the Roman epoch, and constituted a portion of a hearth with which was an iron *tripus*, hooks, &c. for cooking."—*Journ. Arch. Assoc.* xviii. p. 272. On turning to this last-mentioned reference we find Mr. Syer Cuming himself the exponent of the Roman theory. Mr. J. Brent exhibited the "triangular bricks very imperfectly burnt," which had been discovered in digging for gravel at Bigberry Hill about two miles from Canterbury at a distance of seven feet from the surface, which originally had been two feet higher (a wood which stood thereon having been grubbed up). Near to them was picked up a very perfect arrow-head of flint; and Mr. Cuming pointed out a vessel, found among the débris, "the parts of which bespeaking a Celtic origin," and he "detected a portion of the rim of a rude urn referable to the stone period, so that," says Mr. Cuming, "there are within the limited area of a few feet objects of the primeval, Celtic, and Roman periods." But there is no evidence that these bricks are Roman, and they are associated at all events with primeval and Celtic objects.

<sup>d</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxxvii. 257.

<sup>e</sup> The position is best described by a passage in *Gent. Mag.* 1831, part ii. p. 500, where the discovery of triangular bricks is noted.

to consider their position after the English inroad, which, succeeding the epoch-making battle of Deorham, brought the Celt and Saxon for the first time face to face in this district. It is extremely difficult to decide this part of the question, but I think it can be satisfactorily established (1) that the English at once sacked and occupied *Caer Dur*, renaming it scornfully, and in illustration of its condition then and long afterwards, *Brokenburgh*; <sup>a</sup> (2) that they sacked the homestead at *Caer Bladon*, but left the British garrison isolated in its strongly defended *castellum*.

I have partly followed Dr. Guest<sup>b</sup> in the reading he has given of an interesting passage from the *Eulogium Historiarum*; but as this passage is the key to much that I shall have to advance presently in connection with the early history of the community who settled at *Caer Bladon*, it will be well to quote it here. It is as follows:—

There was in Ireland (Scotia) a certain monk named Meildulf, who was so harassed by thieves and robbers in his own country that he could hardly live. He, seeing that he could not long remain there, took to flight and came as far as England. As he was surveying the country and thinking how God would dispose of him, he at last took up his quarters under the *Castellum* of *Bladon*, which in the Saxon tongue was called *Ingelbourne Castle*. This *Castellum* was built by a certain British king . . . . . by name *Dunwallo*, and by surname *Molmuncius* . . . . . There had formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners (*alienigenis*) but the *castellum*, being a fortified building, maintained itself, and stood there for a long time . . . without having any dwelling near it. The king's residence and the manor belonging to it were, both in the Pagan and in Christian times, at *Kairdurburgh*, which is now called *Brukeburgh*, or otherwise *Brokenbern* (*Brokenberh*). The hermit aforesaid, by name *Meildulf*, selected for himself a hermitage beneath the *Castellum*, having obtained permission from the men in charge of it, for there was not much resort of people there; and when the necessities of life began to fail him, he collected round him scholars to teach, that by their liberality he might mend his scanty commons. In a short time these scholars so learning the rudiments swelled into a small convent.<sup>c</sup>

This passage follows up the evidence from the topographical remains, and it is important to bring into prominence its chief features. They are as follows:—

1. The Anglo-Saxon head-quarters were at *Brokenburgh*;
2. The British still held out at *Bladon*, which was known to the English as *Inglebourne Castle*;
3. The Irish (Celtic) monk settled under the walls of a fortress inhabited by his fellow-countrymen.

<sup>a</sup> Guest, *Origines Celticae*, ii. 252.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 251, 252.

<sup>c</sup> *Eulogium Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 1857, i. 225



Dr. Guest suggests that Meildulf "found an English guard posted" in the castellum at Caer Bladon;<sup>a</sup> but there is absolutely no evidence in the chronicle for this. On the other hand, all the facts point to Caer Bladon being occupied by the British. Meildulf would settle where he obtained some sympathy, and not where he was at the mercy or by the sanction of people whom he considered foreigners—alienigenos. We are told that the castellum maintained itself, and was known in the Saxon tongue as Ingelbourne Castle; but this naming by the Anglo-Saxons is no proof of conquest, as the brook flowing by Brokenborough was known as the Ingelbourne, the brook of the Engle, Caer Bladon would be correspondingly known as the castle on the Ingelbourne. To emphasize the evidence for the continued British occupation, it is curious to find that the Celtic name of the river, the Bladon, was known in later times and used by the Saxon bishop in his charter of 672, and both the Celtic name Caer Bladon, and the English, Ingelbourne Castle, subsequently gave way to one which originated from the Irish monk Meildulf, the old English name being Maildulfisbury, thence the Malmesbury of modern times.<sup>b</sup> And it is worth asking whether this Celtic monk could have imposed his name upon a community who were not of the same race and language as himself, especially as we learn from a passage preserved by Leland in his *Collectanea* (ii. 304), that the Saxons had previously to this date destroyed "a house of nuns close by the castle of Inglebourne, in a certain hamlet called Ilanburgh, by the Saxons termed Burgh-ton." Noting that here again we have a Celtic place-name supplemented by its Saxon equivalent, it is clearly arguable that the destruction of the Christian convent would not have been followed by the ready assent to the establishment of a Christian monk if the occupiers of the castellum were of the same race as the destroyers of the convent. And the reasonable assumption is that the castellum was held by the British as a frontier stronghold for that king who, in the language of Dr. Guest, as "lord of the rich and beautiful district which stretched from Malmesbury to Lands End must have been little inferior to the King of Wessex himself, either in the extent or resources of his dominions."<sup>c</sup>

We have some confirmation of this from the history of the Celtic church which was established in this district. When Meildulf settled under the castle of Caer Bladon he saw around him nothing but the ruins of the former town. "There

<sup>a</sup> *Origines Celticae*, ii. 252.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Rev. W. H. Jones in *Wilts. Arch. Soc.* viii. 69.

<sup>c</sup> *Origines Celticae*, ii. 270.

had," says the record previously quoted, "formerly been a city there, which was totally destroyed by the foreigners, but the castellum, being a fortified building, maintained itself and stood there a long time without having any dwelling near it." He built a cell (*tugurium*) under the walls of the castellum, and an extract given by Leland in his *Collectanea* (ii. 301) fixes the date of this as A.D. 637. It was thus that the light of the old Celtic church was kept burning in spite of the opposition of the fierce paganism of the early Saxons.<sup>a</sup> The same British chief who is credited with building *Caer Bladon* is also said to have built castella at Laycock and Tetraonburgh, and though the latter place is not now to be identified, Laycock, it is important to note, is situated in this old Welsh district with which Malmesbury is identified, and was also the seat of a British church.

And even the first glimpse we get of Saxon influences is the appearance of the far-famed Aldhelm, a near kinsman of Ina, who, in 688, became King of Wessex, but who had been a pupil of Meildulf. It was his great mission to soften and almost eradicate the bitter enmity that existed between the Celtic churches and those which recognised the authority of Augustine and his successors. It has been well said that there was a fixed determination among the British not to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon race.<sup>b</sup> But Aldhelm came to the work fresh from the teaching of his Celtic master Meildulf of Malmesbury. There he built two churches, one on the foundation of an old British church,<sup>c</sup> and later on he founded other churches at Bradford and Frome, both of which places again are situated within the Celtic tongue of land which had for its northernmost stronghold the castellum at *Caer Bladon* or Malmesbury. Thus again we are forced to the conclusion that strong Celtic influences existed in this district, and they must be reckoned with in any attempt to understand the evidences of early times which meet us in the institutions which now exist.

I think we thus get as a starting point clear evidence of a Celtic stronghold at the northernmost boundary of a wedge-like Celtic district, maintaining itself between the English-conquered districts of Mercia and Wessex longer than any

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Trice Martin in his introduction to the *Registrum Malmesburiense*, ii. page xl. comes to the same conclusion as myself, that Meildulf's church was Celtic, "it must have followed the rule of St. Columba, and it was not until the reforms of Eadgar and Dunstan that the stricter Italian rule was enforced and observed." I notice also that Dr. Leo points out that "it was to the west of England and to Wales that the British Christians were driven in early times, witness the names of the headlands on the Welsh Coast."—*Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> Rev. W. H. Jones, in *Wilt. Arch. Soc.* viii. 76.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

other stronghold.<sup>a</sup> And in addition to the military stronghold there is the influence of the subsequent religious foundation tending to keep up as far as possible, in the midst of other influences, Celtic traditions of social organization. If we add to these two pregnant facts the extreme probability of a strong Celtic population having survived the Saxon occupation<sup>b</sup> of the district, we may expect to find that the institutions which are discoverable at the dawn of history, or by the light of modern scientific research, are strongly tinged with Celtic characteristics. And I would further suggest that the realization of these expectations would go far to substantiate the reading of the early chronicle evidence which I have ventured to adopt.

We are now in a position to ask ourselves what are the initial facts with respect to the community who settled at Malmesbury? In 637, when Meildulf took up his abode, there was no village or inhabitants outside the fortress. In 672 Leutherius, bishop of the Saxons, granted to Aldhelm "terram illam cui vocabulum est inditum Maldumesburg." This gift no doubt included the ground upon which the two churches were afterwards built. But the building of a church other than the monastic church implies the existence of a community who would use it, and the question that therefore arises is—was this community, which now appears for the first time, composed of the original garrison of *Caer Bladon* and their descendants, or was it a band of Saxons who were attracted thither by the monastery? My own reading of the evidence is that it was the Celtic community who had occupied the *castellum*, and who, as more peaceful times arose, and as the monastery flourished beneath their walls, again occupied the deserted village, and again worshipped in the church of their forefathers. At all events there is no evidence of any great inroad of Anglo-Saxons, and, though they unquestionably took part in the final settlement of the district, it was side by side with their old Celtic foes, not in place of them. If this is the correct view to take there will be traces of this race origin in the later institutions.

What these later institutions were it is our next step to establish. The chronology of events has guided us so far, and now we must leave chronology and seek our guide in the science of comparative politics. By this we know that an institution is not modern because it happens to have been noted for the first

<sup>a</sup> Guest's map in *Origines Celticae*, ii. 242, gives the position of the races very clearly.

<sup>b</sup> I say "occupation," because, if *Caer Bladon*, sacked in A.D. 577, was still allowed to retain its British garrison in the *castellum* the "conquest" of the district clearly did not take place then. But an occupation unquestionably did take place when Mercians and West Saxons in later years overlapped their earlier boundaries and fought against each other or united against a common foe.

time by modern inquirers: it is modern, or archaic—the creation of an historical period, or the descendant from a far-off period—just so far as it is comparable to modern or archaic institutions known to exist elsewhere. If its parallels are known to have been created in order to meet the living practical purposes of modern times, then we may classify its origin as appertaining to modern history; if on the other hand its parallels are to be found only in those backward lands, or among those arrested societies which exist in the eastern world in great plenty, and in the western world on the borders of civilization or in isolation amidst and in spite of civilization, then we class it with its fellows as appertaining to primitive history. Guided by what we already know of the beginnings of the Malmesbury community at the dawn of English history, we purpose next to group it among its parallels either in modern or primitive history.

We will consider the structure of the Malmesbury community under the heads of (1) the basis of membership; (2) the rights of membership.

The basis of membership has some features which are of almost unique importance. Our knowledge of them is chiefly to be obtained from an account in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1832,<sup>a</sup> which is copied from a manuscript dated 1685-6. What this manuscript is, and where it is, I have failed to discover, but that the extract I am going to use is original cannot for one moment be doubted.

Being to mention Malmesbury often in the ensuing narration, I have thought it not unfit, to say something of the policy of that auntient Corporation, which by the justice and clemency and liberality of former Kings, hath not only retained its auntient forme of Government, but hath been enriched with great quantitys of land, which are disposed amongst the Freemen and Guildeners, by very just and prudent methods. The Borrow of Malmesbury is situated in two parishes, that of Malmesbury properly, and that of Westport. The Commoners and Guildeners of Malmesbury are divided into six centurys or hundreds or tribes, and every Commoner is reduced under one of these tribes, and inrolled in a large skin, under the name of a tribe or hundred, so that there are six columns of names, all which persons have right of Common in the large portion of ground called King's Heath, given to them by Charter, in reward of faithful services done to King Athelstan, whose monument is yet extant in Malmesbury, by that magnanimous King, but wisely limited, so that every Commoner hath an equal advantage by it. Now the 48 names which by antiquity or seniority come to be next the names of the respective centurys or tribes, are termed the 48ths, and have an Addition of Land in a Common Field, belonging to that Corporation, as a Corporation. There is also a superiøre order of 24<sup>s</sup>, which are elected ever out of the 48 by the majority of the 24<sup>s</sup>, who doe not always respect seniority, but the tribes of the persons. There is also another order, which consists of 13, who by the majority of the 13, are ever elected out of the majority of the 24<sup>s</sup> onely, in which Election seniority is also not always regarded.

<sup>a</sup> Part i. pp. 405-6.

Three persons of this 13 are yearly presented to the Commoners by the rest of the 13, who choose out of them an Alderman for the ensuing yeer, which Alderman is a Justice of the Peace for the Burrow; and hath power to nominate a Deputy, who is to act onely when the Alderman is out of the Burrow. These 13 have also large Meadows or Pastures, none lesse than 8*l.* nor none worth more than 16*l.* per ann. to each one, but under penalties of waste, so that these grounds are not empayred, altho they pass thorow many hands.

Confining ourselves firstly to the constitution of the community, what is the evidence to be derived from this remarkable document? The answer is to be found by ascertaining the constitution of the Welsh tribal communities, which can readily be done by turning to Mr. Seebohm's *English Village Community* (pp. 181-206). Mr. Seebohm is there treating, not of the late survivals, imperfect in form and twisted from their archaic originals by the forces of modern politics, but of the early tribal communities as seen from the evidence of laws and other early authorities. And though I shall not suggest that we can absolutely identify the Malmesbury community, with its "hundreds or tribes" and its "thirteens," with the "tribes" and "thirteens" of the Welsh system, yet I shall urge that the archaic arithmetic of the early Welsh tribes has unquestionably survived in the curiously complicated system of the Malmesbury community. "Without pretending to have mastered all the details," says Mr. Seebohm, "of these obscure [the Welsh] tribal arrangements, the point to be noted is that the scattering of the tyddyns all over the country side, and the clustering of them by fours and sixteens, or twelves, into the group which was the unit paying the gwestva or tunc pound, and again into clusters of twelve or thirteen under a maer as the unit of civil jurisdiction were obviously distinctive features arising from the tribal holding of the land."<sup>a</sup> Apply this statement to the condition of things at Malmesbury, and what do we find? There could be no very extensive "scattering of the tyddyns all over the country side," because the community at Malmesbury was hemmed in by the Sassenach; but substitute for this a closer drawing together of the few tribal homesteads that remained when they again issued from their castellum, and the rest of Mr. Seebohm's summary of the early Welsh tribal constitution holds good too as a summary of the late Malmesbury constitution.

In the first place we have not any definite traces of a "village" at Malmes-

<sup>a</sup> *English Village Community*, p. 205. Mr. Seebohm quotes from the *Gwentian Code*, p. 375, the following, "there are to be thirteen trevs in every maenol, and the thirteenth of these is the super-numerary trev."



bury. There is a community of independent homesteads, but not a village in the archaic sense. This is well illustrated by the evidence of *Domesday*, which shows that Malmesbury was situated in two hundreds, that of Cheggelewe and Sterchelee, and Mr. W. H. Jones significantly asks "if the town of Malmesbury existed at the time when the hundreds were formed, is it likely that it would have been parted between two hundreds, especially when we bear in mind that the lordship of both belonged, from an early period, to the Abbot of Malmesbury?"<sup>a</sup> I do not follow Mr. Jones in his answer to this question, but it suggests to my mind that, though there was a *community* at Malmesbury recognisable certainly as early as Bede, it was based upon the old tribal system which we have been examining, and that there did not arise anything like a town until those much later years when commerce had broken through the archaic network which held the community together.

Of course, it is not to be expected that the structure of the community in the seventeenth or nineteenth centuries was exactly the same as the original from which it descended; and the disturbing causes which prevented at the starting point a free settlement of a tribal community would introduce modifications of the general archaic system from the very beginning. But, considering these facts, the twisting which has taken place, owing to the operation of modern economic laws, is wonderfully small; and I do not think we shall be overstepping the bounds of historical science by translating the modern title, "capital burgess," into the archaic "tyddyn" of the Welsh. It is advisable to consider a little closely the analogy which is here suggested; and it appears to me to work itself out in a very simple way. The particular type of tribal community which Malmesbury most nearly parallels is that of South Wales according to the Dime-tian and Gwentian codes. There the free trev was the gwestva-paying unit; and, according to the archaic arithmetic which governed the constitution of these tribal arrangements, we have the following grouping:

12 trevs under a maer = 1 maenol with a court and unit of legal jurisdiction.

12 tyddyns or 4 randirs = 1 trev.

100 erwes of pasture, &c. }  
4 erwes of homestead } = 1 tyddyn.

<sup>a</sup> *Domesday for Wilts*, p. xxxi.

The Malmesbury constitution may be grouped thus :

1835. Per Municipal Corporation Commission.	1685. Per quotation from <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> .
280 commoners	
48 landholders	The 48s.
24 assistants	The 24s.
12 capital burgesses and	The 13s.
1 alderman	

It will be seen by this, that the 280 commoners are the outcome of the period between 1685 and 1835, and as constituent portions of the community must be struck out of our present consideration. But, what is much more important, we must strike out too the "titles" of the other bodies, and substitute for them the extremely archaic titles derived from the number comprising the body. There thus remains the three bodies of the 48s, the 24s, and the 13s. Now, if we eliminate from these the body of "twenty-fours," we are enabled to make a pretty easy comparison of the Malmesbury community with the South Wales tribal system; and I would suggest that we may well consider this body to have been the creation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, just as the 280 commoners are proved to have been the creation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. If this is so, we have left as representatives of the archaic tribal constitution of Malmesbury, the 48s and the "thirteen"; and my suggestion is, that in these two bodies we have the 12 tyddyns and 1 supernumerary tyddyn, with their corresponding 4 erwes (or acres) each, or together, 48 erwes.

We will deal first with the 48 erwes, or acres, belonging to the tyddyn, and endeavour to ascertain how they helped to form the group of "landholders" who became an integral part of the community. Mr. Seebohm points out the difficulty attending the curious geometrical system of the early Welsh tribes, unless we adopt the shifting characteristics of a pastoral people; and he states that, long before the fourteenth century the households were settled in their homesteads, geometrical regularity had ceased, and the land was divided and subdivided into irregular fractions.<sup>a</sup> I contend we have in Malmesbury a curious example of these irregular fractions. When the tyddyns lost their archaic nature, they could no longer keep to the old laws of succession by undivided groups, and hence at some period when the pressure of population began to tell, the question of the suc-

<sup>a</sup> *English Village Community*, p. 205.

cession to the communal property began to arise.<sup>a</sup> To meet this state of things the then possessors of the 48 erwes, or acres, belonging to the tyddyns were allowed to keep their holdings, and in virtue of them to become the basis of a new class in the community, just as at later periods the same question would arise, and additional classes such as the "assistants" and "commoners" subsequently succeeded to the inheritance of the once undivided households of the original tribal holdings.

We have next to deal with the "thirteen," and I may advance the suggestion that the close analogy this body bears to the group of tyddyns in the old Welsh tribal system considerably strengthens the perhaps somewhat speculative considerations just put forward as to the origin of the other bodies. The group of tyddyns was made up of 12, plus one supernumerary tyddyn, making together 13. And so the "thirteen" at Malmesbury were composed of 12, plus one supernumerary. This important fact did not appear until 1876 when evidence was taken before the municipal commissioners.<sup>b</sup> Nor is this all. It was one of the features of the tribal system, as we see it in Ireland, that "the families of free tribesmen did not always occupy the same tyddyn, but were shifted from one to another whenever the dying out of a family rendered needful a redistribution to ensure the fair and equal division of the tribal lands according to antiquity and their rank under the tribal rules."<sup>c</sup> The holdings of the "thirteen" at Malmesbury were likewise at one time, though not now, subject to a re-allotment whenever a new member was admitted upon the death or removal of an old member.<sup>d</sup>

I shall have to explain presently the difference in the extent of the land held by the capital burgess and the tyddyn, and in the meantime will pass on to the next portion of our inquiry, namely, the basis of kinship in the community.

We have to deal with modern phraseology in considering the extent to which the Malmesbury community is indebted to blood relationship for its basis of membership; but in spite of this we can detect, I think, the archaic original which preceded the record as it has come down to us. The mode by which persons can become free burgesses was settled in 1821, and this was preserved by an Act of Parliament then obtained for the enclosing of the borough lands. It is thus given by the commissioners of 1835 :

<sup>a</sup> I have discussed this important subject, and its bearing upon such a state of things as appears at Malmesbury, in *Archaeologia*, ante, pp. 195—214.

<sup>b</sup> See *Municipal Corporation Commission*, 1876, part ii. p. 836, "there is always one capital burgess who has not a 'burgess past'; he is paid money out of what is subscribed by the other capital burgers."

<sup>c</sup> Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 236.

<sup>d</sup> See *Municipal Corporation Commission*, 1876, part ii. p. 833.

Every son of a free burgess or commoner in his own right, he being at the time of claiming admission of the age of twenty-one years and married, and also a parishioner of one of the parishes within the borough, and likewise at the same time an inhabitant householder in an entire tenement (and not an inmate) within the borough, is entitled to be admitted a free burgess or commoner of this borough. Every man who has married a free burgesses daughter, he being at the time of claiming admission so married and his wife living (but not otherwise), he being also of the age of twenty-one years and a parishioner of one of the parishes within the borough, and an inhabitant householder in an entire tenement (and not an inmate) within the borough, is entitled to be admitted a free burgess or commoner of this borough; but a free burgesses daughter having once married cannot communicate to a second husband a right to admission: nor will such subsequent marriage give to the sons or daughters of such husband by another wife any right to admission. No son of a free burgess born before his father shall have been admitted in court a free burgess is entitled to be admitted a free burgess. No daughter born before her father shall have been admitted in court a free burgess can communicate to or invest any husband with any right or title to be admitted a free burgess.

Disqualification and causes for rejection and amoval are (1) conviction of felony; (2) not being at the time of admission, or at any time after admission ceasing to be an inhabitant householder in an entire tenement within one of the said parishes within the borough.

Blood relationship is by this constitution absolutely the basis of the Malmesbury community,<sup>a</sup> and even where it oversteps the line of male descent, it runs parallel to the archaic system, where, as in some tribes in the Punjab, the daughter may bring her husband to fill up the ranks of the community, failing through disease or any other calamity.<sup>b</sup> We even have preserved in this curiously constructed system of municipal freedom the archaic succession of all the sons—"every son" being entitled to take up his freedom upon coming of age.

The regulation of the affairs of the community was determined by an assembly composed of all its members.<sup>c</sup> The report of the Municipal Corporation Commission of 1835 describes the assembly at Malmesbury as follows:—"An assembly composed of the alderman, capital burgesses, assistant burgesses, landowners, and commoners, has the privilege of deciding on the title of claimants to a share in the Corporation lands." The commissioners of 1876 obtained the information that there are four courts during the year, one for the appointment of officers,

<sup>a</sup> The evidence of Mr. Player before the Commission of 1876 illustrates how actual was the kinship basis of the Community. See *Question 6318 et seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

<sup>c</sup> Laveleye's *Primitive Property* gives parallel instances from Russia (p. 14), Switzerland (p. 94), Germany (p. 111), Holland (p. 283), and it is an admitted feature of the primitive community wherever found.

one for the swearing in of officers, one for admission of commoners, and one for the turning out of commoners upon disqualification. We do not know sufficiently of the details of the proceedings of this assembly to pick out all the points of contact with the assemblies of early social groups; but Mr. Trice Martin has preserved in his preface to the *Registrum Malmesburiense* (vol. iii. page xliii.) an interesting archaism which accompanies the delivery of the allotted portions of land to the commoners, seizin being given by the transferring of a twig and the repetition of the rhyming formula—

This land and twig I give to thee,  
As free as Athelstan gave it me,  
And I hope a loving brother thou wilt be.

The appearance of the rhyme at once denotes that we are in the presence of archaic custom,<sup>a</sup> and the last line recalls that "common brotherhood" which is a typical feature of early communities, and of which we have already had some evidence in the kinship which underlies the constitution of the Malmesbury community. Further than this is the significant practice of the delivery of the twig. There exists many examples of the primitive community in England, where the annual allotment of the land is made by means of curiously formed twigs,<sup>b</sup> a twig being placed on each strip of land, and corresponding twigs being cast into a hat, from which the various members of the community draw. The twigs so drawn denote the piece of land which each drawer is to have for the coming year. With these interesting facts before us I suggest that in the rhyming formula still surviving at Malmesbury we have a relic of the periodical redistribution of land by the assembly of the community.

We have next to deal with the rights of the community. The rights of membership at Malmesbury, governed by that intricate system which has already been noted, are entirely of an archaic order. There is the tenement or homestead. There is a right to land "in a common field," that is land held in common by those bundles of strips of acres or half-acres which Mr. Seebohm has made so familiar to us. There is the common pasture attached to the arable lots. In 1835 the Municipal Corporation Commission thus described this land:—

<sup>a</sup> I have given some details of this interesting subject, rhyming formulae, in an article in the *Antiquary*, vol. viii. pp. 12-15.

<sup>b</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. xxxvii. p. 383. On symbols of transfer generally, consult Spence's *Court of Chancery*, i. p. 22.



The property of the Corporation consists of about 516 acres of land, divided among the entire body in the following proportion: 280 commoners, about 1 acre each; 48 landholders, about 1 acre each; 24 assistants, about 2 acres each; the alderman and eleven [twelve] senior capital burgesses, 140 acres between them (see *Report*, vol. i. p. 77).<sup>a</sup>

but the Commissioners of 1876 obtained much more valuable information. This information I summarise as follows, the reference figures being the number of question and answer in the evidence:—

1. The homestead, which gives in primitive times the right to land allotments in the common lands, is represented by thirty-nine properties, which belong to the alderman and capital burgesses (5487-5500).

2. The allotment of lands.—No one can hold land unless he be a freeman of the borough either by right of birth or marriage (5415). This enables them to take up their right as commoners (5420), and they take common as a vacancy occurs. The commoners then succeed by rotation to a vacant acre held by the landholders. The mode of succession to this higher body is regulated by custom. The custom is, that the whole common is divided into six “hundreds,” each hundred part having a particular name (5433-6). The commoner draws lots upon one or more of these six “hundreds,” and enters himself as a candidate for vacancies as they arise (5411). He cultivates or lets his allotment, which is not marked out by boundaries or by fences (5531). The next grade is that of assistant burgess. To become a member of this grade the candidate must first give a “seeking feast” to the body of twenty-four (6293), and then take up his allotment upon the death of a present holder. Then from the assistant burgesses are elected the capital burgesses, who have each a burgess part in the lands of the borough (5470).

Now this remarkably intricate custom has many features common to the primitive agricultural holdings, some of them of special interest. The village tenements, the arable allotments, the common pasture, are all characteristics that do not belong to modern times. Rotation by death or seniority replaces the annual allotment of primitive times. And this slight deviation is quite capable of historical explanation (see Laveleye's *Primitive Property*, p. 93), besides which we may compare this succession to long-established allotments to the Punjab custom of succession to ancestral shares.

Another fact it is important to note is the use of the word acre in its archaic sense. Each of the six “hundreds” has a certain portion of the common land

<sup>a</sup> This is the same as recorded in the preamble of the local Act 1 and 2 Geo. IV. cap. 34, and it is important here to note this as an instance of archaic custom being recorded in a modern statute.

appertaining to it. This is divided out into lots or "acres." These, it was explained to the Commissioners of 1876 (Q. 6491), are not statute acres, some being half and some three-quarters of an acre, and it is these nominal acres which form the holding of the members of the hundreds.<sup>a</sup>

With reference to the curious division of the communal lands into "six hundreds or tribes," I am tempted much to dwell upon the archaic terminology here so distinctively used. But whether or not there be anything to be derived from this, the real point to note is, that the sixfold division does not really affect the constitution of the community. The "thirteens," the 48s, &c., exist quite independently of the six hundreds, and all that this division applies to is the land. I think there can be little doubt that we have here the survival of an influence which was not Celtic in its origin. I have noted how the two races, Celtic and Saxon, probably met at Malmesbury on more equal terms than usual, and it may be that in the sixfold division we see traces of Teutonic influence. An arrangement into six fields is to be met with at Kells, co. Meath,<sup>b</sup> and this, perhaps, may give the clue to an explanation of the Malmesbury system. Kells was overrun and re-settled by Danes, and there is something more than conjecture for referring its curious constitution to this period and people. Now Malmesbury was overrun by the Danes, and I throw out the conjecture for what it is worth, that the division into the six hundreds, perfectly independent as it is of the rest of the organization, might be due to this later race-influence.

One further note of parallels between the Welsh tribal system and Malmesbury must be made. Observing that in king Alfred's time, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and even parts of Wiltshire still formed what was known as "West Wales," Mr. Seebohm goes on to point out how that king in his will carefully abstained from applying the word *ham* to his numerous possessions in the West Welsh districts, but invariably used in describing his estates there the word *land*, the *land* or the *landes* at such and such a place.<sup>c</sup> Now the use of the term *land* in this particular way is one of the dialect peculiarities of Wiltshire,<sup>d</sup> and particularly so of Malmesbury. There is first of all the specific title of "landholders" applied

<sup>a</sup> This naming of the holdings by the term "acres" led to a wrong statement of the area of the corporation property. In 1835 it was stated to be 516 acres (see above), but there were really 516 *lots*, which represented 800 statute acres, if not more. See *Commission of 1876, Question 32,613 et seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> I communicated this to the *Athenaeum* of 3rd March, 1883; and see Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 227.

<sup>c</sup> Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p. 254.

<sup>d</sup> Davis, *Agriculture of Wilts.*

to one section of the community, and a section too which enters into the most archaic parallels with the early tribal system, and the evidence before the Commissioners of 1876 clearly establishes the term "lands" as a specific phrase locally known to Malmesbury.

We have now gone through step by step the constitution of the Malmesbury community, and alike in the basis and rights of membership we have found strongly marked parallels to the basis and rights of membership in archaic society. There is one final, and I hold conclusive, test by which we may prove the archaic nature of this community, and that is by ascertaining its degree of original independence from the national law and the national economy.

There was absolutely no room for the national law of England within the constitution of Malmesbury. Small offences being punishable by the assembly of the community, the whole of the criminal code is got rid of by the simple expedient of expelling the felon from membership; an expedient which in early society led to the creation of "broken-men," who, fleeing from one tribe, were adopted by another. The law of wills can find no place, because succession to property is by kinship, all the sons succeeding to the rights of the father. There can be no alienation or gift of property, and hence no laws to govern this process. The position of woman requires no law to regulate it, because after she has passed the patrimonial rights to her husband she has no further *status*, and her position when unmarried would be that of absolute dependence upon the father.

To show its independence of the national economy we must revert to a subject which I mentioned just now as requiring some explanation, namely, the smallness of the holdings of the members of the community.

Now, the area of land belonging to the modern corporation has admittedly diminished. The commissioners of 1876 obtained from one of the witnesses evidence to the effect that, "by reputation," they had lost some lands, and do not know where they have gone to, and they possessed "old deeds relating to property" of which they do not know the existence. If we turn to the doings of the abbey, as chronicled in the *Registrum Malmesburiense*, we can obtain some explanation of this. The enclosure of the common lands round Malmesbury, says Mr. Trice Martin in his preface to that volume, furnish the subject of many of the documents. Fouleswike and the Rowmerse, which are frequently mentioned in this connection, are probably what is now known as Bird's Marsh, about a couple of miles north of Chippenham, on the Malmesbury road. Portmaneshethe recalls the familiar Portmeadow of Oxford, and was the property of the burgesses, as well as Barndehethe or Burntheath, which the Malmesbury people are fond of

telling strangers was granted to their ancestors by Athelstan for help given in the battle against the Danes.<sup>a</sup>

It is impossible without local knowledge to do justice to the extremely valuable documents collected in this volume; and I venture to suggest that the Wilts Archaeological Society, to whom we already owe so much, should take up the subject in the same spirit that Mr. Akerman has adopted in his paper in *Archaeologia* (vol. XXXVII.) on the possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in North Wilts. It seems pretty certain that the tenements within the town and the grants without could be one and all identified. Even without this local identification these documents tell us the same story which we have learned from other parts of the history of Malmesbury. The lands are intermixed allotments in a common field, and held by their various owners in bundles of acres. It will be sufficient to quote one or two examples to prove this; and I will select the documents dealing with Thornhill. This is the name of one of the six "hundreds" into which the lands of Malmesbury are divided; and I think we have here not only evidence of the ancient mode of culture and holding, but of the once wider extent of these "hundreds." The first document is a grant of "tres acras terrae cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in campis de Thornhulle, quarum duae acrae jacent juxta tenementum quondam Roberti le Charpenter versus occidentem, una dimidia acra extendit se versus terram Willelmi Parcarii inter terram Willelmi le Frere et Ricardi Pinnoek, et alia dimidia acra jacet in campo de Borhtone<sup>b</sup> qui vocatur le Ham, inter terram Roberti Woderove et terram Aliciae de la Grene."<sup>c</sup> Here we have two acres lying together, and two half-acres lying between the acre-strips of other holders. The next document relates to an exchange of land at Thornhill, consisting of "illas septem acras terrae arabilis quae jacent in campis de Borhtone et Thornhulle,"<sup>d</sup> of which two acres and two half-acres are the same as described as above, and the remaining four acres are scattered in parcels, two of one acre each, and the remaining two acres together. The last document relating to this district is the grant to the abbey "totum tenementum meum et terram meam apud Thornhulle, cum domibus, gardinis, curtillagiis, pratis, pascuis, et pasturis."<sup>e</sup>

But if we have thus been able to show that one of the "hundreds" now

<sup>a</sup> *Registrum Malmesburiense*, vol. ii. p. xliii.

<sup>b</sup> This is the hamlet alluded to above (p. 4) as the seat of the nunnery destroyed by the Saxons and called by the Britons Ilanburgh.

<sup>c</sup> *Reg. Malm.* ii. 184.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 230.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 349.

belonging to the Malmesbury community once extended beyond its present area the remaining documents of Malmesbury Abbey show us very clearly how the abbey gradually gathered into its hands tenements in the town and large tracts of land without, which once no doubt belonged to the community. And when we come to the charters of John, which granted the town to the abbey in fee-farm, and gave them absolutely the castle, the Norman successor of that ancient British castellum which was the source of all civil rights in Malmesbury, we know quite well that the stage when old communal lands were to be transformed into church lands had been reached.

Looking at the evidence thus, I do not think it is too much to suggest that the community of Malmesbury was once a community independent of the national economy for its support, obtaining its own food and its own clothes from the lands and flocks which it owned. One special illustration of this fact is the custom of granting land for the support of the village officers. Sir Henry Maine has drawn significant attention to this point,<sup>a</sup> and its bearing upon the independent economy of each settlement. That we have a survival at Malmesbury in the annual grant to the alderman of a piece of land known as the "Alderman's kitchen" is evidence of a once existing system of economy which did not extend beyond the community itself.

This concludes the evidence with reference to the archaic nature of the Malmesbury community, and it will be admitted, I think, that on the whole the twisting from the original has been singularly slight considering the lapse of time and the peculiar racial disturbances which attended the early settlement of the district. It may be that some of the customs I have enumerated are to be attributed to Saxon origin and not Welsh. And certain it is that we have no evidence, as far as I can see, of the old custom of food-rents so characteristic of the Welsh tribal system. But while on the other hand we have so near as Cirencester an example of what Mr. Seebohm characterises as "very much like a survival of the Welsh food-rents at one of the cities conquered by the Saxons in 577,"<sup>b</sup> so I would venture to suggest a survival at Malmesbury of the duty of the free tribesmen "to join the chief's host in his enterprises," in the *Domesday* record that "when the King going on an expedition, whether by land or sea, he was either wont to have from this borough 20 shillings for the support of his sailors, or took with him one man for each honour of 5 hides."

<sup>a</sup> *Village Communities in the East and West.*

<sup>b</sup> *English Village Community*, p. 211.



XXV.—*Two Inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402; now, for the first time, printed, with an Introduction by W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-Dean of S. Paul's, and Keeper of the Records.*

---

Read March 24, 1887.

---

VERY manifold and multiform are the materials from which ecclesiastical history is compiled. Sometimes from the great chronicle of an ancient abbey, in whose annals the zealous scribe has set down the minutest details, from the erection and endowment of the sumptuous church itself to the smallest payment at the celebration of an obit; sometimes from a dry catalogue of names without a single incident to vary the monotony; sometimes from the life of some great prelate, of heroic virtue and of saintly grace, towering above his fellows as Saul amongst the men of Israel; and sometimes from some petty quarrel about precedence between two officers so unimportant that the utter abolition of the offices which they held would seem the best and simplest settlement of the dispute; sometimes from manorial records, dreary and repellent at first sight, but full of precious information as to the history of property, the relative position of tenant and of lord, the value of labour and of money; and sometimes from a mere inventory or catalogue of goods, a list of plate, ornaments, jewels, vestments, a bare document full of wearisome iteration, a collection of the driest of dry bones.

But even inventories have their value; and the dry bones of the skeleton are necessary if the man is to stand before us in his habit as he lived. For it is by such documents that we get some glimpses of the wealth and art and skill lavished in such rich profusion upon the Divine Service in our stately cathedral

churches. Here are no vague generalities, no bird's-eye view from a great distance, no dismissal of the subject in a single brilliant sentence, which, with all its brilliancy, can leave no definite impression behind, but a careful, minute, and accurate examination of each object of importance, part by part, until at last the reader seems to walk side by side with the narrator and to see with his own eyes the chalice or the vestment passed under review. The enumeration may be tedious, but at every step there is something to be learned, the labour will not be entirely wasted.

The Inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul have never yet received the attention which they merit.

Sir William Dugdale in his *Monasticon*<sup>a</sup> printed the very important Inventory of 1295, and Sir Henry Ellis in his valuable edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*<sup>b</sup> reprinted the same document, but in each case no note or comment of any kind appears, and the errors which occur in the *Monasticon* are for the most part retained in the *History*. Notes are essential to the right understanding of an inventory. Even such simple notes as busy themselves with the names, dates, and titles of the donors of sacred vessels or of vestments have their obvious value; to say nothing of the more generally useful exposition of terms that have grown obsolete.

In the Appendix to the present paper two Inventories are, for the first time, printed: the first, taken in 1245, fifty years earlier than that which Dugdale published in his *Monasticon*; the second, taken in 1402, rather more than a century later.<sup>c</sup> The latter inventory was discovered, only a few months since, in a closet at the chapter house together with other documents of no little interest.

The early date of the first of these Inventories gives it special importance. It was written in 1245, only thirty years after the granting of Magna Carta. The king, Henry III., was ravaging Wales, whilst the treasurer and his staff were calmly and leisurely making their catalogue of the treasures of their church. The king returned to England in October; the inventory was made "in crastino Sancti Bartholomaei." (St. Bartholomew's day is August 24.)

The famous York Inventory, which fills nearly fifteen columns of Dugdale's

<sup>a</sup> Volumen tertium et ultimum, folio. In the Savoy, 1673, p. 309 *et seqq.*

<sup>b</sup> The third edition, folio. London, 1818, pp. 310-335.

<sup>c</sup> A very careful transcript of both these documents has been made for me by Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, to whose minute accuracy I am much indebted.

*Monasticon* (edition 1830, vol. vi. pp. 1202-10), seems to have been taken about the year 1510 (p. 1203, col. i.): and the great Lincoln Inventory, occupying nearly sixteen columns of Dugdale (vol. vi. pp. 1278-86), is still later, not having been compiled till 1536. Full of interest as it is, it is very melancholy reading, for it was followed almost immediately by a peremptory letter from that remarkably disinterested monarch Henry VIII., in which the king, exceedingly jealous for the well-being of his subjects, orders the removal of the great shrine and of "superstitious relics, as superfluous jewels, plates, copes, and other such like." They were so dangerous to the souls of his people these jewels, and the like, that they must be guarded with the strictest care. As he is careful to direct: for they are to be conveyed to "Our Tower of London, into our Jewel House there, charging the Master of our jewels with the same." The catalogue is very full—the English in which it is written sufficiently quaint—some of the articles enumerated are of peculiar interest (as, for example, that pix containing "the chain with which St. Katherine bound the devil"),<sup>a</sup>—but the reader feels as he peruses the Inventory as one who is reading a list of the names of men who are to be executed to-morrow. All these precious jewels, vestments, ornaments, were to be swept at once into the huge drag-net which was being drawn over England. The Inventory was compiled in the 28th year of Henry VIII., the king's imperative letter was written four years after.

The Pauline Inventory dates nearly three centuries earlier.

The Inventory of 1245 occurs on the fly-leaves at the commencement of a noble volume, preserved amongst the archives, known as the *Statuta Majora*. On the last cover is a horn plate, secured by small nails to the board of which the cover is composed, and beneath the plate is an inscription *Statuta Majora Ecclesiae Sancti Pauli*. It is called the *Statuta Majora*,<sup>b</sup> to distinguish it from another volume entitled the *Statuta Minora*.<sup>c</sup> The *Statuta Majora* contains fewer statutes than the *Statuta Minora*, but is written in a far finer and bolder hand.<sup>d</sup> The Inventory commences on folio 5. b, and ends abruptly at the foot of folio 8 b, filling twelve columns and a half, in so small a hand that no less than seventy-four lines are contained in a single column.

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1279, col. 2.

<sup>b</sup> It is a folio volume, about fourteen inches in height by nine and a half in width, bound in wooden boards (very much decayed), covered with a rough skin of leather.

<sup>c</sup> Nearly ten and a half inches in height by about six inches in width.

<sup>d</sup> The statutes are printed in my *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Pauli Londinensis*.

The Inventory of 1402 is a thin vellum book of twenty leaves, if the two leaves which form the cover are to be counted.<sup>a</sup> The actual Inventory does not commence till page 9, but on the previous pages other entries of a like nature have been made at a later period. In the present transcript these entries are printed at the end so as to exhibit them in their true chronological order. On the outside cover is written

“Inventarium Anno Domini 1402”

the date being in Arabic figures.<sup>b</sup>

It may be convenient to pass the first of these Inventories under somewhat detailed examination, though only those items can be selected which seem worthy of especial and separate notice.

First in the enumeration are sixteen *chalices*, five of gold, the rest of silver-gilt. One had belonged to Alardus de Burnham, dean, who died in 1216; on the paten was engraved the representation of the Majesty, and the foot of the chalice was set with amethysts. The hand of the Lord in benediction was a frequent subject for the ornamentation of the patens. Another chalice bore upon its foot, in incised letters, the donor's name. A figure of the Holy Trinity enthroned upon the rainbow is seen on two other patens. The chalice belonging to St. Radegund's altar had been stolen, but the offerings at the altar had sufficed to purchase another, bearing the scallop-shells of St. James upon the foot and the Agnus Dei upon the paten. A chalice of Greek work had lost its paten but retained its reed, *calamus*; a relic of the time when, as Dr. Rock says, the deacon carried the chalice down from the altar to the people, and “each one drank of its hallowed contents through a long narrow pipe or hollow reed, made of gold, silver, or ivory, which was often, though not always, fastened on a pivot to the lower inside part of the sacred vessel. The golden reed is used to this day by the pope whenever he solemnly pontificates, and by the cardinals who serve him as deacon and subdeacon, both of whom communicate with the supreme pontiff under the two kinds.”<sup>c</sup> Three such reeds are figured by Dr. Rock. In a later Inventory at St. Paul's, a chalice, apparently the same, is described as having two reeds of silver-gilt. The golden

<sup>a</sup> Twelve and a half inches in height by four and a half in breadth.

<sup>b</sup> Below this inscription is written in characters, so faint that they can with difficulty be deciphered, “De pecunia et argento fracto nota fo. 4<sup>to</sup>.”

<sup>c</sup> *Church of Our Fathers*, i. 165-7.

chalice of bishop Henry de Wingham, adorned with enamels and with its knot set with pearls, completes the list. One of the chalices had belonged to a prior of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, who died suddenly in the prebend of Holborn, but whose name has not been recorded.

Of *phialae*, or cruets, of silver, there are seven pairs, beside one, old and broken, which has lost its companion. Two of these cruets, which had belonged to bishop Eustace de Fauconberge, had been delivered to William the chaplain, and had been stolen, wherefore they should not be included in the list.

Nine censers, some enriched with figures of angels, of silver; two *naviculae*, or incense-boats, one of silver-gilt, the other with its *coclear* or spoon; a silver *discus* or dish, in the form of a salt-cellar, but intended to serve as an incense-plate; three silver *ampullae* for oil and chrism, and two *ampullae portatiles*, also of silver, with chains of the same metal; three *poma*, or metal balls, one of silver and white metal, another of silver-gilt, the first adorned with figures of animals, the third with representations of the months; and two *crismatoria* complete the next section of the Inventory. These *poma* were hollow metal balls so contrived as to be filled with burning charcoal or hot water, so that the bishop during the intervals of service might warm his hands, and thus the more readily hold the sacred vessels.<sup>a</sup> This convenient instrument was also called *calefactorium*, *calepugnus*, and *scutum*. One of these *poma* had belonged to bishop Eustace de Fauconberge, another to Fulke Basset, the bishop then presiding over the see of London, whilst the third had belonged to a canon of the church.

The section headed *De Candelabris* is, like the last, somewhat miscellaneous. It commences with a pair of portable candelabra of silver, and of ancient work, the feet representing dragons; another pair is ornamented with figures of men riding upon lions; a third pair, smaller, of enameled silver with copper feet, serves for the boys at the high altar; and there is besides a single candelabrum of copper covered with silver. A silver *pix*, for the Holy Eucharist, which formerly hung "ultra majus Altare"; a silver comb, partly gilt; a silver-gilt cup which king Henry had given for the Eucharist, adorned with lions and leopards; a silver vase for holy water, of Greek fabric, probably the gift of bishop Richard de Belmeis I.; and a small silver vessel to contain the salt used in baptism and at exorcisms.

Six pairs of silver *bacini*, basons or dishes, follow. Two are adorned with dragons and lions, two with images of St. Peter and St. Paul, one with the figure of a man

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Rock, ii. 163.



holding a book in his hand (possibly an evangelist), another with the effigy of a man fighting with a lion (probably Samson), whilst another is gilt within "in modum crucis."

The following section is of greater interest, as it deals with shrines and relics and their cases. First, of course, is the shrine of St. Erkenwald, the sainted bishop. It is of wood, covered with plates of silver enriched with images and precious stones: of the latter, "it is said," so the scribe puts it (it is to be supposed that the time did not allow of their being counted), there are no less than one hundred and thirty. A former dean had fastened to the shrine his gold ring, set with a sapphire. It was an example to be largely followed. Walter de Thorp, a canon, gave, in 1319, all his gold rings and jewels, of what sort soever, to the shrine;<sup>a</sup> king John of France made an oblation of twelve nobles; and in 15 Richard II. Richard de Preston, citizen and grocer, presented his famous sapphire, of singular virtue for the healing of diseases of the eyes. Special indulgences were granted to those who visited the shrine.<sup>b</sup> On the two feasts of St. Erkenwald, bishop Braybrooke ordered that all the clergy of the diocese vested in their copes should repair thither. It was, in fact, the chief place of pilgrimage in the cathedral church.

If of secondary importance, yet still of great interest, was the shrine of Mellitus, the companion of St. Augustine and first bishop of London. This also was of wood, covered, on the front side only, with plates of silver and with images, over which stood an angel of copper-gilt.

The shrine of St. Erkenwald and that of St. Mellitus stood side by side, probably on the beam above the high altar.<sup>c</sup> It must therefore be concluded that the shrine of St. Erkenwald, here described, was not the large structure of later years, on which in the reign of Edward III. three goldsmiths laboured for a whole year,<sup>d</sup> but a lesser and portable shrine. Of St. Erkenwald the church possessed the entire remains, which were translated in 1148 from the nave to "the east side of the wall above the high altar," to use Dugdale's own words. He describes the shrine, and the iron gate which enclosed it.

A third shrine "*supra magnum altare*," an ancient shrine, of wood covered with silver, contained divers relics, "*collectae in diversis collectionibus*."

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale, *S. Paul's*, 15, edit. 1818.

<sup>b</sup> Dugdale gives copious details about the shrine.

<sup>c</sup> "*Haec duo sunt collateralia in magno altari*."

<sup>d</sup> Dugdale, 15.

A fourth, of wood covered with silver-gilt plates, contained a smaller shrine of crystal, and within it two ribs of St. Laurence. It cost fifty marcs.

A fifth shrine, that of bishop Richard, third of that name (Richard de Ely, surnamed Fitz Neale), was of wood covered with silver plates well gilt and adorned with imitations of carbuncles and sapphires. It is called the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, for it contains some of her hair; and, also, in a little capsule, a tooth of St. Vincent.

The sixth shrine is that of the royal Ethelbert. It is of wood covered with silver plates and set with one hundred and thirty precious stones; "so it is said," observes the scribe, for, in this case also, he has not taken the trouble to count them. King Ethelbert was a generous donor to the cathedral church, no less than to the Church at large. St. Paul's still holds the manor of Tillingham, with which it was endowed by the royal benefactor.

The seventh shrine, that of bishop William, was entirely of silver, richly gilt, with figures in high relief and very beautiful.

Two large ivory coffers, standing upon the high altar, contain various relics, in separate cases; a third (black) coffer is similarly furnished.

Of relics sufficiently important to be separately specified, there are the arm of St. Oswald, covered with silver plates; an arm of St. Mellitus, also adorned with silver plates set with sixteen crystals, and with one stone curiously carved, it was probably an antique gem, together with four greater and six lesser stones;<sup>a</sup> an arm of St. Osyth, virgin and martyr, holding her head in her hand, the reliquary adorned with twenty-two stones and with enamels and pearls; other bones from the arm of St. Mellitus, particularly one which the monks of St. Augustine's abbey had presented to bishop Eustace; an ivory pix containing a finger-bone of St. Oswald; a pillow which had belonged to St. Edith; a staff, perhaps a pastoral staff, and a comb, relics of St. Thomas à Becket; two crosses of crystal; a graceful (*gracilis*) cross, with the image wholly gilt, adorned with a stone carved with the figure of a man, the arms of the cross bearing two amethysts; a larger cross of wood covered with silver plates, ornamented with the not very usual subject of the resurrection of Adam; a small pectoral cross; two processional crosses; a silver-gilt cross in which are preserved certain relics of the true cross; and ten combs, bring this important section to a close.

The next division treats of episcopal staves and ornaments mainly. The staff of bishop Richard Fitz Neale, enriched with massive silver figures of St. Peter

<sup>a</sup> Account supplemented from Inventory of 1295.

and St. Paul, and set with amethysts. This staff was at the moment in the hands of Thomas of St. Sepulchre's, who was replacing the wooden portion of the staff, which was decayed or broken. Another staff of the same bishop, with a crook of horn terminating in a dragon's head, from whose mouth issued a vine surrounding the figure of a lion; the metal here employed was copper-gilt. A third staff, which had belonged to bishop William, and which bishop Fulke Basset was then using, was of great beauty; it was made of silver and richly adorned with figures of the Apostles, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the Blessed Virgin with bishop William himself kneeling before her.

Two other staves call for special remark: the first is the precentor's staff of ivory with silver-gilt enrichments, adorned with crystal and with precious stones. The second is the *baculus stultorum*. The subject of the Feast of Fools is large enough to demand a separate essay; it must suffice here to refer to a very important article on the subject in Henschel's edition of Ducange.<sup>a</sup>

Of mitres there are four. The first of white embroidered in purple, ornamented both in front and behind with stars and crescents; in each star is a topaz or an almandine, whilst in the circle surrounding the head are golden plates pierced with trefoils set with peridots, and tau crosses adorned with gems. The mitre was at the time in use by bishop Basset; it had belonged in time past to bishop Eustace, and was enriched with seed-pearls and with larger pearls. To these must be added a mitre for the boy bishop, of small value.

It is a little remarkable that the boy bishop's mitre should have been *nullius in pretiis*, for the city of London was specially devoted to the ceremonial of which he formed a part. The small parish of St. Peter Cheap had, in 1431, "ij childes copes for S. Nicholas w<sup>t</sup> j myter, j tonycle, j cheseble, and iij feble aubes for childer, and a crose for the bysshope, p's xl.s."

At St. Paul's in 1263, the dean, Geoffrey de Feringes, found it necessary to pass a statute, regulating in a very minute way the observance of the ancient custom.<sup>b</sup> He recognises the significance of the rite: "*innocens puer Praesulatus officio fungeretur, ut sic puer pueris pre-esset, et innocens innocentibus imperaret, illius tipum tenens in ecclesia, quem sequuntur innocentes, quocumque ierit.*" But liberty must not degenerate into license. Great irreverence had been caused

<sup>a</sup> Under the word *Kalendae*.

<sup>b</sup> See Part vi. cap. 9, of the statutes as incorporated by bishop Baldock and dean Lisieux in my *Registrum Statutorum*, &c. See, especially, the statute *De Officio Puerorum in Festo Sanctorum Innocentium*.

"propter insolenciam effrenatae multitudinis subsequentes eundem, et affluentis improborum turbae pacem Praesulis exturbantis." Care must be taken that the higher dignitaries of the church be not brought into ridicule; the boy bishop must not, in future, select his ministers from the canons, major or minor, but only from those who sit upon the second or third form. The election of the boy bishop takes place on December 5, the eve of St. Nicholas' day. He has two attendant chaplains, two taper-bearers, five clerks, and two of the servants of the church precede him with their *virgae*. He sups, after the vespers of St. John, at the house of the canon in residence, in whose absence the dean entertains him. If the boy bishop goes to the deanery he may take with him fifteen companions. Other dignitaries entertain other of the choristers in small companies, each not exceeding four in number. The dean provides a horse on which the boy bishop rides forth to give his benediction to the people; and each residentiary provides a horse for some person who takes part in the procession. They assemble *in atrio*, and there take horse.

The strange and profane travesty of holy rites which followed need not here be detailed; but at St. Paul's, as elsewhere, the sermon was a great feature in the proceedings. So grave and learned a man as dean Colet ordained, in the statutes of St. Paul's school, that "all these children shall every Childremas daye come to Paulls Church, and hear the Childe Bishoppes sermon, and after be at highe masse, so each of them offre a j<sup>d</sup> to the Childe Bishopp, and with the Maisters and Surveyours of the Scoole." Erasmus, himself, composed a sermon for the boy bishop to deliver.

The procession was discontinued by proclamation, 25 July, 1542;<sup>a</sup> but the citizens of London did not relinquish it till some years later, and it lingered on in country parishes till the reign of Elizabeth.

But to return to the Inventory. The episcopal sandals and stockings are well worthy of notice.<sup>b</sup> One pair of sandals was of red samite, embroidered with flowers, whilst the stockings are embroidered with circles containing eagles and dragons. Another pair of sandals was of blue samite, and the stockings were embroidered with the scallop-shells of St. James and with lions. Four pairs of gloves, of old workmanship, adorned with golden circles, are also enumerated.

The scribe next takes account *De cathedris et pulvinaribus*. Nine chairs are

<sup>a</sup> See Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Bohn's edition, i. 428.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Rock, ii. 249, 250, figures a good example of each.

set down. Four of wood, and a fifth of the same material which had belonged to the sainted bishop Roger Niger; three of iron, and one of iron plated with silver, and gilded and adorned with human heads, which bishop Basset, no mean judge in such matters, it would seem, was using for himself. In 1295 an iron chair with gilded heads and balls was set apart for the precentor's use. A single *pulvinar*, or cushion, may be noticed, and this only for its use, "*ad portandum textum.*"

The next section is of very great importance, for it describes, one by one, the more valuable *cope*s, of which there are no less than thirty-seven. A few specimens must be selected. The cope of Alardus the dean, of purple samite (in 1295 it is said to be of black samite. Had the London atmosphere and forty years of time made it become dingy?), embroidered with roses, stars, *gladeolis* (are these the sword of St. Paul?), and crescents, *cum tassellis*, on which were embroidered St. Peter and St. Paul: the morse was of gold. These *tasselli*<sup>a</sup> were sometimes thin plates of gold or silver attached to the cope or chasuble, occasionally set with sparkling gems. The cope of Richard of Ely was of purple samite, embroidered with leopards and flowers interlaced: the morse of silver with massive figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, and four angels in the corners. The cope of Peter the archdeacon possessed a hood sewn with pearls, on which was inscribed the name of the archdeacon: its silver morse, set with precious stones, and in the midst an engraved cornelian, whilst the silver-gilt crest of the morse was adorned with engraved sapphires. Amongst the precious stones plentifully adorning other copes may be mentioned a *kamacu*, or sardonyx, engraved with a woman's head; *lapis qui dicitur presme*; a counterfeit sapphire; a topaz; a counterfeit *presme*; cornelians, onyx, amethysts. The cope of Richard de Windesore bore upon one of its "tassels" a representation of Windsor castle, and upon the other the figure of Richard himself standing at an eagle lectern and reading the gospel before a bishop. Upon the "tassels" of the cope of Richard Ruffus were depicted the martyrdoms of St. Stephen and St. Thomas. Other subjects are the Jesse tree and the scallops of St. James. The colours of the copes are generally indicated: of these fifteen are red, eight purple, five black, two white, one green, and one yellow.

Of less precious copes there are forty-four, besides twenty-eight for the boy bishop and his train, and for the Feast of Fools, but these are "*debiles et con-*

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Rock, ii. 33. "The ornaments on the backs of episcopal gloves, when not done in embroidery, but made of silver or gold plate, are likewise called *tasselli*."



tritae." The colours are not always stated; so far as they are indicated eleven are red, four purple, three black, eight white, four green, and three yellow.

The *morses* of the copes next claim attention. That of Alardus the dean was of pure gold with an amethyst in the centre, a sapphire and a cornelian on either side, together with other stones large and small. The morse of William the bishop was of the same precious metal, set with a sapphire and two cornelians, with other sapphires and precious stones. The remaining morses are of silver-gilt, and exhibit great variety in design and ornamentation. Two of the simpler ones are formed of silver plates upon a wooden core.

Thirty-four *chasubles* are thought worthy of particular description. Their special parts are, in some cases, minutely indicated: thus we have the *inter humerale*, the *pars anterior*, and the *pars dorsalis*, besides the orphreys and the *tasselli*. The embroideries include birds and flowers, the Agnus Dei, swords, lions and birds, a tree with branches, SS. Peter, Paul, and Michael. The chasuble of Roger the chaplain had an orphrey in the form of the archiepiscopal pall; that of Peter of Blois had the words *archidiaconus London.* inscribed upon the tassels; that of bishop Maurice (1086-7 to 1107) had the words *Mauritius me fecit frater episcopus*; whilst the ornamentation of the chasuble presented by Otho the legate had been transferred to a new "foundation." The colours here are in nine cases red, in five purple, in two black, in three white, in two green, in three yellow, in one blood colour, in two *nigra purpurea quasi marmorea*, and in one *plus croceo quam viridi*. It may be noted that the pall-shaped orphrey is seen on the back of the chasuble of St. Thomas of Canterbury preserved in the cathedral church at Sens, figured by Dr. Rock;<sup>a</sup> and a very similar arrangement appears on that of St. Regnobert at Bayeux.

The following table will show the distribution of colours amongst these vestments:

	Precious Copes.	Ordinary Copes.	Chasubles.
Red	15	11	9
Purple ( <i>indici coloris</i> )	8	4	5
Black	5	3	2
White	2	8	3
Green	1	4	2
Yellow	1	3	3
<i>Nigra purpurea quasi marmorea</i>	—	—	2
<i>Plus croceo quam viridi</i>	—	—	1
Blood colour	—	—	1

<sup>a</sup> *Church of Our Fathers*, i. 322, and frontispiece.

The marble silk mentioned above "had a weft of several colours so woven as to make the whole web look like marble stained with a variety of tints. During full three centuries this marble silk found great favour amongst us; for Henry Machyn in his curious diary tells us how 'the old qwyne of Schottes rod thrught London,' and how 'then came the lord tresorer with a C. gret horsse and ther cotes of marbull' to meet her the 6th of November, 1551."<sup>a</sup>

The numerous *tunics* and *dalmatics* scarcely demand separate notice, but the *vestimenta et eorum pertinentia* form a section of considerable importance. Some of these were evidently of great magnificence, as, for example, the first enumerated; the vestment of bishop Gilbert embroidered with stars and crescents, on the ends of the stole the figures of Abraham and Melchisedek, on the fanon Jacob, on the amice the Twelve Apostles. The vestment of bishop Richard was embroidered with lions passant and with flowers interlaced, the amice ornamented with rows of pearls; a second vestment of the same prelate was still richer: the Apostles (the name of each placed below the figure) appeared in the *apparels*, on the stole and maniple similar figures with white faces, at the extremities of the stole St. Nicholas and St. Oswald, of the amice St. Erkenwald and St. Edmund, whilst the midst of the amice was enriched with pearls and grains of gold. The vestment of canon H. de Norhampton was embroidered with lions, flying serpents, eagles, and fishes, and the stole with angelic figures, Uriel and Barathiel. On other vestments are to be found figures of St. Thomas and St. Paul, St. Erkenwald and bishop Richard; St. Gabriel, St. Michael, Cherubin and Seraphin; dean Alard's vestment bore the favourite subject of the Majesty and the Apostles, the stole and fanon having similar subjects, and, at the extremities, angels with little silver bells. These bells<sup>b</sup> were, it is probable, not mere representations of bells, but real silver bells, like the golden bells on Aaron's robe.<sup>c</sup> On the vestment of William the Hermit appeared the Three Kings, the Blessed Virgin, the Angel, and the Shepherds; and on the amice the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The vestment of Geoffrey de Lucy, dean, exhibited in the *apparels* the figures of two bishops and that of St. Paul, whilst the amice bore the less usual subjects of the Resurrection and the descent into Hades.

Of baudekin and silken stuffs there was rich store. The king and queen were bountiful givers; other donors were Thomas of Savoy, count of Flanders,

<sup>a</sup> Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 76, 77.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i. 415.

<sup>c</sup> Exodus, xxviii. 33.

who visited London in 1240, Beatrice, countess of Provence, and bishop Fulke Basset. One piece had been presented at the funeral of bishop Roger, another by the king at the funeral of Alexander Swerford, treasurer, and a third at the obsequies of William Joynier, mayor of London in 1239. William Longespée, earl of Salisbury, on his return from the Holy Land in 1242, presented a piece of *pannus de aresta* of red colour embroidered with yellow parrots and trees, and queen Eleanor had presented two pieces *pro filio et filia*, probably her eldest son and eldest daughter.

Of *cushions* and *hangings* for the choir, of *tapestries* and *veils*, there is no need to speak in detail; the *velum quadragesimale* and the *velum quod est ante Magnam Crucem*, that is, the great rood in the nave, alone require special remark.

The Inventory concludes with a goodly array of *books*.

A Bible, written in the old English character (*veteris Anglicae litterae*) extending to the prophet Zachariah. On the cover is inscribed the Hebrew alphabet and the Greek.

A second Bible, of similar character but finer, ending with the Book of Job. It contained in its first cover the relics which bishop Theodore (that is, in all probability, archbishop Theodore, consecrated in 668) had presented to the church.

Another Bible in two volumes (*peroptimae litterae*) comprised the whole of the sacred Scriptures to the end of the Epistle of St. Jude. This is the copy actually used in church all the year round. On one of its covers was a record of the consecration of Richard de Belmeis as bishop of London by St. Anselm, 26th July, 1108.

A *Passionarium*, called *Pilosum* from its hairy cover, a book of Homilies, also called *Pilosum*, another book of Homilies called *Parvum*, a *Passionale* (*de Scotica littera*), a *Benedictionale* of bishop William, three books which had belonged to Ralph de Diceto, historian and dean, *de peroptima littera* or *de grossiori littera* (and it is well-known what grand volumes the scriptorium of St. Paul could produce), a *Benedictionale* of bishop Eustace (then in the hands of bishop Basset); a *Missale* of David the chaplain with its noble initial letter, a king seated with a diadem upon his head, his vesture of ruby and of azure (probably a figure of king David, in allusion to the donor's name); a *Breviarium* of Henry de Norhampton, with a noted antiphonary, *magnum et bonae litterae*, having an initial letter of gold with a field of ruby on which is depicted a bearded man bearing a roll, the

prophet Isaiah; these stand out conspicuously amongst the other ritual books which compose a list of most singular and varied interest.

They are scattered and dispersed, many destroyed, some no doubt still extant. In the cathedral library to-day only one ritual book, a portion of a breviary, can with certainty be identified as belonging to the ancient church. There is a missal in the British Museum,—and another fine book (not ritual) in the Lambeth Library,—both of which should be at St. Paul's, but which, alas, have strayed. In *Documents illustrating the History of Old St. Paul's* (Camden Society), an attempt has been made to exhibit the ancient offices of St. Erkenwald and St. Paul as used of old in the cathedral church, but the originals of these have perished, and the offices there set forth are taken from a transcript.

No one can say with any certainty what was the ancient *Use of St. Paul's* before bishop Clifford issued his mandate directing, with the consent of the dean and chapter, that, from the first day of December, 1414, the Divine Office in St. Paul's should henceforth be conformable to that of the church of Salisbury for all canonical hours both night and day.<sup>a</sup> Nor can any determine, with precision, what was the exact effect of bishop Clifford's mandate. Liturgiologists have laboured, with admirable success, upon the ritual books of Sarum, York, Hereford, Exeter, but the materials seem wanting for similar labours at St. Paul's.

We do not find in this Inventory, as we do in the later Inventory of 1295, the ivory horns mounted in silver-gilt and studded with precious stones,<sup>b</sup> like the grand horn which once belonged to Charlemagne preserved in the treasury at Aix-la-Chapelle: nor an *Osculatorium* nor a *Flabellum*, although these were to be seen in 1298 in the church of St. Faith in the crypt:

Item iij superaltaria benedicta, vij Osculatoria, et j Muscatorium de pennis pavonum<sup>c</sup>

A fan of peacocks' feathers would seem more suitable for the sunny south than for the colder regions of England,<sup>d</sup> and the crypt of the cathedral church seems the most unlikely place in which to find it. These super-altars, too, might well have been described somewhat fully. It is known that one was of jasper "ornatum capsâ argentea deaurata,"<sup>e</sup> and that this was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale, 16.

<sup>b</sup> Dugdale, 315.

<sup>c</sup> Dugdale, 336.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Rock figures such a *flabellum*, iii, part 2, 198.

<sup>e</sup> Dugdale, 315, Inventory of 1295.

and of all virgins : whilst another,\* also of jasper enclosed in plates of silver-gilt, contained relics of St. Andrew and St. Philip the Apostles, St. Dionysius and St. Blaise, martyrs, and a piece of the cross of St. Andrew. St. George's chapel, Windsor castle, was rich in these super-altars, having no less than six—one of jasper, one of alabaster, and four of marble. Dr. Rock figures a fine example of a super-altar in oriental jasper framed in oak set in silver;<sup>b</sup> though even this was less magnificent than the super-altar set in gold amongst the treasures of Salisbury cathedral church in 1222. Jet was occasionally employed in the construction of super-altars, as at Durham in 1372 :<sup>c</sup> but jasper seems to have been preferred to any other material. Cornelius à Lapide,<sup>d</sup> in his Commentary on the Apocalypse, enumerates many of its qualities. It is a valuable amulet against poisons and sorceries, and it drives away spectres and apparitions ; the stone derives its name from *ἰασις*, id est, *salus*, and *σπίλος*, id est, *macula*, because the spots in it are health-giving and medicinal ; furthermore, it stops a flux of blood ; and so on, with more to the like purpose, for several columns of very quaint and curious mystical interpretation.

It is to be regretted that in 1245 the treasurer and his colleagues do not seem to have visited the several chapels and altars, as his successor did in 1295 : or possibly we have no record of his visit, as the account ends abruptly at the bottom of the page.

The Inventory of 1402 will not require so long or so detailed consideration as that of 1245. It differs widely from the earlier catalogue in its mode of arrangement, and incidentally supplies some curious information as to the manner in which the vestments were arranged when not in use. In the treasury, on the west, and on the right-hand side stood a wardrobe, *armariolum*, in which were twenty-four *perticae*, pegs, or rods, or frames, from which the copes and chasubles could be suspended ; one *pertica* holding from three to six copes. The vestments were arranged according to their colour. In the second *armariolum*, very near to the first, were six-and-twenty *perticae*, whereof four were vacant, but the rest well furnished. The third wardrobe had five-and-twenty *perticae*, the fourth, outside the door of the treasury, had but seventeen. Besides these, in the treasury, but not in any cabinet, were six-and-twenty copes in daily use. So far the scribe has enumerated one hundred and seventy-nine copes, fifty-one chasubles, and ninety-two tunicles.

\* Dugdale, 338, *ib.*

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Rock, i. 254.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Rock, i. 257.

<sup>d</sup> *Commentaria in Apocalypsin*, xxi. 19.



The following table will show the distribution of colours amongst these vestments:—

	Copes.	Chasubles.	Tunics.
Red	59	12	30
Purple	13	1	4
Black	30	7	12
White	41	15	16
Green	6	6	6
Yellow	1	1	—
Blue	27	7	20
Red mixed with blue	—	1	2
Diversi coloris	2	—	—
Colour not named	—	1	2
	<hr/> 179 <hr/>	<hr/> 51 <hr/>	<hr/> 92 <hr/>

Two queens have contributed to this rich collection. Anne of Bohemia presented six copes embroidered with golden falcons and with her arms; and Isabella, queen of Richard II., gave two copes, a chasuble, and two tunics, of red velvet studded with golden angels and her arms. Specially worthy of notice must have been a cope powdered with golden letters (*videlicet*, M) and angels; and a chasuble and two tunics *semées* with the Holy Name *Jhesu*. But the rich gifts of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, take precedence of all others. First come some precious copes of cloth of gold, ornamented with flowers and golden crowns, together with a chasuble and two tunics of the same set; two copes of cloth of gold and red velvet adorned with lions and collars, with a stag lying in each collar, the chasuble and two tunics of the set are powdered with golden leopards; besides these are two copes and two tunics of cloth of gold, of blue colour *semées* with golden roses and white ostrich feathers; there are fifteen other copes, one chasuble, and two tunics of the same set, a princely gift indeed. John Lynton, formerly chamberlain, had presented two processional banners of silken cloth, of green colour, for Easter, and William of Cologne had given a third.

Next in order, in the treasury, are arranged the albs, amices, stoles, and fanons, some of them folded in covers of canvas. The embroidery is well worth a

record. In one case the apparels of the amice exhibit the history of St. Thomas of Canterbury; in another the head of the Redeemer, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the arms of England and France; in a third gold strewn with pearls is freely employed; in a fourth is seen the history of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lord and His Apostles sitting on white thrones, and the story of the Passion of the Lord. In other cases the ornaments are heraldic in their character, and we have golden griffins on a blue ground; or golden crowns and ostrich feathers.

Here also are found two frontals for the high altar of silken cloth, preciously embroidered, with flowers and golden crowns. In the centre is the seated figure of the Blessed Virgin, on one side the representation of the Holy Trinity, and on the other the image of the Saviour, all in silver seated upon golden thrones. St. Anne, St. Mary, and St. Elizabeth also form part of the composition.

A black frontal, also for the high altar, exhibits figures of the Lord, with St. Mary and St. John Evangelist on either hand. Other frontals, curtains, hangings for the high altar are described in minute detail.

A remarkable set of three albs and three amices of red colour, of cloth of gold, was embroidered with golden chalices and white Hosts placed between two wings of gold. A fine set of three albs and three amices, with two stoles and three fanons, the gift of the duke of Lancaster, bore his golden leopards and the letter S. in reference to the collar of SS., the cognizance of the duke.

Albs and amices for the chorister boys are also found in the catalogue.

In this Inventory the plate comes after the vestments, and there are to be seen three chalices of pure gold, one the gift of the countess of Pembroke, the second (already described) had belonged to dean Alardus, but the third had been pledged by the dean and chapter in the time of dean Appelby for fifty marcs in the chest of Michael de Northborough, bishop of London (1354 to 1361). The other four chalices are of silver-gilt. There were sixteen chalices in the earlier Inventory, five of gold.—Where are they now?

Of thuribles with their chains enough has been said. Four painted angels carved in wood to be placed upon the four staves which bear the body of the Lord, “sive supra Dominum regem seu reginam, cum uno panno, prout est moris,” have not been before enumerated.

A maser, lined with silver, and ornamented with a representation of the Majesty at the bottom of the bowl; a broad cup formed from a beryll; a silver vase, *videlicet unum Boket*, with a silver *aspersorium*; a great processional cross

with a figure of the Crucified, with St. Mary and St. John, with divers relics of the Holy Cross; a cross of crystal for use on Corpus Christi day and for Easter; are all objects of more than usual interest.

Amongst the mitres that of Simon of Sudbury stands conspicuous, with its pearls and precious stones; nor are gloves and pastoral staves wanting, amongst them the precentor's staff of ivory and two little staves for the boy bishop, of moderate value. A banner of green silk for the great rood in the Paschal season exhibits figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. Then follow pieces of gold cloth laid up for future use in chests. It is thought worthy of notice that fifteen pieces of gold cloth of Rakemask were divided amongst the dean and four of the canons on the 24th of February, 1404, each person having three pieces, and that other pieces were laid aside to make chasubles for divers altars in the church.

Two interesting notes are added:

After the battle of Shrewsbury, 23rd July, 1403, in which Henry Percy was killed, queen Joan of Navarre, the second queen of Henry IV., presented two pieces of cloth of gold "*sufficientes et boni valoris*." Later still, on the death of his father, Henry IV. (20 March, 1412-3), his son and successor, Henry V., at the funeral presented six cloths of gold of red ground ornamented with golden crowns.

Here ends the second Inventory. The blank leaves of vellum which the original scribe had left at the beginning of his work presented a great attraction to other writers, and in 1445 two additional Inventories are inserted.

The first of these is very brief, and relates chiefly to certain altars in the church, the most noticeable of which are: the altar at the shrine of St. Erkenwald and the altar at the famous crucifix at the north door, the oblations at which in two years near the middle of the fourteenth century amounted to 647*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.*, besides forty-one and a-half florins in gold. The magnificent cross presented by cardinal Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to the chantry endowed in his father's memory, receives a brief and passing notice. An extended contemporary account of this crucifix, from another manuscript preserved amongst the archives, is added at the end of the Inventory. It must have been a superb example of the silversmith's art. The purses and money-boxes are examined, and, though not rich in their contents, present several features of interest; the phrases employed, *pecunia deaurata*, *argentum fractum*, *annuli moniles*, have each of them their story to tell in reference to the money of the day. Another case contained pontifical rings, together with thirteen rings of pure gold, two *monilia* of pure gold, and a spoon of jasper with a silver-gilt handle.

The second brief Inventory, taken 7th July, 1445, relates to the Lady chapel. Each chapel in the cathedral church had its own furniture, as may be seen more fully in the Inventory of 1295: and probably the richest of these would be the Lady chapel. A few of the most important objects only shall be noted. A round crystal column containing divers relics, and surmounted by a cross adorned with coral; a pax, *una pulchra tabula* it is called, for the kiss of peace, set with rubies and other stones, and adorned with a figure of the Blessed Virgin seated, holding the Holy Child in her left hand and a globe (*pomum*) in her right; a little image of the Blessed Virgin in ivory, sitting under an ivory tabernacle; various candlabra and a "Kandilstikk"; an ancient pax of gilt tin, with an image of the Crucified with St. Mary and St. John; another pax of copper-gilt, with a cross without a figure in the midst; various vestments, and especially an ancient chasuble with a silver cross in the midst, and lions on the one side and "flowerdelice" on the other; pulpit-cloths of divers colours.

The books with which the Inventory draws to a close may not be dismissed without a few words: for in addition to the usual missal, gospel and epistle books, and the like, are a series of volumes relating to the music of the church. There is a roll *cum diversis canticis notatis*, two beautiful books (each is described as *liber pulcher*) *de organico cantu*; three books *de plano cantu*; another book *de cantu organico*; seven books, each described as *quaternus*, also *de organico cantu*; and another *quaternus pro organis*; and two others *de plano cantu*.

These music-books have the greater interest, because very little is known about the early music of the cathedral. In the large volume of the Statutes of St. Paul's the organ is mentioned only twice, in 1533-4, and in 1598: whilst in Dugdale's *St. Paul's* (so far as the index is to be trusted) there is but one solitary reference to the instrument,<sup>a</sup> and that only to the organ in the modern church. The organist was not a statutable officer, and in all probability the singers attached to the choir took their places in turn at the organ. This was certainly the arrangement in the earl of Northumberland's chapel in the reign of Edward IV.<sup>b</sup>

The term *de plano cantu* needs no explanation. It refers, of course, to the ancient church music introduced into England by St. Augustine, who had learned it from St. Gregory himself.<sup>c</sup> *Cantus organicus* is a more difficult expression.

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale, 183.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Rimbault, *Old Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal*. Introd. xv.

<sup>c</sup> For full details, see an article on *Plain Song* in Sir George Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, by W. S. Rockstro.

Dr. Stainer, the accomplished organist of St. Paul's, supplies a curious example of this kind of musical treatment together with a clear definition of it:—

"*Cantus organicus* signifies the singing of the *Organum*, called also *Diaphonia* and *Symphonia*. Diaphony was the result of the earliest attempts at harmonizing a given melody. It was explained by the monk Hucbald in the tenth century in his *Musica Enchiriadis*. (Gerbertus, *Script. Ant.*) Guido d'Arezzo in the eleventh century gave an account of it, and of the laws which governed it, in his *Micrologus*, defining it as "*vocum disjunctionem quam nos organum vocamus, cum disjunctae ab invicem voces et concorditer dissonant et dissonantes concordant.*" It consisted of adding a part above a given melody at the interval of a fifth, and another below it at the interval of a fourth. The relation of the parts to the melody being strictly adhered to, as the melody proceeded there resulted a succession of parallel quarts, quint, and octaves, which would be intolerable to modern ears. The following is part of an example from Gerbertus, altered to modern notation. The middle part is the melody, and was probably sung louder than the parts above and below it, which form the whole into an organum."

DIAPASON.		&c.
DIAPENTE.		
DIATESARON.		
		Mi - se - re - re me - i &c.

Singularly harsh and unpleasant as these harmonies are, according to modern ideas, they were familiar enough to the worshippers at St. Paul's in the early part of the fifteenth century.

The rich store of vestments recorded in the inventories now for the first time printed, when supplemented by those which are enumerated in the inventory of 1295 (which is somewhat fuller throughout, and much more full in its enumeration of the treasures of the separate chapels), sets before the reader a clear and definite view of the wealth contained in the treasury of a great cathedral church in the middle of the thirteenth century, and at its close, and at the commencement of the fifteenth. It is specially observable that many of the ornaments and vestments were, as were also many of the chantries, the gift of the clergy of the church. It is easy for ignorant and vulgar minds to speak of the clergy of the time as extorting from the laity, under the dread of mysterious penalties, the precious gifts and endowments which were so freely given, but at least it must be



remembered that the clergy themselves were generous givers, and the records of the treasuries of the cathedral churches may be put in evidence.

It is possible, after the perusal of such Inventories, to realise such a scene as Fox the martyrologist describes, on occasion of the thanksgiving in London for the restoration to health of the king of France in 1536.<sup>a</sup> There was a grand procession: the waits and children of grammar schools, with their masters and ushers; the friars and priors with their copes and crosses; the clerks and priests of London in their copes; the monks of Westminster, the canons and clergy of St. Paul's, the choir of the cathedral church, the bishop, and the abbots. He estimated the number of "gay copes" at seven hundred and fourteen. In a like procession, on the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, in 1555, "there were fourscore and ten crosses, one hundred and sixty priests and clerkes who had everie one of them copes upon their backs." It has been seen already that in 1402 St. Paul's could have supplied 179 copes of its own, if those of different colours could have been worn together.

Or the picture found in *The Squire of Low Degree*,<sup>b</sup> may be accurately realised:

Then shall ye go to your evensong,  
With tenours and trebles among,  
Threscore of copes of damask bryght  
Full of perles they shalbe pyght.  
Your sensours shalbe of golde  
Endent with azure manie a folde.

The old order has passed away. The precious ornaments and relics and vestments no longer adorn the treasury of St. Paul's: a very small *armarium* would contain all the vestments, simple and unadorned, that are now in use. The vast congregations in choir, and nave, and aisles, and beneath the vast canopy of the exquisite dome, form a spectacle as grand and impressive as the long procession with its gorgeous array.

<sup>a</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* ii, 976, col. 2, ed. 1596. Cited by Dr. Rock, ii. 48.

<sup>b</sup> Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, vol. iii. (Dr. Rock, ii. 46).

## NOTE.

Whilst preparing this paper for the press, the writer has very carefully collated the Inventory of 1295, printed in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's* (edit. 1818, pp. 310-336) with the original manuscript.<sup>a</sup> It appears in Dugdale's first edition,<sup>b</sup> but the source from which it is derived is not there stated. In the *Monasticon*<sup>c</sup> it is said to be taken "Ex cod. MS. penès praef. D. et Cap. (B) fol. 42. b." It is to be found in Liber. I. preserved amongst the archives of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, where it fills folios 6. b-23. A portion of the same Inventory is to be found in a small quarto volume of twelve leaves, but this transcript ends abruptly at the third article under the heading of *Troperia*.<sup>d</sup>

From the former of these two manuscripts Dugdale printed the copy which appears in his first edition of the *History*; and Sir Henry Ellis in his edition of the same work appears to have contented himself with reprinting the Inventory as it stood in the first edition without comparing it with the original. This may fairly be inferred from the fact that there are numerous errors common to the two copies. A minute and careful collation has now been made between the original manuscript and the Inventory as printed in the third edition of Dugdale's *History*, and it may be desirable to place on record some of the more important results of that collation. The copyist who made the transcript for the press was quite indifferent as to the use of numerals or of the Latin words by which the figures are expressed: he writes *duo* where the MS. has *ij*, and even in the same sentence *ij* where the MS. has *duo*. Had he limited himself to such minute variations little criticism need be bestowed upon his labours: but there are omissions and commissions far more important. A few of these will now be noted. P. 310, heading,\*

*For in Thesaura S. read in Thesauria Sauncti.*

\* I gladly acknowledge the valuable aid which I have received in this collation from my younger son, C. Sparrow Simpson, Trin. Coll. Camb.

<sup>b</sup> Folio, London, 1658. The writer is so fortunate as to possess Sir Christopher Wren's own copy with his autograph signature.

<sup>c</sup> *Monastici Anglicani volumen tertium et ultimum.* Savoy. 1673.

<sup>d</sup> The present press-mark of Liber I. is W.D. 16; that of the small quarto MS. is W.D. 3.

<sup>e</sup> The references are to Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, edit. Sir H. Ellis.

- P. 310, col. 2, l. 8 *from bottom*,  
*Read* Morsus Radulfi de Dounioun argenteus exterius deauratus cum lapillis insitis in limbo et quodam castro continente duas ymagines ponderis xxij.<sup>a</sup>
- P. 311, col. 1, l. 25. *Here insert*  
 Item duo candelabra cristallina parvula cum apparatu partim argenteo de dono Thome de Esshewy
- P. 311, col. 1, l. 7 *from bottom*,  
*For* turribus *read* turril'; *with which compare* thurellis *in the following entry.*
- P. 311, col. 2, l. 2,  
*For* Episcopi *read* cujusdam Episcopi.
- P. 312, col. 1, l. 9 *from bottom*,  
*For* Angeli evenientis *read* Angeli ejicientis.
- P. 313, col. 2, l. 28,  
*Read* Lucae . . . ornatus in anteriori parte continente ymaginem Majestatis et quatuor Evangelistas de opere plano nigellato.
- P. 314, col. 2, *after* l. 8 *insert* -  
 Item Brachium Sancti Melliti magnum ornatum platis et sexdecem cristallis et antierius continet circulum triphoriatum et deauratum, qui continet unum lapidem sculptum et quatuor alios majores et vj minores, et deficiunt quinque.
- P. 317, col. 1, l. 19, *read*  
 Item capa Magistri Ricardi Ruffi de rubeo sameto breudato sagittariis et griffonibus.  
 Item iiij capae quae fuerunt Radulphi de Diceto de rubeo sameto cum rotundis pectoralibus aurifrigiis.
- P. 317, col. 1, l. 31,  
*For* Regis Henrici *read* Regis Henrici Regis tertii.
- P. 318, col. 2, l. 32, *insert after* pro anima  
 ejusdem Reginae cum scutis Regum Angliae et Hispaniae. Item duae capae factae de ij baudekynis datae pro anima Willielmi Passemere (&c. *as in text*)
- P. 321, col. 2, l. 4, *add*  
 . . ad mortuos vetus et suspensum; assignatur ad reparanda alia.
- P. 321, col. 2, l. 8, *add*  
 . . consimili: Thomas de Coulyng habet; modo deficit.
- P. 322, col. 1, l. 3, *add*  
 . . bene adalbata aurifrigio facta de capa. P. Blēs.<sup>a</sup> Item tunica de purpureo sameto bene adalbata quae fuit Magistri (&c. *as in text*)

<sup>a</sup> That is, Petrus Blesensis, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of London in 1192.

- P. 323, col. 2, l. 5,  
*For Bradlyng read Braghyngs.*
- P. 323, col. 2, l. 7,  
*Read liberatur ad altare Sancti Johannis Evangelistae,*
- P. 324, col. 1, l. 23 *from bottom*,  
*Read London sicut Rubrica testatur.*
- P. 324, col. 1, l. 20 *from bottom*,  
*. . nomine. In primo incipit folio, Domino sancto, est de Romana translatione.*
- P. 326, col. 2, l. 13,  
*Item Gradale unum bonum, incipit a rubrica . . .*
- P. 326, col. 2, l. 20 *from bottom*,  
*Ortum prodest, in penultimo folio.*
- P. 326, col. 2, l. 17 *from bottom*,  
*in antepenultimo folio.*
- P. 326, col. 2, l. 11 *from bottom*,  
*Omit Organ, and in next line but one read . . . Liber Organorum perpulcherrimum . . .*
- P. 327, col. 2, l. 15,  
*For S. Vitha read Sancta Ositha.*
- P. 328, col. 2, l. 10,  
*. . scribitur in custodia prima . .*
- P. 328, col. 2, l. 5 *from bottom*,  
*. . de dono F. Lovell.<sup>a</sup> Consumitur similis.*
- P. 329, col. 1, l. 2,  
*. . Edmundi fratris Regis E.*
- P. 329, col. 2, l. 7,  
*. . Passemer. de hiis duobus pannis factae sunt duae capae.*  
*In the margin of articles 5 to 9 is written assignantur ad capas.*
- P. 329, col. 2, l. 20  
*. . junioris. de hiis pannis factae sunt xj capae.*
- P. 330, col. 2, l. 2,  
*For Petri gestantibus read Petri gestantis.*

<sup>a</sup> That is, Fulk Lovell (not C. Lovell, as in Dugdale's text), archdeacon of Colchester, who was elected bishop of London on the death of bishop Chishull in 1279-80, but declined to be consecrated.

P. 332, col. 1, l. 14 *from bottom*,

. . non regulata. Et deficit secundum vestimentum restituendum, ut dicitur, per Alexandrum le Porter.

P. 332, col. 2, l. 12 *from bottom*,<sup>a</sup>

. . marcae, quas dictus Robertus de Dodyngton percipit per manus Decani qui pro tempore fuerit.

P. 333, col. 2, l. 12 *from bottom*,

*For oblationes read oblatas.*

P. 334, col. 2, l. 10 *from bottom*,

*For Fauconbridge read Faucumberge.*

P. 336. At the end of this page might well have been added the following entry in the original manuscript,<sup>a</sup> which runs on consecutively with what has preceded it. S. Gregory's church touched the cathedral church, its north side abutting against the south aisle of the nave of St. Paul's.

Inventarium Ornamentorum in ecclesia beati Gregorii in atrio Sancti Pauli die Jovis proximo post festum purificationis beatae Virginis anno domini millesimo cc<sup>o</sup> nonagesimo octavo.

j. calix argenteus cum patena intus deauratus et in parte extra ponderis x sol.

Item j. cuppa de cupro deauratus in qua ponitur eukaristia in bursa de serico serata.

Item j. crismatorium cum distinctis subseparalibus.

Item ij. phialae stagneae. Item j. pelvis cuprea de amal et j. pixis lignea ad oblatas.

Item j. thurribulum de cupro sufficiens et j. lucerna et ij. sconsa.

Item j. crux lingnea cum ymaginibus beatae Virginis et Sancti Johannis.

Item duae cruces de cupro de opere limocensi cum uno baculo lingneo.

Item iij. osculatoria et ij. candelabra stangnea vetera et debilia.

Item j. vasculum stagneum ad aquam benedictam de dono Galfridi de Criptis Rectoris.

Item iij. pallae benedictae quarum duae cum paruris et j. manutergium ad sacrarium.

<sup>a</sup> Many paragraphs are omitted which give an account of the properties with which the various chantries are endowed; but as these appear to be omitted upon a definite plan, very capriciously applied however, they are not inserted here.



Item duo frontalia ad majus altare de pal vetusto.

Item unum vestimentum principale cum paruris de pal et amictis cum paruris breudatis cum avibus et leonibus in rotellis cum stola et manipula de pal et casula de rubea sameto aurifrig.

Item aliud vestimentum dominicale cum casula et parura et stola et manipula de pal.

Item una alba cum paruris de pal et amictus cum paruris de pal cum stola et manipula de filo contexta.

Item ij corporalia in duabus capsis de pal. Item tunica et dalmatica de pal.

Item unum missale vetus de veteri nota. Item manuale bonum et plenare.

Item unum antiphonarium cum psalterio capitulario collectario et ymnpario plenare notatum.

Item aliud antiphonarium cum psalterio veteri. Item ij. legendae distinctae et temporale et commune Sanctorum.

Item j. graduale bonum cum tropario bene notatum. Item aliud graduale cum troperio veteri.

Item ij. cistae cum seruris. Item ij tintinabula ad elevationem corporis Christi.

Item lectrina et sedilia sufficientia in Cancello.

## APPENDIX.

*Descriptio vasorum aureorum et argenteorum, Librorum, Caparum, Tunicarum, Dalmaticarum, vestimentorum, Pannorum de serico Thesaurariae ecclesiae Sancti Pauli London', facta in crastino sancti Bartholomaei Apostoli, anno gratiae M<sup>o</sup>CC<sup>o</sup>xl. Quinto, per Henricum de Cornhille, Decanum; Tunc ibi presentibus Alexandro Thesaurario, Magistro Roberto de Barton, Johanne de Bulemere, Canonicis.<sup>a</sup>*

*Et primo De vasis aureis et argenteis.*

Calix de auro qui fuit ut dicitur Alardi Decani,<sup>b</sup> ponderat cum patena xxxv. sol. x.d. In patena sculpta est ymago Majestatis, et in pede calicis apponuntur amatistae.

<sup>a</sup> Henry de Cornhill, dean, 1243-54; Alexander, probably Swerford, he died in 1246; Robert de Barton, prebendary of Willesdon, precentor 1246, dean 1256-9; J. de Bulemere, prebendary of Harleston.

<sup>b</sup> Alard de Burnham succeeded Ralph de Diceto as dean. He died in 1216.

Calix de auro, qui fuit ut dicitur Roberti de Clifford,<sup>a</sup> ponderat cum patena xxv. sol. iiij. d. Planus est undique, et sine opere trifuriali. In patena manus Domini benedicens est insculpta.

Calix tercius de auro ponderat cum patena xlij. sol. & j. d. In patena sculpta est manus benedicens, campo undique circa manum minutis stellis stellato.

Calix de auro, quem dedit Willelmus de Briwera,<sup>b</sup> ponderat cum patena lxxvj. sol. viij. d. Planus est undique, et sine opere trifario. In ejus pede inscisis litteris scribitur nomen donatoris. In patena sculpitur manus benedicens, ex uno latere stella, ex altero luna.

Calix argenti deauratus, qui fuit ut dicitur Magistri Roberti Capellani, ponderat cum patena lij. sol. ix. d. In cujus pede levantur opere levato flores glageoli.<sup>c</sup> In patena sculpitur ymago Trinitatis integra. In uno latere capitis stella, in altero luna.

Calix argenti deauratus, qui dicitur fuisse Magistri Henrici de Norhamton,<sup>d</sup> ponderat cum patena l. sol. Pes ejus florigeratur quadam gravatura. In patena sculpitur ymago Trinitatis integra sedens super archum.

Calix argenteus intus et extra deauratus, planus undique, et sine omni gravatura vel sculptura in patena, ponderat cum patena xxvjs. ij. d.

Calix bene deauratus interius et exterius, in cujus pede et nodo sunt gravaturae, et in patena in limbis florata sculpitur ymago super archum sedens, ponderat cum patena xxvj. sol. viij. d.

Calix argenteus parvus deauratus intus et extra undique planus, in cujus F. 6, col. 1. patena sculpitur manus benedicens, ponderat cum patena xvij. sol.

Calix argenti interius deauratus et exterius albus, nodo deaurato et virgulato, in cujus patena sculpitur manus benedicens exiens a nube cum duabus stellis et una lunula, ponderat cum patena xv. s. & vj. d.

Calix argenti qui fuit Prioris de Achon,<sup>e</sup> subito mortui in prebenda de Holeburn', planus, et totus undique deauratus, in cujus patena sculpitur manus benedicens cum stella et lunula collateralibus, ponderat xx. sol.

<sup>a</sup> Robert de Clifford, prebendary of Portpoole in 1192.

<sup>b</sup> In 1336, one Gilbert de Bruera became dean; probably a member of the same family.

<sup>c</sup> Gladiolus: Carex vel Carectum. Anglis, Sedge. Ducange.

<sup>d</sup> Henry de Northampton was prebendary of Kentish Town in 1181.

<sup>e</sup> For documents relating to the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, London, see Dugdale *Monasticon*, vi. 645-8.

Calix magnus et undique deauratus quo deserviebatur in altari Sanctae Radegundae, ponderabat liij. sol. vj. d. Furatus fuit ibidem, et de bonis habentis illud altare inventis fuit emptus calix ponderis xx. sol. iiij. d., in cujus pede sculptuntur scalopae Sancti Jacobi et in patena Agnus Dei. Liberatur ad illud altare serviendum.

Calix Graecus sine patena et de Graeco trifurio, ponderat cum calamo vj. li.

Calix argenteus undique deauratus, quem dedit Ricardus vicarius de Bello Campo; planus est undique; habet patenam deauratam tenuem cum Agno Dei inculptam; ponderat xx. s. v. d.

Calix planus deauratus undique, et nodo plano, cum manu benedictis in patena, ponderat xxv. solid. d. [*sic*].

Calix auri, qui fuit H. de Wyngam, episcopi,<sup>a</sup> ponderat xlvij. sol. & iiij. d., ornatus est cum aymalo<sup>b</sup> et cum margaritis in pomello.

*De Phialis argenteis.*

Phialae duae argenteae albae ponderant xv.s. vj.d., quarum una habet circulum deauratum in medio vineatum.

Phialae duae, quae fuerunt Roberti de Clifford<sup>c</sup>, ponderant xiiij. sol. & iiij.d., quarum una est tota deaurata et veteris operis sculpta ymaginibus, alia [*sic*].

Phialae duae Alardi Decani ponderant xix. sol. vj. d., quarum una est tota deaurata, altera alba.

Phialae quatuor novae et de novo factae per W. Heremitam<sup>e</sup> de quibusdam aliis veteribus, quae consueverunt computari in compotis precedentibus; albae sunt, et sine cooperculis; ponderant xxvj. s. ij. d.

Phiala una, sine pari, vetus et confracta, ponderat vj. s.

Phialae duae quae fuerunt Eustachii Episcopi,<sup>d</sup> quarum una alba, altera tota deaurata; ponderabant viij. s.; traditae fuerunt Willelmo Capellano, et furatae, unde non computantur in Thesauraria.

Phialae duae Willielmi Episcopi,<sup>e</sup> quarum una est deaurata, tota altera alba; ponderant xj. solid. viij. d.

<sup>a</sup> Henry de Wyngam, chancellor of England, bishop of London 1259-60 to 1262. I am unable to explain the fact of his being styled Bishop in this document.

<sup>b</sup> Aymalo, enamel.

<sup>c</sup> William the Hermit, or Eremita, was prebendary of Portpoole in 1226 and 1267. Le Neve.

<sup>d</sup> Eustace de Fauconberge, treasurer of the Exchequer, bishop of London, 1221-8.

<sup>e</sup> Probably William of St. Mary's church, successively dean of St. Martin's, dean of St. Paul's, and bishop of London 1199-1221.

*De Thuribulis et Pomis argenteis, Naviculis, Ampullis ad Oleum et Crisma.*

Thuribulum magnum album argenteum angelis levatis insculptum, cum scutella aeris imposita, ponderat c. solid.

Thuribulum aliud magnum argenteum et album consimile alteri in opere et forma, ponderat cum scutella sua iiij. lb. xij. s. & iiij. d.

Thuribulum quod dicitur O. de Camera,<sup>a</sup> album, sed in limbis deauratum cum casitis desuper deauratis, ponderat per se sine scutella xxxviiij. sol.

Thuribulum, cujus coopertorium angelis sculpsitur album, ponderat cum scutella aeris iiij<sup>or</sup> mar.<sup>7</sup> iiij. sol. iiij. d.

Thuribulum parvum deauratum totum, quod fuit Radulfi de Sancto Benedicto ponderat sine scutella xxiiij. s.

Thuribulum deauratum cum coopertorio trifuriato opere, ponderat liij. solid. iiij. d. cum scutella cupri.

Thuribulum Eustachii episcopi, ponderat xxvj. sol. viij. d. Rogerus Episcopus habuit. Modo. F. Episcopo.<sup>b</sup> [Modo Philippus frater suus.]<sup>c</sup>

Navicula<sup>d</sup> alba argentea in limbis deaurata ad thus, ponderat xxx. š. & xij. d.

Navicula alia, quae fuit Eustachii Episcopi, cum cocleari, ponderat viij. sol.

Discus argenteus, ad modum salsarii, deputatus ad thus, ponderat cum cocleari x. s. & vj. d.

Pomum, quod fuit Johannis de Sancto Laurentio, argenteum et album, cum scutella, ponderat xij. sol. & x. d.

Pomum, quod fuit Eustachii episcopi, argenteum deauratum cum botris<sup>e</sup> rotundis fabricatum bestiis in eisdem sculptis, ponderat cum scutella xvj. sol. viij. d.

Ampullae ad oleum et crisma tres de argento, nondum ponderatae.

Ampullae aliae duae argenteae ad oleum portatiles et mediocres, cum cathenulis argenteis, ponderat xxvj. sol. ix. d.

<sup>a</sup> Osbert de Camera, canon in 1192. Newcourt.

<sup>b</sup> The bishops named are Eustace de Fauconberge, Roger le Noir (Roger Niger), and Fulke Basset.

<sup>c</sup> The words between brackets are added by another hand.

<sup>d</sup> An incense boat.

<sup>e</sup> Botrus, a bunch of grapes.

\* Thuribulum magnum, de dono Henrici Capellani, ponderat c. sol.

\* Turribulum Episcopi H. de Wyngam<sup>a</sup> totum deauratum ponderat c. ij. sol.

\* Pomum Domini F. episcopi,<sup>b</sup> insculptum mensibus anni deauratis, ponderat xij. sol.

F. 6. col. 2.

Crismatorium Gilberti episcopi<sup>c</sup> interius ligneum est coopertum exterius foliis argenteis cum ymaginibus elevatis.

Crismatorium Eustachii episcopi<sup>d</sup> argenteum ponderat xvij. sol. Episcopus F. habet.<sup>e</sup>

#### *De Candelabris.*

Candelabra duo portabilia argentea antiqua, pedibus draconibus insculptis triforiatis, ponderant vij. lb.

Candelabra duo, quae fuerunt Magistri R. de Storteford,<sup>f</sup> opere triforia, operata sunt cum hominibus leones equitantibus; ponderant iiij. lb. xij. s. iiij. d.

Candelabra duo curtioria argentea undique neelata<sup>g</sup> cum pedibus planis cupro pedibus inclavato ad efforciandum, ponderant cum cupro c. s. Hiis deservitur ad altare majus a pueris.

Candelabrum unum cuprinum particulariter argento coopertum.

Pixis argentea cocleareata ad Eucharistiam, aliquando suspensa ultra majus altare, ponderant ij. mar. & v. d. cum nodis neelatis. Et alia quaedam argentea ponderat xxxvij. s. ij. d.

Pecten argenteus<sup>h</sup> in medio deauratus cum gravatura dentibus albis, ponderat ix. s.

Cuppa argentea deaurata undique, quam dedit Rex Henricus<sup>i</sup> ad eucharistiam, cum leonibus et leopardis, nodo et pomello bene operato, cum cathena argentea, ponderat c. iiij. sol. & x. d.; [et tertia argentea cum literis in coopertorio, ponderat xiiij. s.]<sup>j</sup>

\* These entries are made by another hand at the foot of a column.

<sup>a</sup> Henry de Wyngam, *ut supra*.

<sup>b</sup> Fulke Bassett, *ut supra*.

<sup>c</sup> Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, 1163-1167, 8. <sup>d</sup> Eustace de Fauconberge. <sup>e</sup> Fulke Bassett.

<sup>f</sup> Richard de Stortford appears as chancellor of St. Paul's in 1184. He held the prebend of Harleston.

<sup>g</sup> Neelata, ornamented with niello.

<sup>h</sup> Inter ministeria sacra recensetur quo scilicet Sacerdotes ac Clerici antequam in Ecclesiam procederent, crines pecterent. Ducange.

<sup>i</sup> Perhaps Henry III., who was in the 29th year of his reign when this Inventory was taken.

<sup>j</sup> The words within brackets are added by another hand.



Vas ad aquam benedictam cum ansa est argenteum totum opere Graeco fabricatum cum ymaginibus et litteris designantibus sculpturam; ponderat viij. mar. iiij. s.; ut dicitur, de dono Ricardi Episcopi.<sup>a</sup>

\* Parvum vas argenteum ad sal benedicendum, ponderat v. s.

*De Bacinis argenteis.*

Bacini duo albi et magni circulo fundi deaurato draconibus et leonibus connexis insculptis, ponderant vij. mar. & iiij. s. iiij. d.

Bacini duo albi similiter cum argento appposito de novo facti, ponderant xlij. s. vj. d.; et in fundo insculpuntur ymagine beati Petri et Pauli.

Bacini J. de Sancto Laurentio<sup>b</sup> albi et mediocres, ponderant lij. s.; in quorum uno sculpirur homo tenens librum in manu; in alio homo pugnans cum leone.

Bacini duo albi cum limbis deauratis, fundis gravatis et deauratis, quos dedit Cycestrensis Episcopus, ponderant lxxviij. s.

\* Bacini ij<sup>o</sup> A. Tescurarii<sup>c</sup> cum p. et p. ponderant lvj. s. viij. d.

\* Bacini ii<sup>o</sup> episcopi F.,<sup>d</sup> intus deaurati in modum crucis, ponderant iiij. libras iiij. s. iiij. d.

*De Feretris, Brachiis, Philacteriis,\* et Thecis, argenteis et eburneis.*

Feretrum beati Erkenwaldi<sup>f</sup> est interius ligneum extra coopertum platis argenteis cum ymaginibus et lapidibus. Est autem summa lapidum, ut dicitur, c. et xxx. Postmodum inclavavit in eo G. Decanus<sup>g</sup> anulum aureum cum saphyro.<sup>h</sup> Ad duo capita feretri ejusdem apponuntur duo angeli argentei cum brochis ferreis; ponderant lx. solid.

<sup>a</sup> Three bishops of London had already borne this Christian name, R. de Belmeis I., R. de Belmeis, II., and Richard de Ely surnamed FitzNeale. It may be inferred from the *ut dicitur* that the earliest of these is intended.

\* These entries are inserted by another hand.

<sup>b</sup> John de S. Laurentio was prebendary of St. Pancras in 1192.

<sup>c</sup> Alexander Swerford, treasurer of St. Paul's.

<sup>d</sup> Fulke Bassett, bishop of London.

<sup>e</sup> Filacterium, theca minor sacrarum reliquiarum, quæ ad collum Filacteriis seu vittis appensa in processionibus portabatur. Ducange.

<sup>f</sup> The great shrine of St. Erkenwald "stood on the east side of the wall above the high altar." Dugdale, 15. The shrine here mentioned may have been one of smaller dimensions.

<sup>g</sup> Perhaps Geoffrey de Lucy, dean, who died in 1241.

<sup>h</sup> A more famous sapphire of great virtue for healing of infirmities of the eyes was presented to the shrine in 15 Rich. II., by Richard de Preston, citizen and grocer.

Feretrum quod dicitur Sancti Melliti<sup>a</sup> totum ligneum, fronte solum cooperto platis argenteis et ymaginibus, cui imponitur angelus de cupro totus deauratus, et haec duo sunt collateralia in magno altari.

Feretrum supra magnum altare ligneum est et vetus, et coopertum albo argento undique, in quo sunt diversae reliquae collectae ex diversis collectionibus.

Feretrum Sancti Laurentii portatile est et ligneum, coopertum undique platis argenteis bene deauratis cum ymaginibus levati operis, cujus pomelli sunt ad modum pomorum pinei superius florigerati. In eo continetur feretrum totum cristallinum bene preparatum cresta argentea et angularibus argenteis bene deauratis, inpositis lapidibus preciosis sculptis; in quo reponuntur duae costae Sancti Laurentii; quod quidem feretrum comparavit C. de Wesham pro l. mar.

Feretrum Ricardi Episcopi tercii<sup>b</sup> ligneum est et coopertum platis argenteis bene deauratis, et addubbatum<sup>c</sup> lapidibus contrafactis ad similitudinem carbuncolorum et saphyrorum; et dicitur feretrum Beatae Virginis propter capillos ejusdem in eo repositos. In eodem reponitur parvissima capsula auri, in qua reponitur dens Sancti Vincentii. Est autem capsula longitudinis pollicis et dimidii.

Feretrum Sancti Ethelberti<sup>d</sup> ligneum totum platis argenteis coopertum cum lapidibus preciosis, capsulis, lapidibus deauratis; dicitur habere c. et xxx. lapides.

Feretrum Willielmi Episcopi totum est argenteum massicum sine ligno,<sup>e</sup> exterius bene deauratum cum ymaginibus bene levatis; perpulchrum est.

Cofri duo eburnei magni et lati stantes supra magni altare, in quibus reponuntur reliquiae cum parvulis thecis in illis contentis.

Cofrum nigrum, quod dicitur fuisse Gilberti episcopi, in quo similiter reponuntur reliquiae.

Brachium Sancti Oswaldi coopertum foliis argenteis, praeter manum.

Brachium Sancti Melliti coopertum similiter foliis argenteis.

F. 6. b. col. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Mellitas, the companion of St. Augustine and first bishop of London.

<sup>b</sup> Ricardi Episcopi tercii. Richard de Ely, surnamed FitzNeale, bishop of London 1189-1198.

<sup>c</sup> Addubbatum: a very favourite word with this scribe. Cf. addoubed, armed or accoutred. Adouber, old French. See Nares, who quotes an illustrative passage from Sidney's *Arcadia*. See also Halliwell.

<sup>d</sup> King Ethelbert was a great benefactor to the cathedral church. He gave to it the manor of Tillingham, which is still in the hands of the dean and chapter.

<sup>e</sup> Bishop William, the king's chaplain was consecrated in 1051; was present at the Council of London in 1075; and, dying shortly afterwards, was buried in the cathedral church. Probably he is the bishop whose shrine is here described.

Brachium Sanctae Osithae, cujus manus tenet caput virginis, consimiliter foliis argenteis coopertum.

Item brachium Sancti Melliti parvum, quod dedit Eustachius episcopus, consimiliter argento coopertum. In quo reposuit os de brachio Sancti Melliti, quod ei dederunt Monachi Sancti Augustini.

Pixis eburnea aliquantulum magna, in qua reponitur os digiti Sancti Oswaldi, et alia parvula, in qua nichil reponitur.

Cruces duae cristallinae, quarum una ponitur aliquando super feretrum Sancti Erkenwaldi, alia in quodam armariolo.

Auricularium <sup>a</sup> Sanctae Edithae.

Potentia <sup>b</sup> Beati Thomae Martiris, <sup>c</sup> et pecten, quæ habentur pro reliquiis.

Crux gracilis, quæ appellatur crux magistri Henrici de Northampton' plana est, cum yconia tota deaurata. In cujus patibulo superiori est enichmus <sup>d</sup> in quo sculpitur ymago hominis. In patibulo inferiori lapis in quo sculpitur cervus, ad duo brachia duo amatistae; pes firmatus cruci ad modum pedis cyphi, cum pomello circulato lapidibus.

Crux major lignea platis argenteis cooperta ante et retro deauratis cum yconia. In cujus patibulo superiori est manus benedictis exiens a nube, subtus Adam surgens a sepulchro, <sup>e</sup> lapidibus contrafactis ornata, videlicet, thurchesiis <sup>f</sup> et corneliniis. Parva crux pendet ibi ad longitudinem pollicis et dimidii, quasi suspensibilis ad collum hominis.

Cruces duae portatiles ad processionem lignee, cum yconiis coopertae laminibus argenteis ante et retro, et cum pomellis deauratis.

Item crux argentea deaurata undique in qua reponuntur reliquiae crucis, et ornatur lapidibus minutis, et v. grossioribus, per <sup>g</sup> partes crucis, et alamandina <sup>h</sup> in medio.

<sup>a</sup> Auriculare: Gall. *Oreiller*, pulvinar. Ducange.

<sup>b</sup> Potentia: scipio, fulcrum subalare, nostris vulgo *Potence*. Ducange. A staff, or crutch, T-shaped.

<sup>c</sup> St. Thomas à Becket.

<sup>d</sup> Enichmus: see note on page 86.

<sup>e</sup> Adam. In an old legend Adam is buried on the precise spot on which the Cross was erected, and the blood of the Crucified falling upon Adam's tomb calls him back to life. In a fourteenth century miniature, figured by Mrs. Jameson, *History of our Lord*, ii. 207-8 (from *Arundel MS.* 83, Brit. Mus.), Adam rises from his tomb at the foot of the cross, and holds a chalice to catch the sacred blood.

<sup>f</sup> Turquoises: see note on page 86.

<sup>g</sup> Alamandinae, Alabandinae, or Alavandinae . . . gemmae ex Alabanda, Cariae urbo. Ducange. See also note on page 87.

Memorandum, quod omnia philateria et bursae, in quibus olim dependebant reliquiae, reponuntur in thecis et consignantur.

Sex pectines eburnei, tres spissi et magni, tres tenues et usuales, et quatuor pectines de novo.

*De Baculis et Ornamentis Episcopalibus.*

Baculus<sup>a</sup> Ricardi Episcopi tercii, cujus cambuca<sup>b</sup> de argento massitio,<sup>c</sup> bene deauratus, cujus revolutio terminatur in angelum. In medio sculpuntur ymages massitiae apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Pomellum bene sculpitur cum floribus consolide minoribus et cum lapidibus amatistis. Baculus fuit per pecias cum circulis deauratis. Modo habet Thomas de Sancto Sepulchro ad apponendum novum lignum integrum.

Baculus alius ejusdem, cujus cambuca est de cornu, revolutione terminante in caput draconis, a quo exit vinea circuens leonem. Flos totus deauratus, et vinea est de cupro. Pomellum de cupro bene incisum et deauratum, sub quo est quaedam indentura de cornu et de cupro.

Baculus, cujus cambuca tota est de cupro cum pomello bene operato grosso opere leonum et serpentium.

Baculus, cujus cambuca est de cornu veteri, cujus revoculo<sup>d</sup> terminatur in capud draconis, a quo exit vinea deaurata spissa et massitia cum ymaginibus hominum. Pomellum de cupro bene incisum.

Baculi duo, quorum cambucae sunt de ebore, et pomellum.

Baculus stultorum<sup>e</sup> est de ebore et sine cambuca, cum pomello de ebore subtus indentatus ebore et cornu.

<sup>a</sup> [Hic Ba]culus acomo[dav]it abba[tissa] Romesseye [et te]net eum. Sed . . . Radulfus de . . . ho promisit . . . de verum . . . ur. Et in . . . lo. This note is by a later hand.

<sup>b</sup> Cambuca, or cambuta: baculus incurvatus, virga pastoralis Episcoporum. Ducange.

<sup>c</sup> Massitio: probably the same as macissus, solidus. *Ib.*

<sup>d</sup> Revoculo: probably an error for *revolutio*.

<sup>e</sup> Baculus Stultorum:

An important article on the Episcopus Stultorum will be found in Ducange (Henschel's edition) under the word *Kalendae*. "Festum Hypodiaconorum, quod vocamus Stultorum, a quibusdam perficitur in Circumcisione, a quibusdam vero in Epiphania vel in ejus octavis. Fiunt autem quatuor tripudia post Nativitatem Domini in Ecclesia, Levitarum scilicet, Sacerdotum, Puerorum, id est, minorum aetate et ordine, et Hypodiaconorum, qui ordo incertus est." For centuries the disreputable rites of the feast, in which the holiest offices and orders were made matters of the lightest

Baculus cantoris <sup>a</sup> est totus de peciis eborneis, cum circulis argenteis deauratis, et cum pomello argenteo deaurato, et ornato cum lapidibus. Podium est de cristallo cum lapidibus.<sup>b</sup>

Baculus Episcopi Willelmi totus de argento cum nodo concavo cum ymaginibus apostolorum in cambuca, ymaginibus Petri et Pauli ex altera parte, ymagine Beate Virginis, genu flectente episcopo. Episcopus F. habet.

Mitra de alba purpura breudata stellis et lunulis ante et retro. In stellis utrinque sunt topatii et almandine. In circulo inferiori sunt quasi bisantii triphuriati cum lapidibus peridotis,<sup>c</sup> et similiter thau cum lapidibus.

Mitra alia nova alba addubbata aurifrigio, plana est; quam dedit J. Belemains<sup>d</sup> episcopo innocentum.<sup>e</sup>

Mitra Eustachii episcopi bene addubbata, accomodata Episcopo F.; et est de perulis et margaritis albis.<sup>f</sup>

jesting, found favour with all sorts and conditions of men; and it was not abolished until after long and strenuous efforts had been made for its suppression.

In the Abbé Migne's *Dictionnaire des Mystères* (Fête des Fous), an account is given of the establishment of a sort of Fête des Fous at St. Sophia by "Théophylacte fils de l'empereur, nommé patriarche de Sainte-Sophie à peine encore âgé de seize ans:—

"C'est à ce patriarche, dit Cédrenus, que remonte l'usage qui a duré jusqu'à nos jours, de substituer dans les plus grandes fêtes et les plus solennelles, consacrées soit à Dieu, soit aux saints, l'outrage de chansons indécentes, de rires et de cris insensés, aux hymnes sacrées que nous devons offrir à Dieu pour notre salut. Ce pontife rassemblant une troupe de débauchés et mettant Enthymius à leur tête, fit de cet homme le gardien du temple, et institua, par son entreprise, des danses diaboliques, des cris infernaux et des chansons ramassées dans les carrefours."

Some remains of this rite lingered till 1606 in the diocese of Viviers, where there was actually a law-suit between the Fools and their Bishop, because the latter declined to carry out the fête. The official before whom the cause was heard decided in favour of the Fools.

Ducange does not hesitate to say that the feast was called Festum Hypodiaconorum, not because sub-deacons only took part in it, but rather that this was a jocular designation. "*Soudiacres*, id est, ad literam, *saturi Diaconi*, quasi *Diacres saouls*."

<sup>a</sup> The precentor's staff. A fine example of such a staff of the fourteenth century is figured in Dr. Lee's *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*.

<sup>b</sup> . . . d's Dungun (?) [accomo]davit alium . . . abbatisse [de Ca]damo nec . . . tuit. This note is by a later hand.

<sup>c</sup> Peridot or peritot, Gemma viridi coloris smaragdo durior sed minoris pretii. At the moment of his martyrdom, Thomas à Becket was wearing a ring set with a peridot. Ducange. See also note on page 87.

<sup>d</sup> John de Belemains held the prebendal stall of Chiswick in 1225.

<sup>e</sup> The boy bishop.

<sup>f</sup> Perulis et margaritis: small pearls and large.



Mitra episcopi innocentum, nullius precii.

Mitra alba cum aurifrigio vineato et floribus lapparum.<sup>a</sup>

Sandalia et caligae de rubeo samito satis bono et novo, cujus caligae sunt breudatae circulis interius continentes aquilas et dracones interius forratae croceali viridi sendato. Sandalia sunt breudata aliis floribus furrata indico sendato cum semellis<sup>b</sup> de coreo.

Sandalia alia de indico samito, cujus caligae sunt breudatae scalopis Sancti Jacobi et leonibus, furratae rubeo sendato, et ornatae aurifrigio. Sotulares<sup>c</sup> breudatae sine semellis<sup>d</sup> floribus sine semellis.

F. 6b. col. 2.

Sandalia, duo sine caligis furrata rubeo sendato, et breudata lunulis et vineis.

Quatuor paria cyrotecarum antiquarum addubbata circulis deauratis.

Nota.

Supra continentur Calices aurei et argentei cum patenis, Phialae argenteae, Thuribula argentea, Poma, Naviculae, Ampullae argenteae, Crismatoria, Candelebra, Bacini argentei, Feretra, Brachia, Philateria, Thecae argenteae et eburneae, Cofri, Cruces, Pectines, Baculi, et Ornamenta Episcopalia. [Sed alia postmodum inventa de consimilibus scribuntur in ultimo folio.<sup>e</sup>]

#### *De Cathedris et Pulvinaribus.<sup>f</sup>*

Quatuor cathedrae lignae depictae, quinta ferrea, quae est apud Sanctam Radegundam.<sup>g</sup>

Duae ferreae de dono G. de Lucy,<sup>h</sup> Decani, et una ligna, quae fuit episcopi Rogeri.<sup>i</sup>

Item, una ferrea deargentata cum capitibus humanis et deauratis, quam episcopus F. habet.

Pulvinar ad textum portandum de opere sartacinio aliquantulum vetus in quo scribuntur Willelmus et Albreda.

Pulvinar novum, totum consutum nodis de serico, quod fuit Mauricii de Herlawe.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lappa: cardui species, a thistle. Ducange.

<sup>b</sup> Semella, the sole. Fr. *Semelle*.

<sup>c</sup> Sotulares, subtalares, shoes, Fr. *Souliers*. <sup>d</sup> The dotted words were intended to be omitted.

<sup>e</sup> The words within brackets are added by another hand. <sup>f</sup> Pulvinar, a cushion or pillow.

<sup>g</sup> That is, in the chapel of St. Radegund.

<sup>h</sup> Geoffrey de Lucy, dean of St. Paul's, died 1241.

<sup>i</sup> Roger Niger, bishop.

<sup>k</sup> Maurice de Herlawe, or Herla, prebendary of Twyford in 1218. His obit was observed on August 17.

Quatuor pulvinaria cooperta panno serico satis adhuc utilia.

Pulvinar unum de sendato exterius coopertum panno lineo perforato.

Tria alia uno et eodem pallio cooperta, inveterata, et necessario emendanda.

Duo meliora confracta et similiter emendanda.

Pulvinar magnum de samito rubeo, quod fuit beati Hugonis, satis novum.

Duo alia inveterata ad ponendum super sedilia, cooperta veteri panno de serico; unum coopertum panno Katalonico.

Item unum pulvinar de dono G. de Lucy, Decani, sed coopertum panno serico, quem dedit Lodowicus.

Item aliud quondam Rogeri Episcopi, cum aquilis expansis.

*De Capis sericis magis preciosis.*

Capa, quae dicitur Alardi Decani,<sup>a</sup> est de purpureo samito, breudata rosis, stellis, et gladeolis, et lunulis, cum tassellis, in quibus breudentur Sanctus Petrus et Sanctus Paulus. Ad hanc capam pertinet morsus auri, ut dicitur inferius.

Capa ejusdem alia de rubeo samito, plano, sine tassellis, addubbata plano aurifrigio.

Capa, quae dicitur Ricardi Episcopi,<sup>b</sup> est de purpureo samito, satis nova, leopardis et floribus internodatis breudata. Haec habet morsum argenteum cum ymaginibus Petri et Pauli massitiis, cum quatuor angelis ad quatuor angulos.

Capa Magistri Ricardi de Storteford<sup>c</sup> est de nigro samito, breudata vineis, griffonibus, et volucris, cum tassellis breudatis floribus auri puri.

Capa ejusdem altera de rubeo samito plana, addubbata de aurifrigio de auro puro.

Capa Willelmi Episcopi de viridi samito peroptimo, breudata ymaginibus Beatae Virginis anterioris, et angelis cum thuribulis, et sagittariis. Habet morsum, ut dicitur inferius.

Capa P. archidiaconi<sup>d</sup> est de purpureo epatico plano caputio consuto margaritis, in quo nomen scribitur archidiaconi. Haec habet morsum argenteum triphuriatum cum lapidibus preciosis, in cujus medio est cornelinus sculptus capite connexo. Habet etiam cristam argenteam deauratam cum saphiris ingravatis.

<sup>a</sup> Alard de Burnham, *ut supra*.

<sup>b</sup> The obit of Richard de Ely, or FitzNeale, was observed in the cathedral church on April 4. It is probable that he is the bishop of the text; 1189-1198.

<sup>c</sup> Richard de Stortford, prebendary of Harleston, chancellor in 1184. He died in or about 1215.

<sup>d</sup> Probably Peter de Newport, archdeacon of London.

Capa quae dicitur G. Decani, purpurea, cum prophetis et lutiis et vineis bene breudata. Habet morsum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa G. de Weseham<sup>a</sup> de rubeo samito, bene breudata Jesse et stirpe per totum, et Apostolis in anteriori parte, et Crucifixo, [cum morso affixo.]<sup>b</sup>

Capa, quae dicitur Magistri H. de Norhampton',<sup>c</sup> est de rubeo samito, breudata scalopis Sancti Jacobi, cum morsu sibi cohaerente argenteo, in quo est lapis qui dicitur Kamacu,<sup>d</sup> in quo inciditur capud mulieris.

Capa, quae dicitur Roberti de Clifford',<sup>e</sup> est de spisso panno cum tassellis breudatis et morsu cohaerente trifuriato, in quo est lapis qui dicitur Presme.<sup>f</sup>

Capa de rubeo samito, breudata cum bisantiis et gladeolis, cum morsu argenteo oblongo deaurato, duabus suagiis concavis non deauratis collateralibus.

Capa, quae dicitur [sic] de purpura plana, breudata cum angelis portantibus thuribula et prophetis, cum morsu argenteo connexo oblongo deaurato; in cujus medio est saphyrus contrafactus; dicitur fuisse Willelmi de Norhall',<sup>g</sup> Episcopi.

Capa, quae fuit R. Juvenis, consimilis est per omnia precedenti, sed cum morsu latiori; in cujus medio ponitur thopazius.

Capa Ricardi de Windlesor'<sup>h</sup> vetus consimilis est precedenti, sed juxta auri frigium scripturae sub mento manus cum clavibus breudantur.<sup>i</sup>

Capa ejusdem alia est de rubeo samito plana, cum tassellis quadratis et latis; in quorum uno breudatur castrum de Windlesor'; in alio Ricardus legens evangelium super aquilam ante episcopum.

Capa quae dicitur magistri Rogeri capellani<sup>k</sup> est de albo samito in anterioribus limbis angelis breudatis cum thuribulis. Pulverizatur tota bisantiis breudatis. Habet morsum connexum de plano sine gradibus, in cujus medio est presme contrafacta.

Capa magistri Ricardi Ruffi<sup>l</sup> est de rubeo samito, breudata sagittariis, cum tassellis, in quorum uno martirizatur Stephanus, in alio Thomas. Haec habet

F. 7, col. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Godfrey de Wesenham, canon in 1243.

<sup>b</sup> The words within brackets are added by another hand.

<sup>c</sup> Henry de Norhampton.

<sup>d</sup> Kamacu: Kamahutus, a sardonyx.

<sup>e</sup> Robert de Clifford, prebendary of Portpoole in 1192.

<sup>f</sup> Presme: see note on page 87.

<sup>g</sup> William de Norhall, bishop of Worcester, held the stall of Neasdon in 1177, when he was archdeacon of Gloucester.

<sup>h</sup> Richard de Windesore held the stall of Oxgate in 1192.

<sup>i</sup> Ista po[nitur] in emenda[tionem] aliarum. This note is by another hand.

<sup>k</sup> Roger the chaplain; his obit was observed on November 16.

<sup>l</sup> Richard Ruffus, archdeacon of Essex 1142-62; his obit was observed on January 18.

morsum argenteum oblongum, cum duobus gradibus; in cujus crista sunt tres cornelinae sculptae cum Onichinis.

Capa, quae fuit Radulphi Decani,<sup>a</sup> est de purpureo samito, cum bono aurifrigio, breudata gladeolis duplicibus foliis anteriis.

Capae iiij<sup>r</sup> ejusdem de rubeo samito, planae, omnes, sed duae cum tassellis breudatis floribus.

Capae iiij<sup>r</sup> ejusdem de pilo nigro; planae sunt, et deputantur ad obsequia mortuorum.

Capa fusca de panno serico breudata cum minutis gladeolis et minutis bisantiis et floribus minutis. Hanc breudare fecit Henricus Cancellarius,<sup>b</sup> et postea Decanus.

Capa Willelmi de Ely<sup>c</sup> satis nova est, de rubeo samito, breudata leopardis et floribus nodosis et minutis bisantiis. Haec habet morsum, sed non connexum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa Ricardi de Ely<sup>d</sup> est de rubeo samito plano; habet morsum argenteum cum ymagine majestatis massitio in medio collateralibus Petri et Pauli ymaginibus, angelis duas coronas habentibus.

Capa Johannis de Sancto Laurentio<sup>e</sup> est de rubeo samito plano antea lapidibus in cassis argenteis sparso modo, Solum caputio amatistis et Kamaetis incavata. Habet morsum incavatū<sup>f</sup> non connexum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa Rogeri de Wigornia<sup>g</sup> est de albo diaspero, breudata aquilis expansis, cum lunis et stellis, et habet morsum oblongum; in cujus cristae medio est perla, adjectis duobus topaziis ad duo capita.

Capa Cintii Romani<sup>h</sup> est de rubeo samito cum aurifrigio de Venicia, avibus in medio contextis, tota plana. Haec habet morsum non connexum, ut dicetur inferius.

Capa Prioris de Achon, qui subito obiit in praebenda de Holeburn', est de

<sup>a</sup> Ralph de Diceto, the historian, became dean in 1181.

<sup>b</sup> Henry de Cornhill, chancellor 1217-1241, dean 1243-1254.

<sup>c</sup> William de Ely, the king's treasurer, held the stall of Cadington minor in 1192, and died in 1223.

<sup>d</sup> Richard de Ely (surnamed FitzNeale), bishop 1189-98.

<sup>e</sup> John de Sancto Laurentio, canon 1192-1222. His obit was observed on August 25.

<sup>f</sup> The dots are marks of intended omission.

<sup>g</sup> Roger de Wygornia, prebendary of Bromesbury in 1192.

<sup>h</sup> Cincius, Cinchius, Cynthius Romanus, prebendary of Rugmere. His obit was observed on November 6.

albo diaspero, opere trifario mirabiliter in ipso panno contexto quasi in orbicularibus. Nova est et bona addubbata mediocri aurifrigio.

Capa de rubeo samito, quam dedit magister R. de Wendover,<sup>a</sup> nova est; habet morsum oblongum; in cujus medio est Onichinus rotundus, cum crista argentea deaurata, cum thurchesiis et gravatis.<sup>b</sup>

Capa Rogeri Episcopi de rubeo samito, bene breudato cum stellis et rosis et lunulis.

Capa de samito croceo, quam dedit P. Wintoniensis Episcopus,<sup>c</sup> tota plana est et nova.

*De Capis minus preciosis.*

Capa,<sup>d</sup> quae dicitur archidiaconi Nicholai, est de albo sameto plano, cum tassello pectorali quadrato contexto margaritis albis et viridibus contrafactis<sup>e</sup> et filo auri in orbicularibus puro et tracto contexto.

Capa alia ejusdem vetus est de panno serico ut dicitur imperiali cum pavonibus et arboribus contexto.

Capa Roberti de Clifford<sup>f</sup> est de imperiali<sup>f</sup> cum leonibus sine morsu.

Capa de indico sameto aliquantulum vetus breudata laciatura cum leonibus in orbicularibus cum morsu consimili superiori morsui H. de Norhamton<sup>g</sup>; sed ubi fuit Kamacu appositus est modo lapis rubeus dublettus.<sup>g</sup>

Capa alia indica tota plana et vetus sine morsu, sed addubbata aurifrigio cum tassellis de filo auro tracto.

Capa quae dicitur Radulfi de Alta Ripa est de sameto rubeo plano cum tassellis purpura breudatis.

Capa quae dicitur Magistri Nicholai est nigra tota plana cum tassellis parvis juxta aperturam sub mento gladeolata magnis gladeolis.

Capae tres quae fuerunt Osberti de Camera, quarum duae sunt de croceo sameto et sine tassellis planae. Tercia de rubeo sameto cum tassellis de purpura breudatis cum angelis.

Capa quae dicitur Alexandri de Sakevile<sup>h</sup> est de sameto rubeo plano sine tassellis, sed atachiata est de minutis perlis.

<sup>a</sup> Richard de Wendover died in 1252. Prebendary of Neasdon.

<sup>b</sup> Convertitur in alios usus. Note by another hand.

<sup>c</sup> P. Winton: probably Peter de Rupibus, Sir Pierre des Roches, knight, consecrated at Rome, bishop of Winchester in 1205; he died 1238.

<sup>d</sup> Modo inde casula. Added in the margin by a later hand.

<sup>e</sup> Contrafactus: fictus, suppositivus.

<sup>f</sup> Imperiali: see note on page 47.

<sup>g</sup> Dublettus: a doublet.

<sup>h</sup> Alexander de Sackville, prebendary of Cadington Major, about 1162.



Capa Gilberti Banastr'<sup>a</sup> est de viridi sandato veteri addubbata aurifrigio, trifuriato nodis et tassellis trifuriatis cum gladeolis purpureis in limbis aperture anterioris capae.

Capa Magistri Othonis multipliciter est breduata, et est de panno serico, in bendis enim sunt rosae, in aliis pisciculi.<sup>b</sup>

Capa quae fuit Braund' est de panno serico purpureae et flavis virgata sine tassellis; vetus est; parum valet.

Capa quaedam vetus obscura de panno serico breudata floribus gladeolis et lunettis.

Capa etiam alia vetustissima de obscuro panno breudata rosis et lunettis; parum valent.<sup>c</sup>

Capa Eustachii Episcopi est de samito albo et plano. Habet morsum argenteum deauratum cum ymagine Beati Pauli solidata in medio et duobus episcopis collateralibus cum iiij<sup>or</sup> saphiris veris et magnis.

Capa Abbatis de Waleden' prima de diaspero albo cum virgulis croceis gemelatis cum tassellis de purpura. Habet morsum oblongum gradalem per tres ascensus. In cujus cristae medio est dubletus rubeus ad duo capita duo peridoti.

Alia ejusdem de panno serico rubeo flavo interlaqueato albis virgis; in cujus tassellis rotundis breudentur ymagine Salvatoris et Beatae Mariae.

Tertia ejusdem de panno serico cum albis virgulis tassellis purpureis breudatis ymaginibus Salvatoris, Beatae Mariae, et Evangelistarum.

Quarta ejusdem de panno serico listis<sup>d</sup> rubeis croceis purpureis, in quibus F. 7, col. 2.  
texuntur aves cum morsu ligneo nullius precii.

Quinta ejusdem virgata gemellis croceis gladiolata in limbis aperture.

Capa Abbatis Colecestriae de panno serico rotato cum leonibus croceis in circulis et serpentibus circa circulos.

Capa una nigra de panno trifuriato, plano, cum tassellis de minutis margaritis et uno dubleto rubeo in medio et iiij<sup>or</sup> amatistis ad iiij<sup>or</sup> angulos.

Capa facta de panno serico, quam Rex dedit, cujus campus rubeus, cum arboribus albis et avibus.

Capa quam dedit Martinus de Pateshull<sup>e</sup> est de viridi sameto, et tota plana.

Capae duae rubae cum bendis transversoriis, et tres capae albae de diaspero albo,

<sup>a</sup> Gilbert de Banaster, prebendary of Consumpta per Mare in 1192 and 1215.

<sup>b</sup> Note by a later hand: Inde factae parure et frontalia.

<sup>c</sup> This last remark seems to apply to the preceding item also.

<sup>d</sup> Lista: ora, limbus.

<sup>e</sup> Martin de Pateshull, dean of St. Paul's, died in 1229.

quarum una est sine tassellis, aliae duae cum tassalis rubeis confractae sunt, et quasi nullius precii.

Capa quae fuit Vitalis tota nigra subducitur de numero, quia confracta, inter quas computantur iiij<sup>or</sup> nocturnales cum rosis et leonibus.

Capa etiam Willelmi capellani Decani Radulfi <sup>a</sup> de albo diaspero.

Capa et mantella puerorum ad festum Innocentum, et Stultorum sunt xxviii. debiles et contritae.

Capa vetus de albo baldekino vineata et arborata purpura gracili cum ymaginibus malefactorum: fuit R. Archidiaconi Midlesex'.

Capae duae rubeae sine tassellis cum aurifrigio veteri cum gemellis auro interlaqueatis; inde deservitur ad matutinas.

Capa Eustachii episcopi de rubeo sameto plana cum morsu ligneo contextum margaritis albis et nigris.

Capa de rubeo sameto plana cum tassellis purpureis circulatis interius rotatis margaritis; fuit Ricardi de Camera.<sup>b</sup>

Duae capae virides de sendato Eustachii episcopi.

Capa Willelmi Joymer de croceo sameto cum regibus in anteriori parte breu-datis.

Item alia capa Joymeri de balkeno rotato purpura cum griffonibus cornutis.

Item quaedam Galfridi Decani de baldekino rubeo cum leonibus, griffonibus, et floribus.<sup>c</sup>

Item capa de Waleden' de panno de Arista rubeo cum aviculis albis.

Item duae capae de panno de Arista,<sup>d</sup> quarum una facta fuit de panno, quam dedit Eustachius episcopus; alia de panno episcopi Rogeri, cum trifoliis. Novae sunt: tenent inde choristae.

<sup>a</sup> Ralph de Diceto.

<sup>b</sup> Richard de Camera, prebendary of Chamberlainswood about 1213.

<sup>c</sup> Apud a . . . Note by another hand.

<sup>d</sup> Arista, or Aresta. Idem omnino videtur quod *Aras*, operis scilicet Atrebatici. Ducange; work of Arras. But Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, observes that "Arras had not won for itself a reputation for its tapestry before the fourteenth century," and contends that the cloth of Areste took its name not from the place where it was woven but from the use to which it was generally put, namely, for hangings about churches. This cloth of Areste was however light enough for tunics.

*Morsus Caparum, qui non attachiantur continue ad Capas.*

Morsus Alardi Decani de auro puro habet amatistam in medio cristae, saphyrum in sinistro latere, cornelinum in dextro sculptum, praeter alios minutos lapides et grossos.

Morsus Willelmi Episcopi de auro puro cum saphiro in medio cristae et duobus cornelinis sculptis sibi collateralibus, cum saphiris et aliis lapidibus preciosis.

Morsus petri Blesensis<sup>a</sup> ex argento deaurato habens Kamacu rubeum in medio et alios lapides, ornatus in circuitu margaritis ad modum aliorum.

Morsus Ricardi Archidiaconi Colecestriae<sup>b</sup> argenteus deauratus, habens Majestatem in medio et quatuor ymages in quadratis.<sup>c</sup>

Morsus Eustachii episcopi argenteus deauratus, cum Paulo et duobus collateralibus episcopis, ornatus quatuor saphiris pulchris duobus topaziis et duabus almandinis et aliis lapidibus parvis.

Morsus Johannis de Sancto Laurentio amplus et rotundus argenteus deauratus cum magna almandina in medio et xi. aliis lapidibus magnis per extremitates et aliis minoribus lapidibus interius. Crista argentea deaurata et bene operata, ornata lapidibus variis et margaritis.

Morsus Willelmi de Ely argenteus et deauratus cum ymaginibus junctus in tribus frustris lapides apponuntur multi, preciosi et pulchri.

Morsus G. decani argenteus bene deauratus cum ymaginibus vj., ornatus quatuor magnis lapidibus, scilicet, ij. jacintiis et ij. almandinis et aliis minutis lapidibus. Crista ad caputium argentea bene operata trifuriata cum perlis et aliis lapidibus, habens pomellum trifuriatum, cum broca et cathena argentea.

Morsus Cintii Romani argenteus deauratus ad instar lunae semiplenae, cum ymagine Pauli et duobus angelis collateralibus, ornatus preciosis lapidibus per circuitum.

Tres morsus argentei et deaurati, quorum unus cum ymaginibus et parvis lapidibus, non habens lignum interius; duo alii habent lignum interius, et lapidibus exterius ornantur, cum trifuriatis gradatim positis.

<sup>a</sup> Peter of Blois, archdeacon of London, and prebendary of Hoxton. See more in *Le Neve*, ii. 318.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps Richard Foliot, who was archdeacon of Colchester between 1163 and 1187.

<sup>c</sup> Et crista triphura[ta]? This is written by another hand in the margin, but it is not clear to which paragraph it relates.

Nota.

Supra continentur Cathedrae, Pulvinaria, Capae sericae magis preciosae et minus preciosae divisim scriptae. Et Morsus Caparum, qui non attachiantur continue.<sup>a</sup>

*De Casulis.*

Casula Wlfstani<sup>b</sup> est de indico sameto confino aurifrigio, in cujus interhumerali breudatur flos vinealis, appositis lapidibus jacinctinis.

Casula Godivae de Coventria<sup>c</sup> est de quo panno nigro minutissime ginillato,<sup>d</sup> cum gemellis purpureis et rubeis cum aurifrigio, fino interhumerali breudatur arbor auro sine lapidibus.

F. 7 b. col. 1.

Casula Hugonis de Orivall<sup>e</sup> est de diaspero albo plano orbiculariter operata avibus et arboribus in orbicularibus, contextum cum optimo aurifrigio cum tassellis, anteriori facto de filo aureo tracto de eodem breudato ymagine majestatis limbis aurifrigia dorsalis consutis stricta linea margaritarum.

Casula de rubea purpura cum nobili tassello in interhumerali breudato Agno Dei cum duobus esmallis magnis et rotundis et cristallis cum literis interpositis.

Casula de purpura quasi marmorea plana ornata aurifrigio fino antierius aurifrigiato et in dorso consuitur margarita interhumeralia consimiliter; in cujus fine est tassellus brevis, a quo egrediuntur iij<sup>or</sup> gladeoli, et circumdatur illud per tassellos perlis, in cujus medio est lapis vitreus rubeus.

Casula quae dicitur Sancti Aelphegi<sup>f</sup> est de sameto<sup>g</sup> croceo viridenti plana, ornata aurifrigio bono interhumerali lato, breudato cum lapidibus vitreis, aurifrigiata posteriori subhumerali texto leonibus et avibus tassellis anteriori parvo de filo auri tracto cum perlis.

<sup>a</sup> This paragraph has been crossed through with red ink.

<sup>b</sup> Wlfstanus, Wlfstan, or Wlmann, dean of St. Paul's in the time of bishop Maurice, 1085-1107. His obit was kept October 2.

<sup>c</sup> In 1295 this chasuble is described as that "Godithae de Coventre," and is said to be "suspensa et fracta, reservatur ad faciendum alias."

<sup>d</sup> Or gnullato.

<sup>e</sup> Hugo de Orivalle, a Norman, succeeded bishop William in 1075; he died of leprosy, 12 January 1084-5. The precious stones enumerated in the inventory of 1295 are not mentioned here.

<sup>f</sup> St. Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, martyred April 19, 1012.

<sup>g</sup> Samite: a stuff composed sometimes wholly of silk, *pannus holosericus*, but frequently interwoven with gold and silver. Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume*. Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, derives the word from ἑξ, six, and μίροι, threads; the number of the strings in the warp of the texture. "Hence to say of any silken tissue, that it was *examitum* or *samit*, meant that it was six-threaded, and therefore costly and splendid."

Casula de rubeo sameto alia aliquantulum vetus plana cum aurifrigio plano intus limbata viridi et croceo obscuro sendato.

Casula quae dicitur N. archidiaconi<sup>a</sup> est de rubeo sameto plano, cum lato humerali ad modum crucis, breudata usque ad talum, florigerata perlis et vitro viridi contrafacto ad modum perlarum anteriori parte eodem modo ornata. Hujus ornatus ponitur super casulam novam de rubeo samito quam dedit O. Legatus,<sup>b</sup> et huic apponitur ornatus bifatiae rem' casula simplex.

Casula quae fuit Magistri H. de Norhamton' est de rubeo sameto plano satis nova cum aurifrigio ante et retro operato nodis interlaqueatis.

Casula ejusdem de nigra purpura quasi marmorea plana cum aurifrigio bono interhumerali breudato quadam arbore frondibus quasi vinealibus circumflexis.

Casula ejusdem de albo diaspero orbiculari opere quasi ex leonibus vetus est et addubbata aurifrigiis mediocribus. [Reservatur ad aliud.<sup>c</sup>]

Casula quae dicitur Magistri Rogeri capellani est de rubeo sameto plano sine aliquo lineamento interiori aurifrigio solum apposito ad modum archiepiscopalis palleonis.

Casula Radulphi de Diceto, Decani, de rubeo sameto plano cum aurifrigio satis stricto, cujus interhumeralis crescit in arborem breudatam ramis vinealiter circumflexis sine tassellis.

Casula Alardi Decani est de nigro samito plano, cujus lista anterior et posterior breudatur quadam vinea. In interhumerali breudatur arbor ramis vinealiter reflexis cum pampinis<sup>d</sup> latis. Tassellum habet breudatum ymaginibus Petri et Pauli et Archangeli Michelis.

Casula Ricardi Episcopi est de indico samito plano, aurifrigiata ante et retro lato aurifrigio sine furrura.

Casula R. de Clifford' est de viridi sameto croceali aliquantulum spisso aurifrigiata stricto et bono aurifrigio.

Casula Petri Blesensis est de sameto sanguineo sive epatico plano aurifrigio lato. In tassello anteriori scribitur litteris Archidiaconus London'.

<sup>a</sup> N. Archidiaconi, or, in the Inventory of 1295, more fully, Nicholai. Nicholas was archdeacon of London in 1181.

<sup>b</sup> Otho, the Legate. See the highly graphic account of the Council held in St. Paul's 1237. in Milman's *Annals*, p. 48 et seqq.

<sup>c</sup> The words within brackets are added by another hand.

<sup>d</sup> Pampe, Gallica, videtur deducta a *Pampinus*. En une fleur de lys à trois Pampes ou fleurons, &c. Ducange.



Casula episcopi Willelmi est de viridi sameto plano simplici aurifrigio ornata ad modum palleonis sine furrura.

Casula Eustachii Episcopi est de rubeo sameto aurifrigiata, pallionata.<sup>a</sup>

Casula quæ dicitur Prioris de Achon est de albo diaspero, videlicet, de eodem sicut capa sua prænominata, cum mediocri aurifrigio.

Casula Mauriti episcopi est de purpura marmorea cum orbicularibus et minutis stellis croceis. Interhumera breudatur ad modum arboris, et est de filo auri tracto lapidibus adjectis sub medio lapide, Mauritius me fecit frater episcopus.

Casula de sameto viridi croceali satis mediocri aurifrigio ornata ad modum palli; vetus est.

Casula de panno purpureo rotato contexto leonibus cum minutis rotis croceis, deputatur ad missam capitularem.

Casula qua deservitur in feriis ad altare beatae Mariae est de dyaspero cum vili aurifrigio.

Casula bendata rubeo et purpura ponitur per annum ad Pascha super sepulchrum.

Casula de sameto plus croceo quam viridi, et Casula de diaspero albo, reclutatae sunt et fractae.

Archidiaconus London habet casulam albam.

Casula de rubeo sendato tripolitano, cum aurifrigio Venetensi quam dedit Comes Ricardus.

Casula de bono sameto rubeo cum lato aurifrigio ante et retro nodato et strictiori aurifrigio per circuitum, quae fuit Rogeri Episcopi.

Casula de sameto purpureo bene parata aurifrigio aliquantulum stricto et nodato et strictiori aurifrigio per circuitum, fuit G. de Lucy, Decani.

Casula quae dicitur bifatia, eo quod pannus est extra rubeus et intus niger, ornata aurifrigio plano, vetus est et confracta, nec valet ad alicujus usum. Ejus aurifrigium ponitur super capam, a qua ablatum fuit ornamentum et positum super pannum O. Legati,<sup>c</sup> ut supra.

Casula crocea, quam dedit Vicarius de Bello Campo.

Jesse, quam dedit Rex in dedicatione ecclesiae.

Casula de purpureo sameto breudata stellis magnis et lunis. Breudatur humerali Crux, Johannes, et Maria, cum arboribus.

<sup>a</sup> This last word is added by another hand.

<sup>b</sup> Maurice, bishop of London, 1086-7 to 1107.

<sup>c</sup> Otho, see above.

*De Tunicis et Dalmaticis.*

Tunica et dalmatica de rubeo sameto peroptimo, quas dedit Magister Laurentius Romanus,<sup>a</sup> aurifrigio competenti in limbis cum borduris de eodem sameto aureis.

Tunica de croceo sameto, quam dedit P. Wintoniensis Episcopus nova et aurifrigiata bene cum bordura ejusdem panni aurea cum avibus expansis et Grifonibus et manicis factis in bordura.

F. 7 b. col. 2.

Tunica de viridi sameto, quam dedit Martinus de Pateshuff, cum bordura bene aurifrigiata, et cum borduris strictis inferioribus de eodem panno, et borduris in humeris cum leonibus et sagittariis et manicis de eadem bordura.

Tunica et dalmatica de rubeo sameto cum stricto aurifrigio cum bordura in posteriori parte et floribus cum capitibus draconum deauratis.

Tunica et dalmatica de rubeo sameto virgulata interlaqueata aurifrigio stricto cum superhumerali breudato et limbis ex filio<sup>b</sup> argenteo circumligante filum grossum ad modum perlarum, quæ fuerunt Prioris de Achon.

Tunica de imperiali<sup>c</sup> cum arboribus rubeis et leonibus cum avibus aureis sine bordura inferiori cum humerali ex auro contexto.

Tunica de alio imperiali florigerata viridi et rubeo cum avibus rubeis ad modum columbarum.

Tunica de alio imperiali cum vineis rubeis infra cujus frondes sunt leones.

Tunica ex alio imperiali quasi marmoreo cum viridibus floribus de panno bono et spisso.

Tunica de panno quodam marmoreo spisso cum rotis et giffones<sup>d</sup> infra rotas de serico purpureo cum humeris undatis albo et oculis croceis.

Tunica de quasi consimili panno spisso et rotato cum griffonibus purpureis cum humeris undatis croceo et oculis albis.

Tunica de dyaspero marmoreo spisso quasi purpura sine aurifrigio.

Tunica et dalmatica de imperiali croceo et indico contexto arboribus sine aurifrigio, quæ fuerunt Prioris de Achon.

<sup>a</sup> Laurentius Romanus, prebendary of Brownswood, and of Oxgate.

<sup>b</sup> Sic in orig.

<sup>c</sup> Imperiale: Panni pretioris species. Ducange. Probably "woven at a workshop kept up by the Byzantine emperors [at Constantinople], and bearing about it some small though noticeable mark, it took the designation of *Imperial*." It was in use in France as late as the second half of the fifteenth century. Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 40.

<sup>d</sup> Giffones: sic, in error for griffonibus.

Tunica et dalmatica de sendato indico constanter cum aurifrigio, quae fuerunt Eustachii Episcopi.

Tunica et dalmatica de panno serico de arest' cum avibus et pomulis croceis pinalibus, quae factae fuerunt de duobus pannis quos rex dedit.

Quatuor paria tunicarum et dalmaticarum de dyaspero albo plano.

Tunica et dalmatica de dyaspero albo veteres, quibus deservitur ad altare beatae Mariae.

Tunica vetus de sameto rubeo valde usitato, colore quasi amisso.

Tunica virgulata croceo et rubeo quibus deservitur in festo Apostolorum.

Duae tunicae de viridi sameto veteres, quibus deservitur in festo confessorum.

Tunica vetustissima de panno rotato, cum griffonibus albis.

Tunica vetus cum arboribus et pavonibus cum capitibus viridibus et leonibus conjunctis, deputatae sunt pueris.

Tunica et dalmatica de purpureo sameto bene parata boni aurifrigii, fuerunt episcopi Rogeri.

Tunica et dalmatica de viridi columbino ornata lenibus aurifrigiis, fuerunt episcopi Eustachii.

Tunica et dalmatica bene parata veteribus aurifrigiis strictis, fuerunt Episcopi Ricardi, [scilicet, de rubeo sameto de quibus a . . . .]<sup>a</sup>

Dalmatica de opere Saracenico inveterata et perforata undique, nullius precii.

Septem aliae puerorum inveteratae et contritae.

*De Vestimentis et eorum pertinentiis.*

Vestimentum Gilberti Episcopi habet paruras de purpura fusca; breudantur cum stellis et lunulis; stola et manipulus de eodem panno et amictus. In fine stola breudatur Abraham et Melchisedech. In manipulo Jacob. In amicto xij. Apostoli. Deputatur ad officium mortuorum. [Totus deputatur apud Berling.]<sup>b</sup>

Vestimentum Ricardi Episcopi habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudato cum leonibus incedentibus caudis erectis et floribus interlaqueatis. Stola et manipulus de eodem panno, in quorum extremitatibus breudatur arbor cum duabus avibus et leonibus. Amictus est de aurifrigio puro cum barris de margaritis.

<sup>a</sup> The words within brackets are added by another hand.

<sup>b</sup> The words within brackets are added by another hand. Berling or Barling, a manor in Essex belonging to St. Paul's. "Ecclesia de Berling a est in dominio Canonicorum," &c. *Hale's Domesday of St. Paul's*, 149.

Vestimentum aliud ejusdem habet paruras indici sameti breudatas apostolis, nominibus singulorum suprascriptis. Stola et manipulus ejusdem panni et breudurae; Apostoli cum albis faciebus. In extremitate stolae breudantur Sanctus Nicholaus et Oswaldus; manipuli, Erkenwaldus et Edmundus. Medium amictus breudatur cum puro aurifrigio tracto, cum margaritis et granis auri. Urlatur<sup>a</sup> aurifrigio puro et stricto.

Vestimentum Magistri H. de Norhampton' habet paruras rubei sameti. Breudantur leonibus, serpentibus volantibus, aquilis, piscibus, interjectis cum punctis albis et nigris, cum stola et manipulo de eodem panno breudatis leonibus in circulis. In extremitatibus breudantur Uriel Barathiel.<sup>b</sup> Amictus est de plano aurifrigio puri auri.

Vestimentum aliud ejusdem habet paruras indici sameti breudatas leonibus, aquilis, arboribus sibimet superpositis. Stola et manipulus ejusdem sameti breudantur ymaginibus. In eorum extremitatibus breudatur Thomas et Paulus; Erkenwaldus et Ricardus episcopus.<sup>c</sup> Medium amicti de filo auri tracto florigeratum margaritis. Urlatur aurifrigio stricto in extremitatibus adaucto.

Vestimentum Rogeri capellani habet paruras nigri sameti breudatas leonibus magnis et griffonibus in rotis gemellatis. Stola et manipulus ejusdem panni breudati ymaginibus cum albis faciebus. Breudantur in extremitate Gabriel, Michael, Cherubim et Seraphim. Amictus de plano aurifrigio boni auri.<sup>d</sup>

Vestimentum aliud ejusdem cum paruris nigri sameti breudatis cum majestate et apostolis cum albis faciebus sine superscriptione. Stola et manipulus de indico sameto breudati ymaginibus apostolorum et prophetarum, nominibus designatis. In quorum extremitatibus breudantur Sanctus Thomas et Oswaldus, Nicholaus, et Edmundus. Amictus est de aurifrigio plano puri auri. Limbatur veteribus aurifrigiis strictis.

Vestimentum quod dicitur Nicholai Cantoris est cum paruris consuticis, quarum campus est rubeus, cum rotis interius viridibus exterius albis, continentibus leones, cervos, aquilas, et d'chones<sup>e</sup> volantes. Stola et manipulus de panno serico F. 8, col. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Urlare: orulam vel limbos inserere: Gall. *Orler*: Ducange.

<sup>b</sup> Uriel, Barathiel. Uriel, an archangel, "the fire of God."

<sup>c</sup> Possibly this may be Ricardus de Belmeis I., who died in 1127-8. "He seems to have endeavoured to get the archiepiscopal dignity restored to the see of London." Le Neve, ii. 281.

<sup>d</sup> Alba d[a]tur apud Ardhe . . et remanet residuum. Ardleigh, Erdele, Erdeley, &c. a manor said to have been given to St. Paul's by Athelstan. Hale's *Domesday*, iii.

<sup>e</sup> D'chones, for *drachones*, i.e., dracones.

nigro burellato, barrato minutis barris auri; extremitates de filo puri auri tracto, arboribus interius consutis margaritis. Amictus aurifrigiatus de puro auro. Interius operatur orbo opere limbatus duobus aurifrigiis strictis. [Deficit totum.]<sup>a</sup>

Vestimentum quod dicitur R. Archidiaconi Colecestriae habet paruras de rubeo sameto plano sine breudura limbata aurifrigio et virgulas. Stola et manipulus de rubeo sameto plano. Amictus de aurifrigio puro inciso in medio et ibi consuto.

Vestimentum P. Blesensis habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas floribus ad modum crucis; stolam et manipulum de eodem opere. In quorum extremitatibus breudentur Angeli sine nominibus. Amictus de eodem opere et rubeo sameto.

Vestimentum quod dicitur Sweyn<sup>b</sup> habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas martyribus, confessoribus, virginibus; nominibus illorum inscriptis; stellis sparsim interjectis. Stola et manipulus de plano rubeo sameto. In quorum extremitatibus breudentur Petrus et Paulus, Johannes et Andreas. Amictus de aurifrigio puri auri stricto limbato, veteribus aurifrigiis albescentibus.

Vestimentum quod dicitur Wlfrani habet paruras de panno serico cum avibus rubeis et croceis. Stola et manipulus de eodem panno. Breudentur extremitates linealiter cum stellis minutis. Amictus de nigro serico breudatur lunulis quinque, foliis bisantiis minutis. [Deficit.]<sup>c</sup>

Vestimentum de albo serico cum nigris paruris deputatur ad mortuos.

Vestimentum aliud habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas leonibus sese adinvicem respicientibus, et quorundam eorum caudae sese contingunt. Stola et manipulus de viridi serico trifuriatim intexto auro, quarum extremitates sunt de quibusdam panellis de filo purissimi auri tracto, consutis minutissimis margaritis per loca. Amictus de lato aurifrigio puri auri cum gemellis<sup>d</sup> strictissimis.

Vestimentum de albo serico habet paruras de panno serico contexto griffonibus rubeis calcantibus leones virides. Amictus ejus vetus de flavo sameto, breudatus floribus cum duobus esmallis et lapidibus cristallinis. [Deficit.]<sup>e</sup>

Vestimentum Willelmi Episcopi habet paruras de sameto rubeo breudatas filo

<sup>a</sup> The words within brackets are inserted by a later hand.

<sup>b</sup> This seems to be the same as the "vestimentum quod dicitur Sneyl" of the Inventory of 1295.

<sup>c</sup> This word is inserted by a later hand.

<sup>d</sup> Gemella: probably diminutive of gemma. Ducange.

<sup>e</sup> This word is inserted by another hand.



auri tracto cum perlis peroptimis. Humerale breudatur iiij<sup>or</sup> ymaginibus, et habet amictum de perulis; quondam Roberti de Clifford.

Vestimentum Decani Alardi habet paruras de rubeo sameto breudatas majestate et apostolis sine inscriptionibus, tendentibus palmas. Habet amictum de auri-frigio puro cum duabus virgulis in medio elevatis intricaturis. Stola et manipulus cum majestate, [et] ymagine in extremitatibus angeli cum campanellis argenteis.

Vestimentum Willelmi Heremite habet paruras de nigro samito breudatas tribus regibus venientibus ab oriente et ymagine Beatae Virginis, angelo et pastoribus. Amictum cum ymaginibus Beatae Mariae, Petri et Pauli. De eodem sameto stola et manipulus.

Vestimentum Eustachii Episcopi habet paruras de bordura aurifrigiata de extremitatibus sameti. Amictum de opere Sarraceno cum avibus et floribus. Stola et manipulus de rubeo serico contexto. [Stola et manipulus apud Belc'.]<sup>a</sup>

Aliud vestimentum ejusdem sine stola et manipulo de communi aurifrigio. [Deficit.]<sup>b</sup>

Vestimenta xij. sunt communia; de uno deservitur ad altare apostolorum.

Vestimentum quod dedit Willelmus camerarius<sup>c</sup> Rogeri Episcopi habet paruras de opere saraceno cum scutis.<sup>d</sup> Superhumerales<sup>e</sup> vetus cum perlis. Amictum de opere sarraceno contexto nodis, sine manipulo et stola, sed zonam de serico operatam.

Vestimentum quod legavit P. Poenitentiarius<sup>f</sup> habet paruras de indico sameto cum leonibus magnis infra rotas ambulantibus. Amictus de eodem sameto cum leonibus parvis in rotis se adinvicem respicientibus. Stola et manipulus de eodem sameto breudata cum leonibus et lapidibus.

Vestimentum quod dedit Ricardus Vicarius de Bello Campo<sup>g</sup> habet paruras

<sup>a</sup> The words within brackets are inserted by another hand. Probably Belchamp, a manor belonging to the dean and chapter.

<sup>b</sup> This word is inserted by another hand.

<sup>c</sup> William, the chamberlain of bishop Roger Niger.

<sup>d</sup> "et ponuntur parurae super vestimentum sericum." This is added in the margin by a later hand.

<sup>e</sup> Superhumerales: an amice. The term occurs in archbishop Egbert's Pontifical. *Archaeologia*, xxv. 28.

<sup>f</sup> Poenitentiarius: the name of the office appears as late as 1724. See Visitation of bishop Gibson in my *Registrum*, &c. p. 289.

<sup>g</sup> Bello Campo: Beauchamp.

de serico marmoreo, breudatas leonibus et griffonibus magnis ambulantibus in rotis. Amictus de aurifrigio lato puro.<sup>a</sup> Stola et manipulus de eodem serico breudata leonibus magnis rampantibus. Dedit etiam duo manutergia ad altare.

Vestimentum Episcopi Rogeri cum paruris de rubeo sameto, breudatis ad modum v. foliorum circulatis aurifrigiis strictis, cum stola et manipulo ejusdem operis. Amictus de aurifrigio magno nodato.

Vestimentum G. de Lucy, Decani, habet paruras de purpureo sameto breudatas duobus episcopis et ymage Beati Pauli, cum duabus stolis et duobus manipulis albis contextis viridi. Amictus consuitur cum Resurrectione et Inferno.

Vestimentum aliud Willelmi Heremite habet paruras rubeas breudatas leopardis incedentibus et griffonibus in rotis magnis. Amictus ejusdem operis.

Vestimentum quod habet paruras de serico rubeo cum leopardis sese adinvicem obviantibus. Stola et manipulus breudantur avibus et leonibus obscuris. Amictus de aurifrigio virgulato.

Vestimenta tria Radulfi Decani deputantur ad commendationes mortuorum, et tria alia ad opus puerorum.

Item sine superioribus vestimentis sunt amicti plures, scilicet, duo de filo puri auri tracto aliquantulum lati et plani.

Amictus cum puro aurifrigio veteri ornatus albis aurifrigiis strictis.

Alius breudatus de auro puro cum rotellis et lapidibus amatistis et perulis.

Item alius cum aurifrigio puro veteri et plano ornato cum veteribus aurifrigiis strictis.

Item alius vetus breudatus cum auro puro et esmallo<sup>b</sup> et jaguntiis.<sup>c</sup>

Item alius breudatus aquilis et floribus super nigrum sendatum.

Item alius de veteri aurifrigio cum tribus nodis.

Item alius consutus de serico cum leone, griffone, et agno albo.

Item alius de veteri aurifrigio nodato cum gemellis strictis aurifrigii veteris.

Item duae stolae et duo manipuli veteres ornati breadura et laqueatura in fine.

Nota quod supra in proximis tribus columpnis continentur casulae, Tunicae, dalmaticae, vestimenta, et Amictus praeter vestimenta.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Puro* inserted by another hand.

<sup>b</sup> *Esmall*: *Esmailus*, *encaustum*: Gall. *Email*: Ducange. Enamel.

<sup>c</sup> *Jaguntiis*. Probably for *jacintus*, *hyacinthus*, a *jacinth*. The *jacinth*, sometimes called *hyacinth*, is an orange-red variety of the garnet. Streeter's *Precious Stones*, part ii. p. 81.

<sup>d</sup> This entry is crossed through with red ink.

*De Baudekinis et Pannis Sericis.*

Baudekinum<sup>a</sup> de rubeo sameto cum grifonibus de auro, quorum alae contingunt se; in cujus contiguitate est flos; [de dono Regis.]<sup>b</sup>

Baudekinum de rubeo sameto cum leonibus aureis rampantibus, de dono regis.

Baudekinum de rubeo sameto cum leonibus aureis alatis alis sese contingentibus, leonibus post tergum se respicientibus, de dono ejusdem.

Baudekinum de indico sameto cum citacis<sup>c</sup> aureis sese post tergum respicientibus et gladiolis auri, de dono ejusdem.

Item aliud baudekinum, scilicet quintum, per omnia consimile praecedenti.

Item sextum baudekinum purpura tenue ad modum sendati longum virgulum virgulis aureis, [cum pulcra . . . . .]<sup>d</sup>

Item baudekinum de viridi sameto cum citacis aureis habentibus rosas in pectore, quod dedit Comes Flandriæ.\*

Duo baudekina<sup>f</sup> purpurei coloris cum capitibus griffonum rubeis et rotis aureis et leuncellis inter rotas.

Item duo alii baudekini purpurei coloris cum griffonibus erectis sese post tergum respicientibus, quorum alae contiguae erigunt flosculum gladeoli aurei, in cujus medio est flos rubeus; et omnes de dono regis.

Item duo baudekini consimiles de dono reginae, bordati rubeo et purpurea rotati, infra quas<sup>g</sup> sunt volucres bicipites cum alis expansis, in quorum umbilico sunt stellae rubeae et purpureae.

<sup>a</sup> Baldakinus, Baldekinus (Baudekinus): Pannus omnium ditissimus, cujus utpote stamen ex filo auri, subtemen ex serico tegitur, plumario opere intertextus, sic dictus quod *Baldacco*, seu Babylone in Perside, in Occidentales provincias deferretur. Ducange.

With samites and baudekyns

Were curtained the gardens.

*Romance of King Alexander.* Planché, *Dictionary*.

Dr. Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, p. 40, derives Baudekin from Baldak or Bagdad, which "held for no short length of time the lead all over Asia in weaving fine silks, and, in special, golden stuffs."

<sup>b</sup> The words within brackets are inserted by another hand.

<sup>c</sup> Citacus, i.e., Psittacus: a parrot, so called, it is said, from Psittace, a city near the Tigris.

<sup>d</sup> Added by another hand, the last word being cut off.

<sup>e</sup> Probably Thomas of Savoy, count of Flanders, who came to London in 1240. See Matthew Paris, iv. 19. R.S.

<sup>f</sup> The scribe writes baudekini or baudekina as it pleases him.

<sup>g</sup> Scil. rotas.

Item unus baudekinus cujus campus est rubeus rotatus, et infra rotas leones sese a tergo respicientes cum stellis purpureis et rosis albis.

Item alius baudekinus de dono reginae ex transverso, bordatus purpura et rubeo, cum aquilis expansis, capitibus singulorum coronatis.

Item baudekinus de dono regis, cujus campus est rubeus florigeratus cum grifonibus, quorum oculi purpurei, et aures distillatae purpureae.

Item baudekinus rubeus donatus cum corpore Episcopi Rogeri,<sup>a</sup> cum aquilis expansis, in quarum umbilico sunt stellae rubeae, oculi purpurei, et capita quasi mitrata.

Item baudekinus rubeus grossissimi fili, cum pavonibus et tribus listis deauratis in longum, dicitur contextus de intestinis animalium<sup>b</sup> de dono Comititis Ricardi.

Item de dono regis baudekinus rubeus rotatus, et intra rotas citaci<sup>c</sup> se respicientes adinvicem cum floribus purpureis v. foliorum.

Baudekinus rubeus cum magnis floribus, cervis, et leonibus, et griffonibus auri, de dono regis.

Item alius rubeus rotatus continens leones et virides flores inter rotas. Rex dedit.

Item alius rubeus et rotatus auro habens iiij<sup>or</sup> leones in rotis et iiij<sup>or</sup> aves inter rotas de dono Reginae.

Item alius rubeus strictus cum longis avibus et leonibus, de dono Comitissae Provinciae.<sup>d</sup>

Item alius viridis cum parvis rotis aureis; continent duos leones sese respicientes, et quatuor aves inter rotas.

Item baudekinus rubeus rotatus cum geminis citacis in rotas, de dono F. Episcopi.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The tomb of bishop Roger Niger, figured in Dugdale, p. 58, stood between the north aisle and the choir; a tablet, recording a remarkable storm which occurred whilst he was celebrating mass, hung beside it.

"Bishop Niger was canonised by popular acclamation: his tomb was visited by devout worshippers, and indulgences granted for this pious work." Milman, *Annals*, 56.

<sup>b</sup> The scribe has written *alium*. I suppose that *animalium* is intended.

<sup>c</sup> Citaci, see above.

<sup>d</sup> Comitissa Provinciae: Beatrice countess of Provence, daughter of Thomas of Savoy, arrived in London in 1243; "*mater reginarum Franciae et Angliae, mulier decoris expectabilis, prudens, et civilis*." See the account of her reception in Matthew Paris, iv. 261. The streets were decorated from London Bridge to Westminster, "*cortinis, aulaeis, et diversis aliis ornamentis*," at the king's desire.

<sup>e</sup> Bishop Fulke Bassett, see above.

Item baudekinus rubeus et strictis cum septem bordis in longum aureis.

[Item baudekinus de dono Domini Regis in obitu A. Thesaurarii.<sup>a</sup>

Item baudekinum strictius ulna, cum campo viridi posterius et rubeo antierius, cum xii. rotellis, quod venit cum corpore Willielmi Joimer.<sup>b</sup>]<sup>c</sup>

Pannus de aresta magnus et longus cum campo indico et minutis avibus et floribus inter virgulas.

Pannus alius magnus sericus rubeus, cum magnis rotis et binis leonibus cristatis in rotis purpureis, et flores inter rotas. Rex dedit H. Decano,<sup>d</sup> et decanus postea dedit ecclesiae.

Pannus alius de aresta bordatus ex transverso cum avibus et pomis pineorum interjectis.

Pannus alius de aresta bordatus ex transverso rubeo et indico cum avibus et parvis castris ad caudas.

Pannus alius de aresta rubeus cum arboribus pineis et parvis avibus, unde bordurae virides et strictae, cum parvis rotis; sunt in capite. [Sic.]

Pannus alius de aresta rubeus, rotatus croceis rotis; continent croceos leones sese respicientes a tergo de dono W. de Rale,<sup>e</sup> Wintoniensis Episcopi.

Pannus de aresta deputatus est ad costas Beati Laurentii involvendas.

Item pannus sericus de aresta rubeus, cum gemellis croceis.

Item pannus de aresta rubeus, inseratus cum targis croceis, infra quos leones rubei sese respiciunt.

Item pannus rubeus, circulatus croceis circulis, infra quos leones post tergum sese respiciunt, candidis erectis.

Pannus de aresta rubeus, virgulatus gemellis purpureis et croceis, cum avibus croceis sese post tergum respicientibus, cum gladeolis croceis spissis inter eos.

Pannus de aresta rubeus, cum circulis minutis, infra quos sedent reges super leunculos, tenentes flores.

Pannus de aresta cepeatus, tabulatus rubeo et indico, cum pineis et avibus post tergum sese respicientibus. F. 8 b, col. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Probably Alexander Swerford, see above.

<sup>b</sup> William Joymer was mayor of London in 1239.

<sup>c</sup> The two items within brackets are inserted by another hand.

<sup>d</sup> Probably Henry de Cornhill, dean.

<sup>e</sup> William de Raleigh, consecrated bishop of Norwich in St. Paul's, 25 September 1239; translated to Winchester 1244; died 1250 at Touraine. The name is also spelt Ralee, Raley, or Radley.



Duo panni de aresta, quos dederunt Eustachius et Rogerus Episcopi, deputati sunt ad casulas faciendas.

Pannus de aresta, bordatus rubeo et indico coloribus, cum avibus croceis, de dono W. de Rale. Norwicensis Episcopi.

Item duo panni de aresta de dono reginae<sup>a</sup> pro filio et filia ex transverso, bordati cum avibus a tergo sese respicientibus.

Item, de dono Comitis Sarum<sup>b</sup> in adventu suo de terra sancta, pannus de aresta rubeus, cum citacis croceis et arboribus intextus.

Item de testamento H. Comitis Kanciae<sup>c</sup> i. sametum nigrum.

*De culcitris et Pannis pendentibus in choro.*

Culcitra<sup>d</sup> Willelmi Episcopi de rubeo sameto, cum panno rotato.

Culcitra de croceo sendato, cum sameto rotato, cum leonibus post tergum se respicientibus, quam legavit Johannes Tholosanus.<sup>e</sup>

Culcitra quam dedit Comes de Albemarla,<sup>f</sup> parvi precii est.

Culcitra de viridi sameto, cum sameto rotato, et infra<sup>g</sup> leones crocei sese post tergum respicientes, fuit uxoris J. Vitalis.<sup>h</sup>

Culcitra lata et vetus, quam ab antiquo dedit Ougerus Senescallus.

<sup>a</sup> Regina: Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III. Edward, the first-born, was born 16 June, 1239; Margaret her eldest daughter was born 1241.

<sup>b</sup> Comes Sarum: William Longespée, earl of Salisbury. "Comes Saresbiriensis initio mensis Martii [1242] de Terra Sancta rediens, applicuit sanus et incolumis in Anglia." Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. iv. p. 188. See the account of his prowess and death, *ib.* v. 153, &c.

<sup>c</sup> "Eisdem diebus, comes Cantiae, Hubertus videlicet de Burgo, plenus dierum . . . quarto idus Maii [1243] laudabiliter diem clausit extremum apud Banstude manerium suum," Matt. Paris, iv. 243.

<sup>d</sup> Culcitra or Culcita: cushions.

<sup>e</sup> John de Tholosan was sheriff of London in 1237. He witnesses a deed preserved among the muniments, press A, box 20, No. 301.

<sup>f</sup> Willielmus de Fortibus, comes de Albemarla, in Mari Mediterraneo peregrinans, cum nullo modo potest comedere et octo diebus jejunando martirium protelasset, die Veneris proxima ante Pascham [1241] . . . spiritum suum . . . Christo resignavit." Matthew Paris, iv. 174. After many vicissitudes he had been left by Hen. III. in Britany as one of the chiefs of the army.

<sup>g</sup> Scil. rotas.

<sup>h</sup> Oliver Vitalis was the bearer of a letter from Saladin to the Pope in 1184. Ralph de Diceto ii. 25. One J. Vitalis was witness to a deed (preserved in St. Paul's) in 1238. He is there called John Vital.

Duo panni serici de aresta veteres limbati albo et nigro quos dedit Rex Johannes.

Duo panni serici de aresta veteres nigri cum griffonibus, quos dedit G. Foliot, episcopus.

Duo panni veteres ejusdem operis, quos dedit rex Johannes.

Quatuor panni de serico veteres, limbati croceo indico sameto, cum griffonibus et leonibus, quos Robertus de Clifford<sup>d</sup> dedit.

Duo panni veteres rotati griffonibus quos dedit G. Foliot, fere nullius precii.

Pannus longus rubeus, cum arboribus et pomulis croceis, quem dedit Eustachius episcopus in consecratione.

Pannus purpureus sine cera magnus, quem dedit Radulfus Decanus.

Pannus croceus, quem dedit Willelmus Episcopus<sup>a</sup> in consecratione.

Pannus virgulatus croceus, de dono ejusdem.

Pannus croceus, de dono Willelmi de Wrotham.<sup>b</sup>

Duo panni serici, quorum unum dedit Magister R. de Bifatiis.<sup>c</sup>

Unus pannus rotatus, vetus, quem dedit Gilbertus Episcopus.

Pannus sericus magnus, quem dedit Willelmus Joymier.

Pannus vetus pendens sub cruce, qui dicitur Bruiz.<sup>d</sup>

Pannus rotatus alius vetus de opere aliorum pannorum supradictorum.

Pannus qui jacet super feretrum Sancti Melliti.

*De Tapetiis et Velis.*

Sex tapetia magna et spissa.

Unum tapetium, quod fuit Radulfi Decani.

Quatuor thalones<sup>e</sup> cum kanabo<sup>f</sup> lato cortine in choro.

<sup>a</sup> William de Sanctae Mariae Ecclesia, consecrated bishop of London at Westminster, 23 May, 1199.

<sup>b</sup> "Willelmus de Wrotham, custos portuum maris," 1211. Matthew Paris enumerates him amongst the evil advisers of king John, ii. 533.

<sup>c</sup> Probably Ranulf de Bisacia, who held the prebendal stall of Newington 1217-43.

<sup>d</sup> Richard de Brus is mentioned as a benefactor to St. Paul's in the Inventory of 1295. Dugdale, 329; and the lady Isabel de Brus is specially named in an indulgence granted by Albinus, bishop of Brechin, *ibid.* 10.

<sup>e</sup> Thalones: *sic* in MS., but probably we should read chalones, chalo, chalonus, Pars supellectilis lecti, straguli species. Ducange.

<sup>f</sup> Canabo, kanabo: a canopy. In Augustine, *Ser.* 61 *de tempore*, canaba is a hut.

Veteres ymagines cortinarum<sup>a</sup> sine kanabo.  
Papilio<sup>b</sup> quem dedit Alexander Thesaurarius.

Velum quadragesimale integrum.  
Velum quod est ante magnam crucem.  
Duo vela quae sunt ad duas cruces in duabus alis ecclesiae.  
Velum quod est ante crucem ad altare Beatae Mariae.

In istis duabus columpnis supra proxime contentis continentur Baudekini et panni serici, Panni et Culcitrae pendentes in choro, Tapetia et vela.<sup>c</sup>

*De libris.*

Prima pars bibliae veteris Anglicae litterae, in cujus prima parte in custodia<sup>d</sup> inscribitur alfabetum Hebraeycum et Graecorum, et durat usque ad Zachariam prophetam.

Item alia pars bibliae consimiliter Anglicae litterae, sed melioris, in cujus custodia prima continentur reliquiae<sup>e</sup> quas Theodorus Episcopus<sup>f</sup> contulit ecclesiae in secunda, quot annis Alwredus Rex et successores sui vixerunt; et dicitur liber Hugonis Episcopi.<sup>g</sup> Finit in Job.

Item alia biblia in duobus voluminibus nova, peroptimae litterae, cujus prima pars finit in Job. In fine ejusdem in custodia inscribitur quomodo Anselmus Cantuariensis<sup>h</sup> Archiepiscopus consecravat Ricardum Lond' episcopum. Secunda pars ejusdem litterae incipit in parabolis Salomonis, et finit in epistola Judae; et intitulatur in prima custodia et in margine, Liber Magistri Henrici de Norhampton'. In istis duabus partibus legitur per annum in ecclesia.

<sup>a</sup> Cortina: a curtain. Cf. Vulg. Exodus xxxvj. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Papilio: Tabernaculum, tentorium. Ducange.

<sup>c</sup> This entry is crossed through with red ink.

<sup>d</sup> Custodia; the cover.

<sup>e</sup> Relics inserted in the cover of a book. See Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i. 360. A Textus in the British Museum, "beautifully bound in plates of silver, parcel gilt and studded with precious stones. On one side stands out in relief a crucifix, gilt, but hollow within, and holding a lump of wax in which is imbedded a saint's relic."

<sup>f</sup> Theodorus, probably the archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated in 668.

<sup>g</sup> Probably Hugh de Orivalle, bishop of London 1075.

<sup>h</sup> Archbishop Anselm consecrated Richard de Belmeis as bishop of London at Pageham, 26 July, 1108.

Passionarium quod dicitur Pilosum<sup>a</sup> incipiens in expulsiōe Symonis Magi, et terminatur in ix.<sup>b</sup> milibus virginum, et dicitur esse liber Ricardi Episcopi.<sup>c</sup>

Item Omeliarium pilosum, in cujus margine intitulantur Omelyae, et incipit *de Sancta Maria in sabbatis*, et finit *in octabis Sancti Laurentii*.

Item Omelyarium, quod intitulatur parvum, et incipit *vespere<sup>d</sup> sabbati quae lucessit*, et finit in omelya *Ascendente<sup>e</sup> Jhesu de navicula*; et missum fuit apud Kyrkeby.

Item Evangeliarium et Epistolarium adeo vetus quod fere nullius est momenti.<sup>f</sup>

Item Epistolarium adeo vetus quod nullius est momenti.<sup>f</sup>

Item collectarium et quaedam missae speciales, et incipit, *Deus qui contritorum*; finit autem de Sancto Erkenwaldo. *Oratio. Guberna familiam tuam.<sup>g</sup>*

Item passionale de Scotica littera, praemissis titulis Sanctorum et Kalendario. Incipit in passione Sanctae Agathae et terminatur in passione Sancti Benigni.

Item Omelyarium yemale de bona littera, quod dicitur esse Ricardi Episcopi. Incipiens, *Quomodo juxta Matthaeum*; et finit in omelia, *Egrediente Jhesu in Jericho*.

Item passionale Roberti de Clifford<sup>†</sup> de bona littera, satis novum. Anno Domini ab incarnatione CC. et finit in vita Beati Botulfi.

Item passionale vetus, incipiens in passione Crispini et Crispiniani; et finit [in] legenda de Sancto Barnaba Apostolo.

Item Passionale aliud de bona littera consimile priori incipiens in passione Beati Barnabae; et finit in quadam legenda Epistolae; *In diebus illis surgens Petrus*.

Expositorium Evangeliorum quorundam in quibusdam festivitibus, bonum et novum, de grossa littera, incipiens in Nativitate Domini, In illo Evangelio, *Exiit edictum*; <sup>h</sup> et finit in legenda in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum.

Item Capitularium et Collectarium, bonum et novum, et de bona littera, cum canone missae, quod fuit Radulfi de Dicetto, Decani; incipiens in magna

<sup>a</sup> Liber A, a cartulary of St. Paul's, is still called Liber Pilosus on account of its hairy cover.

<sup>b</sup> ix. in text, not xi.

<sup>c</sup> Ricardus: probably Richard de Belmeis I.

<sup>d</sup> Vespere, &c. St. Matthew, xxviii. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Ascendente eo in naviculam. St. Matthew, viii. 23.

<sup>f</sup> "Ponuntur in armariolo." Note by another hand.

<sup>g</sup> Guberna, &c. This collect does not occur in the office of St. Erkenwald, which I have printed in my *Documents*, &c. (Camden Society).

<sup>h</sup> Exiit edictum: St. Luke, ii. 1.

rubrica, *Si quid in festivitibus magnae dignitatis primae*; et finit in secreto unius Virginis.

Item benedictionale Willelmi Episcopi annuale, in quo continentur benedictiones abbatum et consecrationes Regum, et qualiter concilium agi debeat et omnium ordinandorum; incipiens in vigilia Nativitatis Domini cum littera aurea, sic, *Omnipotens Deus, qui incarnationem*; et finit, *Omnipotens Deus, qui simul vivorum dominaris et mortuorum*.

Item aliud benedictionale parvum incipit praeter custodias, *Leo episcopus, servus servorum Dei*; subsequentibus quibusdam conciliis; postmodum in initio benedictionum incipit in vigilia Nativitatis Domini, et finit in consecratione virginum.

Item Omeliarium magnum, de peroptima littera, quod fuit Radulfi de Dicetto, Decani, incipiens in prima rubrica, *Quid in festivitibus primae dignitatis in initio primae legendae pro tempore*, alleviata est cum littera aurea, in qua depingitur puerperium Beatae Virginis; et finit in legenda Beati Ambrosii de Beata Tecla.

Item aliud ejusdem de grossiori littera, incipiens, praeter ea quae scribuntur in custodiis, Dominica prima Adventus, in illo Evangelio, *Cum appropinquasset Jhesus Jerusalem*;<sup>a</sup> et finit in illo Evangelio, Dominica prima ante Adventum, *Cum sublevasset oculos Jhesus*;<sup>b</sup> praeter ea quae scribuntur in custodiis.

Item Omeliarium Sanctorum magnum de grossa littera intitulatum in grossiori littera rubrice, "Liber Radulfus de Diceto, Decani," incipiens in Nativitate Domini, in illo Evangelio, *Exiit edictum*;<sup>c</sup> et finit in legenda Jeremiae de virginibus.

Item novum<sup>d</sup> Sanctorum Ricardi de Ely, incipiens in translatione Beati Thomae Martyris, quasi in primis custodiis, et in initio aliarum legendarum anni, in Natali Sancti Felicis. *In paucis sic factum est deinceps*; et finit in legenda de Beato Cedda. [Postmodum apponuntur quaterniones . . . ]<sup>e</sup>

Item Evangeliarium novum et de bona littera, incipiens prima Dominica Adventus Domini, in illo Evangelio, *Cum appropinquasset Jhesus Ierosolymam*.<sup>f</sup> Et est prima littera partita de rubeo et azorio florata de viridi; et finit in Evangelio, *Dixit Jhesus discipulis suis et turbis Judeorum*;<sup>g</sup> et postea sequitur *Liber generationis*,<sup>h</sup> et factum est autem cum baptizaretur.<sup>i</sup> Et exultet jam angelica turba.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cum appropinquaret : St. Matthew, xxi. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Cum sublevasset : St. John, vi. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Exiit edictum : St. Luke, ii. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Scil. omeliarium ?

<sup>e</sup> The words within brackets have been added by another hand.

<sup>f</sup> Cum appropinquasset : St. Matthew, xxi. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Dixit Jhesus : St. John, viii. 21. *Feria secunda post Reminiscere.*

<sup>h</sup> Liber generationis : St. Matthew, i. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Factum est : St. Luke, iii. 21.

<sup>k</sup> Exultet jam Angelica turba : Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ii. 303, 305.



Item capitularium et collectarium, quod dicitur Magistri Henrici de Norhampton, incipiens in Adventu Domini de bona et grossa littera, praemisso kalendario, Capitulum primum, *Ecce dies veniunt*. Et est grossa littera partita de rubeo et azorio, florata de azorio, et finit in benedictionali super scutum et baculum.

Item benedictionale Eustachii Episcopi bonae litterae, incipiens in rubrica, ordo ad cathecuminum faciendum. Finit cum oratione, *Purificent*. [F. Episcopus habet.] Hoc postmodum est Adam . . . . .<sup>a</sup>

Item omeliarium incipiens, *Sacrosancta*. Magnus liber. Finit in sermone Leonis Papae, in octabis Sancti Laurentii.

Item capitularium et collectarium, sive manuale Eustachii Episcopi, incipiens, praemisso kalendario, Dominica i<sup>a</sup> in Adventu Domini, Capitulum, *Scientes quod jam hora est*. Et est littera i<sup>a</sup> de auro, et finit in oratione, Adorandam crucem, scilicet, *Deus omnipotens, Jhesu Christe*.

Item capitularium quo utuntur in choro, non magni precii, sed bonae litterae.

Item Missale quoddam David capellani, in quo praemittitur Kalendarium cum litteris aureis et bestiis. Kyrie. Gloria in excelsis. Sequentiae. Concordantiae evangeliorum; et est prima littera deaurata, in cujus medio sedet rex cum dyademate, vestitus rubeo et azorio.

Item breviarium quod dicitur Henrici de Norhampton', cum antiphonario notato, magnum et bonae litterae, praemisso psalterio et kalendario, et ubi incipit legenda, *Visio Ysaiae filii Amos*; et est littera de auro, et medium litterae campus rubeus, in quo homo barbatus tenet rotulum. Finit in illa antiphona de v. panibus et ii. piscibus. Fuit H. de Norhampton'.

Item liber sanctorum ejusdem, de eadem littera, cum antiphonario notato, incipiens in vigilia Sancti Andreae, Capitulo *Corde creditur*.<sup>b</sup> Legenda Passio Sancti Andreae; et est prima de azorio et rubeo, interius deaurata et florata minio viridi et croco; et finit in obsequio mortuorum.

Item capitularium et collectarium, quod fuit Hugonis de Raculfe,<sup>c</sup> praemisso kalendario bono, et est liber de valde grossa littera. Incipit, *Excita Domine*; et est littera de auro, sedens in campo de azorio, et est intus florata paupere de azorio et viridi et croco. Finit in oratione, *Deus infirmitatis humanae*.

<sup>a</sup> The words in brackets are struck out. The rest are added by another hand.

<sup>b</sup> Corde creditur: see Sarum Breviary. *Capitulum*, Romans x. 10. In Natali Sancti Andreae.

<sup>c</sup> Hugh de Raculf, canon, appears as witness to a deed in the time of Ralph de Diceto. Press A, box 2, No. 616.

Item capitularium, praemissis quibusdam Evangeliiis et Kalendario; incipiens, *Ecce dies veniunt*; littera de rubeo, interius florata de azorio et viridi; et est aliquantulum de antiqua littera; et est prima Rubrica de littera florata grossa, scripta rubeo, viridi, et minio. Finit in oratione, *Omnipotens Dominator Christus*.

Item, liber parvus non magni precii vetus, incipiens, *Gloria Tibi, Trinitas*; in quo praemittitur Kalendarium; in quo continentur missae peculiares, et benedictiones frumenti candentis et aquae; quasi quoddam manuale est. Finit in missa de Sancta Osida;\* in cujus custodia depinxit Thesaurarius, capud hirsutum.

---

## INVENTORY OF 1402.

(p. 9.)

Inventarium omnium vestimentorum et aliorum ornamentorum ecclesiasticorum ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Londoñ in Thesauraria ejusdem ecclesiae existentium in festo Sancti Thomae Apostoli Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>mo</sup> secundo, factum per M. T. Stowe, Decanum, Walterum Cooke, et W. Storteford, Canonicos ecclesiae praedictae.<sup>b</sup>

In primis, in primo Armariolo existente in angulo in parte occidentali ex parte dextra sunt xxiii<sup>or</sup> perticae<sup>c</sup> in quibus pendent hujusmodi vestimenta, videlicet:

In prima pertica tres Capae preciosae de panno aureo albi coloris auripictae cum floribus et coronis aureis de dono Domini Johannis Ducis Lancastriae.<sup>d</sup>

\* De S. Vitha, in Inventory of 1295 as printed in Dugdale; but in the original it is Sancta Ositha.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Stowe, dean of St. Paul's, 1400-1405. Walter Coke was prebendary of Holborn in 1397 and 1421 and treasurer in 1399. William Stortford, formerly treasurer, archdeacon of Middlesex 1393-1416.

<sup>c</sup> Pertica: patibuli species, cui rei suspenduntur: Ducange. But here, obviously, a beam or frame from which vestments could be suspended.

<sup>d</sup> The stately tomb of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, is figured in Dugdale, 60.

In ij. pertica una Casula et ij Tuniculae ejusdem sectae et ex dono ejusdem.

Item in iij<sup>a</sup> pertica v Capae ex panno aureo albi Coloris cum aurifrigiis panni aurei cujus campus est blavij coloris.

In iiij. pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris pulverisatae cum literis aureis videlicet M. et Angelis et certis circumferenciis.

Item in v. pertica j Casula et duae Tunicae ejusdem sectae cum Capis proxime dictis.

In vj. pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo et albi coloris.

In vij. pertica ij Capae j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno aureo albi coloris.

In viij pertica j Capa j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno aureo albi coloris.

In ix<sup>a</sup> pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris cum bonis aurifrigiis auripictae cum diversis magnis ymaginibus.

In x<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubij coloris cum j. Casula et ij. Tuniculae ejusdem coloris.

In xj<sup>a</sup> pertica j Capa j Casula ij Tuniculae de rubeo veluto de dono Domini Walteri Aldebery<sup>a</sup> pulverisato cum coronis aureis.

In xij pertica j Capa cum Casula et ij Tuniculis de panno aureo rubei coloris de dono Domini W. Courtenay<sup>b</sup> cum aurifrigiis pulverisatis cum cignis argenteis.

In xiiij pertica ij Capae de panno aureo ejusdem sectae et ex dono ejusdem (p. 10.) Domini W. cum consimilibus aurifrigiis.

In xiiij. j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum vocabulo Jhesu.

In xv. pertica ij Capae ejusdem sectae cum aurifrigiis preciosis.

In xvj. ij Capae antiquae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xvij. pertica j Casula de rubeo pulverizata cum gladiis et floribus et una Capa auripicta preciose cum multis historiis bibliae in ymaginibus aureis.

In xviiij. pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xix. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis ymaginibus aureis.

<sup>a</sup> Walter de Aldebery was collated to the deanery of St. Paul's by Simon Sudbury in 1362. Newcourt doubts whether the collation took effect.

<sup>b</sup> William Courtenay, bishop of London 1375, translated to Canterbury in 1381. Lord high chancellor in 1381.

In xx. pertica j Capa quondam Sancti Thomae Herefordensis\* ij aliae Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris cum magnis ymaginibus.

In xxj. j Capa de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis ymaginibus aureis.

In xxij. pertica vj Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris cum aurifrigiis blauj coloris cum falconibus aureis capuciatis cum armis dominae Reginae Annae,<sup>b</sup> et cum Morsibus ejusdem sectae.

In xxij. iij<sup>or</sup> Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xxiiij. pertica v Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris cum aurifrigiis unius sectae.

(p. 11.)

In secundo Armariolo proxime sequenti sunt xxvj perticae, quarum quatuor sunt vacuae et nullatenus occupatae, unde de xxij perticis occupatis est nunc loquendum.

In prima pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris, quarum una de velveto rubeo cum leonibus aureis et aurifrigiis de coleriis Domini Ducis Lancastriae et servo<sup>c</sup> in medio cujuslibet colerii jacente ex dono domini Roberti Whiteby, et alia de rubeo veluto cum magnis Rosis aureis et aurifrigiis cum ymaginibus aureis, ex dono M. J. Appelby,<sup>d</sup> quondam Decani.

In secunda j Casula ij Tuniculae et ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris ejusdem sectae cum aurifrigiis blaviis pulverizato cum leopardis aureis.

In iij. j Capa ij Tuniculae de panno aureo novo rubei coloris.

In iiij<sup>ta</sup> pertica j Capa cum j Casula et ij Tuniculae de secta duarum Tunicularum proxime precedentium.

In v<sup>ta</sup> pertica ij Capae de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum aquilis et leopardis aureis.

\* St. Thomas de Cantelupo, bishop of Hereford, canonised 20 April, 1320. His festival was observed on October 2. "Many miracles are recorded as being wrought through the intercession of this saint." *Historia Anglicana*, Harpsfield 473.) Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses*, 17-19.

<sup>b</sup> Anne of Bohemia, first wife of Richard II. The white falcon was one of the king's badges.

<sup>c</sup> Servo, i.e., cervo. The lion passant is seen on Dugdale's plate of the monument of John of Gaunt. The collar of SS. is a well-known Lancastrian badge. Probably the *cervus* was the antelope.

<sup>d</sup> John de Appleby, dean, 1364-8.

In vj. pertica iiij<sup>or</sup> Capae de panno serico novo et satis vilis precii viridis coloris pulverizato cum coronis aureis et leonibus.

In vij. pertica ij Capae j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno serico nigri coloris cum leopardis de auro.

In viij. pertica iij Capae ij Tuniculae ejusdem sectae et coloris.

In ix<sup>a</sup> pertica iij Capae ejusdem coloris et sectae.

In x<sup>a</sup> pertica j Capa ejusdem coloris et sectae j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xj. pertica j Casula ij Tuniculae de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum feris bestiis aureis.

In xij. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum feris bestiis et floribus et ramis aureis.

In xiiij. pertica j Capa de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizata cum leopardis et ij Capae ejusdem coloris pulverizatae cum ij feris bestiis hincinde jacentibus. (p. 12.)

In xiiij<sup>a</sup> iij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xv<sup>a</sup> iij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xvj<sup>a</sup> iij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xvij<sup>a</sup> ij Capae de panno aureo nigri coloris.

In xviii. ij Capae de panno aureo cum aurifrigiis auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus in opere aureo.

In xix. j Capa j Casula et ij Tuniculae de panno aureo blavii coloris pulverizato cum coronis aureis, quibus singulis sunt infixae ij pennae de Ostrich.<sup>a</sup>

In xx<sup>a</sup> iij Capae de panno aureo blavii coloris de velveto pulverizatae cum coronis aureis de dono domini Simon de Sudbery,<sup>b</sup> dudum Episcopi Lond'.

In xxj. j Casula et ij Tuniculae praedictae sectae et ex dono ejusdem domini Simonis.

In xxij. una Casula crocei coloris, quae quondam fuit Sancti Alphegi,<sup>c</sup> et j Capa ejusdem coloris pulverizata cum angelis.

In tertio Armariolo sunt xxv perticae occupatae. Unde in prima pertica sunt (p. 13.)  
duae Tuniculae cum una casula de panno aureo albi coloris auripictae cum griffonibus et liliis de auro, et una casula alba de serico.

<sup>a</sup> The ostrich feather is a favourite badge of the Plantagenets.

<sup>b</sup> Simon of Sudbury: bishop of London 1361, translated to Canterbury 1375, beheaded by the rebels 14 June, 1381. His head is still to be seen in a niche in the vestry of St. Gregory's church, Sudbury, Suffolk.

<sup>c</sup> St. Alphege, see above.



In secunda pertica tres Casulae albae de serico albi coloris.

In iiij. pertica tres Capae albi coloris de Rakemask<sup>a</sup> videlicet de debili panno aureo.

In iiij<sup>a</sup> pertica iiij<sup>or</sup> Capae de Rakemask<sup>e</sup> albi coloris.

In v. pertica duae Capae de panno aureo albi coloris aurifrisiatae cum magnis ymaginibus auripictis.

In vj. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris auripictae cum diversis truffis<sup>b</sup> et aurifrisiatae cum magnis ymaginibus.

In vij. pertica ij Capae de panno aureo albi coloris pulverizato satis tenue cum parvis leonibus et floribus diversis.

In viij. pertica sunt una Casula purpurei coloris pulverizata cum lunis et stellis aureis, et alia Casula de serico plano ejusdem coloris, ij tuniculae de blavio serico stragulatae.

In ix. pertica ij Tuniculae et j Casula de satyn rubei coloris, et aliae duae casulae de satyn ejusdem coloris, et una casula cum diversis armis viridis coloris.

In x<sup>a</sup> pertica iiij Capae de panno aureo purpurei coloris diversimode auripictae.

In xj. pertica iiij. Capae ejusdem coloris et sectae.

In xij. pertica iiij Capae ejusdem coloris et sectae.

In xiiij. pertica ij Tuniculae cum una Casula de panno aureo antiquo rubei coloris.

In xiiij. pertica ij Tuniculae rubei coloris de panno aureo stragulatae, et ij Capae ejusdem sectae.

(p. 14.)

In xv pertica ij Tuniculae et una Casula sectae et coloris proxime dictis.

In xvj<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Capae de rubeo velveto auripictae cum angelis aureis et armis dominae Isabellae<sup>c</sup> quondam Reginae Angliae.

In xvij<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae et una Casula de rubeo veluto auripictae cum angelis et armis praedictae dominae Isabellae.<sup>b</sup>

In xvij<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae et una Casula de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In xix<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae et j Casula et j Capa de dono domini Rogeri Waltham<sup>d</sup> quondam Canonici hujus ecclesiae de panno serico rubei coloris.

<sup>a</sup> Rakemask: Racamas, panni pretiosoris species. Racamatura, ornatus vestis acu pictus, ab Italico *Raccamere*, acu pingere. Gall: *Broder*. Ducange.

<sup>b</sup> Truffis: perhaps for Treffis, Trefoils. See Ducange.

<sup>c</sup> Isabella, daughter of Charles V. of France, second queen of Richard II.

<sup>d</sup> Roger de Waltham, prebendary of Cadington Minor between 1316 and 1329.

In xx<sup>a</sup> ij Tuniculae cum una Casula de panno aureo de dono Adae Fraunceys aurifrisiatae cum magnis ymaginibus.

In xxj. pertica ij Tuniculae cum una Casula de panno aureo viridis coloris et una Capa ejusdem coloris.

In xxij. pertica ij Tuniculae cum una Casula de rubeo satyn pulverizato cum diversis crucibus de auro.

In xxiiij. pertica ij Casulae de Satyn nigri coloris.

In xxiiij. iiij<sup>or</sup> Tuniculae blavii coloris de panno serico et ij Tuniculae de panno serico rubei coloris.

In xxv pertica duo vexilla processionalia pro tempore Paschae de panno serico viridis coloris auripictae ex dono domini Johannis Lyntoñ' quondam Camerarij et unum aliud vexillum de dono domini Willelmi Coloyne <sup>a</sup> viridis coloris.

In quarto Armariolo, videcet, extra hostium domus Thesaurariae, sunt xvij (p. 15) perticae. In quarum prima, videlicet, prope introitum sunt ij Casulae de panno serico viridis coloris, una casula de panno serico albi coloris, et iiij Capae antiquae de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In secunda pertica ij Tuniculae et j Casula de blavio serico stragulato, j Capa de panno aureo blavii coloris auripicto cum castellis et ymaginibus diversis.

In iiij<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula de panno serico, cum j Capa de panno serico blavii coloris, et j Capa de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In iiij<sup>ta</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula de panno serico viridis coloris auripicto cum piscibus et floribus aureis.

In v. pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula purpurei coloris de serico aliquantulum auripicto.

In vj. pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula, cum una Capa purpurei coloris, auripictae cum garbis et circumferenciis aureis.

In vij. pertica ij Tuniculae de rubeo baudekyn mixto cum blavio, et j Casula de panno aureo ejusdem coloris, pulverizato cum leopardis aureis.

In viij<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae et j Casula de panno serico blavii coloris.

In ix<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula de panno aureo rubei coloris.

In x<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula cum j Capa de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum leopardis et leonibus.

<sup>a</sup> William de Coloinge was prebendary of Reculverland in 1371.

In xj pertica ij Tuniculae j Casula iij Capae de panno serico de baudekyn nigri coloris ex dono domini Johannis Ducis Lancastriae quondam.

In xij pertica iij Capae de panno aureo blavii coloris auripicto cum arboribus et leopardis de dono domini Thomae Euere,<sup>a</sup> nuper decani.

(p. 16.)

Ex dono domini  
Johannis Ducis  
Lancastriae.

Item in xiiij<sup>a</sup> pertica j Casula ij Tuniculae ex eadem secta de dono ejusdem.

Item in xiiij<sup>a</sup> pertica ij Capae ij Tuniculae de panno aureo, cujus campus est blavii coloris, de dono Ducis Lancastriae, pulverizatae cum rosis aureis et pennis albis de ostrich.

In xv<sup>a</sup> pertica j Capa j Casula ij Tuniculae de eadem secta.

In xvj. pertica vij Capae ejusdem sectae praecedentis.

In xvij. pertica vij Capae praedictae sectae.

Item in praedicta domo Thesauraria extra armariola vij Capae antiquae usuales et quasi cotidianae albi coloris jacentes ibidem.

Item in eadem domo extra armariola sunt xv Capae antiquae usuales et quasi cotidianae rubei coloris vel quasi jacentes ibidem.

Item ij aliae Capae antiquae ex antiquo opere diversi coloris et ij Capae antiquae blavij coloris, et j Capa purpurei coloris auripicta cum leopardis, et j alia Capa antiqua viridis coloris auripicta diversimode.

(p. 17.)

Albae, Amictae, stolae, et fanones.

In primis in domo Thesauraria una alba cum una amicta de panno de Reynys<sup>b</sup> cum paruris aureis de historia sancti Thomae Cantuariensis in ymaginibus cum j stola et j fanone rubei coloris.

Item una alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta ejusdem panni et paruris ac j stola et j fanon rubei coloris auripictae diversimode cum margaritis.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas de Ewere, or Eure, dean of St. Paul's 1389-1400.

<sup>b</sup> Pannus de Reynys: so called from Rennes in Brittany, the original place of its manufacture. Planché.

"I have a shirte of reynes with sleeves pendent."

*Mystery of Mary Magdalen.* 1512.

"Cloth of raynes to sleep on softe."

*Chaucer's Dream*, l. 265.

In 1327 three new cloths of Rains were in use for the high altar at Exeter. *Rock, Textile Fabrics*, 68.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola et j fanone cum paruris magnarum ymaginum auripictis in rubeo colore.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris auripictis cum capitibus Christi et Petri et Pauli ac armis Angliae et Francia in rubeo colore.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris auripictis cum ymaginibus in colore rubeo.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus in colore rubeo.

Item j alia alba de panno lineo cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris aureis diversorum armorum stragulatis.

Et omnia praedicta sunt involuta in uno panno de Canevas.<sup>a</sup>

§ Item in uno alio panno de Canevas j alba j amicta de panno de Reynys cum j stola et j fanone et paruris auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus in colore rubeo et albo.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola et j fanone et paruris aureis auripictis cum ymaginibus de historia beatae Marie Virginis.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris aureis auripictis cum ymaginibus Christo et Apostolis sedentibus in sedibus suis albis.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola fanone et paruris (p. 18.) aureis auripictis cum ymagine Christi et passione sua.

Item j alia alba de panno de Reynys cum j amicta j stola j fanone et paruris aureis auripictis cum Christo passo et aliis ymaginibus diversimode.

Et omnia proxime dicta sunt involuta et ligata in uno panno de Canevas.

§ Item in alio panno de Canevas j Alba cum Amicta de panno lineo de Reynys et cum stola fanone et paruris de serico blavio auripictis cum diversis ymaginibus apostolorum.

Item j alia alba cum amicta de panno lineo bono cum stola fanone et paruris de panno serico blavij coloris auripictis cum Griffonibus aureis.

Item iij albae de panno lineo cum iij amictis iij stolis iij fanonibus et iij paruris

<sup>a</sup> Canevas = canvas, *Fr.* canevas. Planché quotes from Dekker, in 1611, "striped canvas for doublets." He might have cited Sir P. Sidney, Spencer, and others. See Johnson's *Dict.* by Latham.

From *Cannabis*, the Latin botanical name for hemp, "we have taken our word *canvas* to mean any texture woven of hempen thread." Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 3, 4.

de veluto blavii coloris enbroudato cum coronis aureis, de dono domini Simonis de Sudberya, quondam Episcopi Londoñ.

Item tres aliae albae iij amictae de bono panno lineo cum ij stolis iij fanonibus et paruris de serico blaveo enbroudato cum coronis aureis de pennis de Ostrich.

Item ij frontalia sive duo panni pro summo altari de panno serico albo enbroudato preciose cum floribus et coronis aureis, et in utroque frontali sunt auripictae tres ymagine aureae sedentes in tronis aureis, in quorum uno sunt ymago Sanctae Trinitatis, in medio ymago Sanctae Mariae, et ex alio latere ymago Salvatoris. Item in alio iij aliae ymagine de eadem secta, videlicet, Sanctae Annae, Sanctae Mariae, et Sanctae Elizabeth, cum j parura stricta aurea pro frontali summi altaris.

(p. 19.)

Item iij albae de panno de Reynys cum tribus amictis ejusdem coloris et sectae, cum tribus stolis et iij fanonibus enbroudati preciose cum diversis ymaginibus aureis, et uno panno ejusdem sectae, absque tamen ymaginibus.

Item ij Ridelli<sup>a</sup> pro summo altari de panno serico stragulato tendente quodammodo ad sectam supradictam.

Item j frontale pro summo altari de panno serico cum rosis aurei coloris et ij pennis argenteis de ostrich et j parura longa pro dicto altari ejusdem sectae, et ij Ridelli ejusdem sectae.

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno de Reynys cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus cum paruris sectae proxime praedictae, et una capsula pro corporali ejusdem sectae.

Item ij frontalia et j parura longa de serico nigri coloris pro summo altari, quorum unum videlicet principale est enbroudatum cum iij ymaginibus, videlicet, Crucifixi, Sanctae Mariae, et Sancti Johannis evangelistae.

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno lineo cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus de panno serico nigri coloris et ij Ridelli ejusdem sectae.

Item j pannus aureus albi coloris inbroudatus cum ymaginibus<sup>b</sup> aureis, deputatus pro frontali summi altaris in festis beatae Mariae, cum j parura longa pro eodem altari.

Item unus pannus aureus rubei coloris operato cum leopardis aureis, deputatus pro frontali summi altaris, cum una parura longa pro dicto altari de rubeo veluto cum diversis armis inbroudati.

Item unus pannus aureus blavii coloris operatus cum cignis et leopardis aureis et rotulis argenteis, et una longa parura pro dicto altari ejusdem coloris, cum leopardis aureis.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ridellus: cortina, ex Gallico Rideau, a curtain, Ducange.

<sup>b</sup> Over the word *ymaginibus* is written *avibus*.

<sup>c</sup> *Cum leopardis aureis* is redundant, the words *et leopardis aureis* having been inserted two lines above.



Item pannus aureus rubei coloris operatus cum lupis sive aliis bestiis aureis, (p. 20.)  
rosisque et coronis albis, ordinatus pro j frontali pro summo altari; et unum aliud  
strictum frontale ejusdem sectae pro dicto altari.

Item j alius pannus aureus nigri coloris operatus cum damis jacentibus in uno  
nodo, ordinatus pro j frontali pro dicto altari; cum uno stricto frontali ejusdem  
coloris, cum cignis aureis, pro eodem altari.

Item vj<sup>a</sup> paria pallarum benedictarum de panno lineo, quarum duo paria sunt  
de opere Parisiensi pro summo altari in uno canevas.

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> Ridelli de serico viridis coloris stragulato cum regulis de albo et  
rubeo, et ij Ridelli de serico blavii coloris cum pennis duabus de ostrich affixis in  
una rosa auripicta.

Item tres albae tres amictae de panno lineo cum paruris de rubeo veluto  
pulverizato et operato cum parvis angelis et armis Angliae, cum ij stolis et iiij  
fanonibus ejusdem sectae, de dono dominae Isabellae, quondam reginae Angliae.

Item iiij albae tres amictae cum paruris de rubeo velveto operato cum coronis  
aureis et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo blavii coloris operato cum  
floribus magnis includentibus in se aves mirabiles, cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus  
ejusdem sectae, in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae, quarum duae albae et iiij amictae sunt de panno de  
Reynys cum paruris antiquis operatis in purpureo colore, cum diversis ymaginibus  
et garbis aureis, ij stolis, et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in quodam coopertorio de  
Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris operato cum (p. 21.)  
calicibus aureis et oblatiis albis positis inter duas alas aureas, cum ij stolis et iiij  
fanonibus ejusdem sectae in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato  
cum diversis gallis et alis aureis, et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae,  
in uno Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo operato cum draconibus  
aureis et parvis lunis et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involuto in  
uno Coopertorio de Canevas.

Item iiij albae iiij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo nigri coloris operato cum  
draconibus et foliis aureis et cum ij stolis et iiij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involutis  
in uno Canevas.

<sup>a</sup> Over the figure vj another hand has written iiij.

Item *iiij<sup>or</sup>* albae et *iiij<sup>or</sup>* amictae cum paruris de panno aureo nigri coloris pulverizato cum leopardis aureis cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij<sup>or</sup>* fanonibus ejusdem sectae in uno Canevas. Item ibidem *j* alba *j* amicta *j* stola et *j* fanoñ pulverizatae cum signis <sup>a</sup> aureis nigri coloris.<sup>b</sup>

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis literis albis de S. et cum leopardis aureis et cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, de dono domini Johannis quondam Ducis Lancastriae, involutis in uno panno de Canevas.

Item *iiij* albae et *iiij* amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum leonibus et arboribus *j* stola et *iiij* fanones ejusdem sectae, ex dono domini Willelmi Courtenay quondam Episcopi Londoñ involuto in *j* Canevas.

(p. 22.)

Item *v.* albae *v.* amictae cum paruris de serico blavii coloris, aliquibus earum operatis cum rosis et ymaginibus aureis, et aliquibus de serico plano, cum *iiij* stolis et *v.* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, omnibus involutis in uno panno de Canevacio.

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae novae cum paruris de panno aureo blavij coloris operatis cum arboribus, videlicet, quercubus aureis, et albis leopardis, cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, ex dono Magistri Thomae Euere, quondam Decani ecclesiae Sancti Pauli.

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae novae cum paruris de panno aureo blavii coloris pulverizato cum leopardis aureis et foliis albis, cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae.

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae de novo panno lineo cum paruris de panno aureo viridis coloris operato cum diversis ramis aureis.

Item *iiij<sup>or</sup>* albae *iiij<sup>or</sup>* amictae quarum duae cum paruris aureis operatis cum diversis ymaginibus sericis antiqui operis, et aliae duae habent paruras de serico enbroudato et operato cum diversis armis cum stolis et fanonibus ejusdem sectae, in uno coopertorio de Canevas involutis.

Item *iiij<sup>or</sup>* albae *iiij<sup>or</sup>* amictae cum paruris aureis antiqui operis pulverizatae cum diversis ymaginibus Rosis bestiis et ramis aureis de colore rubeo cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij* fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involutis in quodam coopertorio de Canevas.

Item *iiij<sup>or</sup>* albae *iiij<sup>or</sup>* amictae cum paruris aureis aliquibus operatis cum ymaginibus de passione Domini et aliquibus cum diversis armis cum *iiij* stolis et *iiij<sup>or</sup>* fanonibus ejusdem sectae operatis in antiquo opere diversimode involutis in quodam coopertorio de Canevacio.

(p. 23.)

Item *iiij* albae *iiij* amictae de panno de Reynys cum paruris operatis in serico

<sup>a</sup> *Signis* for *cygnis*.

<sup>b</sup> This item has been added in another hand.

rubei et viridis coloris cum diversis armis cum ij stolis iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae ex dono Ricardi Wokyndon'.<sup>a</sup>

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno de Reynys cum paruris de serico purpurei et rubei coloris operatis cum antiquis ymaginibus et leopardis aureis cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, ex dono domini Rogeri Waltham, involutis in uno panno de Canevas.

Item iij albae iij amictae de panno lineo novo cum paruris de panno serico albo operato et pulverizato cum diversis avium pedibus cum ij stolis et iij fanonibus involutis in uno Canevas.

Item iij albae iij amictae cum paruris de panno serico albi coloris et aureo pulverizato cum leonibus et diversis avibus aureis cum ij stolis iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae, involutis in eodem coopertorio de Canevas.

Item iij albae iij amictae cum paruris de panno aureo rubei coloris pulverizato cum diversis draconibus et diversis avibus operatis in serico, ordinatae pro altari in vestibulo, cum ij stolis iij fanonibus ejusdem sectae.

Item viij albae viij<sup>b</sup> amictae cum paruris albis de panno lineo<sup>c</sup> depictis cum Rosis rubeis, ordinatae pro pueris Choristis.

Item vj albae vj amictae cum paruris antiquis de serico albo pulverizato cum stellis rubeis, ordinatae pro pueris choristis.

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> albae iiij<sup>or</sup> amictae cum paruris de panno lineo nigri coloris, ordinatae pro pueris choristis praedictis. Item iij<sup>d</sup> aliae albae cum paruris diversi coloris pro eisdem pueris.

Item viij<sup>e</sup> bona corporalia larga cum viij thecis sive capsis aureis operatis (p. 24.) cum diversis ymaginibus preciosis.

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> Thecae sive Capsae bonae aureae operatae cum diversis ymaginibus vacuae sine corporalibus.

Item ij antiquae Thecae sive Capsae operatae de antiquo opere aureo sine corporalibus.

Item j Theca magna et lata de veluto rubeo enbroudato cum literis videlicet xxj aureis, cum uno corporali largo et lato, ex dono domini Walteri Aldebery, dudum Canonici hujus ecclesiae.

<sup>a</sup> The Wokyndon family had exhibited much interest in St. Paul's. The will of Joan, relict of Sir Nicholas de Wokyndon, dated 1322, is preserved amongst the archives. *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, ix. 45b; the same lady founded a chantry at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, 14 Edw. II., *ib.* p. 54a.

<sup>b</sup> Over each figure viij another hand has written vj.

<sup>c</sup> Canabij. written above in another hand.

<sup>d</sup> Over each figure iiij another hand has written vj, and over the figure iij has substituted iiij<sup>or</sup>.

1. § Item sunt in eadem Thesauraria vj Calices, quorum primus est de auro puro, ponderante xvij uncias et j quarterium, videlicet, xxij libras nobiles de dono dominae Mariae de Sancto Paulo quondam Comitissae Penbrochiae.<sup>a</sup>

2. Item secundus Calix de auro puro ponderante xx uncias et dimidiam ponderis de Troye, videlicet, xxvij libras nobiles de dono domini Alardi, quondam Decani hujus ecclesiae.

3. Item iiij<sup>us</sup> Calix argenteus deauratus de antiqua factura ponderis xxvij unciarum et dimidia de pondere trojano, quae faciunt ij li. iiij s. sterlingorum,<sup>b</sup> de dono Henrici de Norhamptoñ.

4. Item iiij<sup>us</sup> Calix argenteus deauratus ponderis xxj unciarum de pondere Trojano, etiam ponderis xlix s. sterlingorum de dono Johannis Teuesham.

5. Item v. Calix argenteus deauratus ponderis xvij unciarum et dimidia de Troye — xlij s. de dono dominae Elianorae quondam Reginae Angliae.

6. Item vj. Calix argenteus deauratus magnus et altus ponderis iiij librarum de pondere de Troye, videlicet, vij marc. v s. iiij d. factus expensis Decani et Capituli de nova factura.

(p. 25.)

7. Item est vij. Calix de auro puro valoris xl librarum vel circiter impignoratus per Decanum et Capitulum tempore M. J. Appelby, quondam Decani, pro l marcis sterlingorum in cista Michaelis de Northburgh,<sup>c</sup> quondam Episcopi Londoniensis.

<sup>a</sup> "Mary de St. Paul, daughter to Guido Castillion, Earl of St. Paul in France, third wife to Audomare de Valentia Earl of Pembroke, maid, wife, and widow all in a day (her husband being unhappily slain at a tilting at her nuptials), sequestered herself on that sad accident from all worldly delights, bequeathed her soul to God and her estate to pious uses, amongst which this a principal that she founded in Cambridge the college of Mary de Valentia, commonly called Pembroke Hall." Thos. Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge*, edit. 1840, p. 61. Gray, who was himself a Pembroke man, has helped to give currency to the fable of Aymer de Valence's premature death, designating the foundress of the college as

"sad Chatillon, on her bridal morn,  
That wept her bleeding love."

But see Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, 276 (text and note). "After her marriage she was never known by any other name than that of St. Paul."

<sup>b</sup> Sterlingorum: see note by Archdeacon Hale in Milman's *Annals*, second edition, p. 518. He prints an account of the receipts "de pixide Crucis Borealis," in 1342 and 1344, and says: "We learn from the Patent Roll, 2 Ric. II., that the common name of the English penny or *denarius* was *sterlingus*. In the above document the receipt is described as so many pounds 'in sterlings and half pence,' a phrase which seems to explain the term 'a pound sterling' to mean a pound of sterlings, or 240 pence."

<sup>c</sup> Michael de Northburgh or Northbrook, bishop of London 1354-1361.

§ Item sunt in eadem Thesauraria vj phiolae sive Cruettae, quarum ij sunt argenteae deauratae de una secta, ponderis xxvij unciarum; duae aliae argenteae deauratae diversae sectae, ponderis x unciarum, et ij aliae argenteae in parte deauratae, et in parte non, ponderis xvj unciarum et dimidia, dimidii quarterii.

Item una bona navis argentea deaurata cum j parvo cocleari argenteo in eadem pro incenso imponendo, ponderis xxxvij unciarum, videlicet, iiij li. vj s. viij d.

Item ij<sup>o</sup> Thurribula argentea deaurata cum cathenis argenteis ponderantia cxx uncias de pondere de Troye, videlicet, xiiij li. sterlingorum.

Item ij Turribula argentea deaurata cum cathenis argenteis ponderis lxxxvij unciarum de pondere de Troye, videlicet,\* x li. ij s. sterlingorum.

Item ij Turribula argentea deaurata in superficie dumtaxat cum cathenis argenteis ponderantia lxxvj uncias de pondere de Troye, videlicet, viij li. xvij s. vj d. sterlingorum.

Item j parvum Turribulum argenteum deauratum de dono Radulfi de Diceto, quondam Decani hujus ecclesiae, ponderis xij unciarum et dimidia, videlicet, xxix s. ij d. sterlingorum.

Item j Turribulum magnum artificialiter operatum argenteum deauratum cum bonis cathenis argenteis ponderis de Troye xij librarum et ij unciarum, videlicet, xxv marc. dimid. pro quo dominus Thomas Archiepiscopus libenter dedisset lxxx marcas sterlingorum.

Item iiij<sup>or</sup> Angeli depicti lignei deaurati ponendi super quatuor hastas portandas supra corpus Dominicum sive supra Dominum Regem seu Reginam cum uno panno prout est moris.

Item ij alta Candelabra argentea cum pomellis et crestis deauratis ponderis de (p. 26.) Troye vj librarum x unciarum videlicet, ix li. xj s. iiij d.

Item ij minora candelabra argentea cum pomellis et crestis deauratis ponderis de Troye v librarum, videlicet, vij li. sterlingorum.

§ Item ij pelves sive ij bacini argentei enameciati et deaurati in superficie et in medio elevato cum armis quorum campus est rubeus engreilatus cum uno griffone aureo rapace, et ex utraque parte unus angelus stans et tenens hujusmodi arma sive scutum, de dono domini Ricardi Chikewett, quondam Canonici hujus ecclesiae, ponderis de Troye x librarum dimidia, videlicet, xxij marc. viij d.

\* *Quae valent is erased and videlicet substituted.*



Item ij Bacini argentei [enamelati et *erased*] deaurati in superficie et in medio cum scutis et armis domini Simonis de Sudbërya, quondam Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Episcopi Londoñ, ponderis de Troye x librarum, videlicet xxj marc.

Item ij Bacini argentei in marginibus et in medio deaurati cum ymagine Sancti Petri in uno et Sancti Pauli in alio, quorum unus est bacinus aquarius, ponderis vj librarum v unciarum de Troye, videlicet, ix li. sterlingorum sive monetae.

Item iij Bacini argentei dissimiles cum uno lavacro argenteo ponderis xij librarum de Troye et xx d.,<sup>a</sup> in quorum uno videlicet in medio est una Rosa elevata deaurata cum ij xx. in medio. Et in alio in medio est una magna Rosa deaurata elevata cum ij ymaginibus, videlicet, unius viri et unius feminae, adinvicem stantium. Et in tertia duae ymages, videlicet, masculi et feminae, stantium.

§ Item unus Ciphus profundus argenteus deauratus ponderis ix unciarum, videlicet xxj s.

Item unus Ciphus de masero duplicatus interius cum argento, cum uno pede argenteo, et uno monili<sup>b</sup> Majestatis in profundo deaurato.<sup>c</sup>

Item unus Ciphus latus de Berillo puro exterius diversimode concavatus.<sup>d</sup>

Item unum vas argenteum, videlicet, unum Boket, cum uno aspersorio argenteo, ponderans de pondere de Troye iij libras, videlicet, v li. et xij s.

(p. 27.)

Item una magna Crux<sup>e</sup> processionalis argentea deaurata cum diversis ymaginibus eidem Cruci adjunctis, videlicet, cum ymagine Crucifixi, Mariae, et Johannis, ac aliis ymaginibus diversis; et pluribus reliquiis sanctae Crucis et aliis in eadem inclusis, ponderis de Troye xij librarum iij unciarum, videlicet, xvij li. viij d.

Item una Crux cristallina pro corpore Christi imponendo et deferendo in festo ejusdem Corporis Christi et Paschae, cum corona argentea deaurata supposita et impressa diversis margaritis, cum pede et hasta argenteis, valoris ad minus xx librarum sterlingorum.

<sup>a</sup> xx<sup>d</sup>, i.e. pennyweight.

<sup>b</sup> Monile, a jewelled ornament.

"aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent."

Virg. *Æn.* vii. 278

<sup>c</sup> In the margin, Defecit; ex

<sup>d</sup> In the margin, Defecit.

<sup>e</sup> In the margin, Non est inventus in domo Thesauraria, sed est inter reliquias. Ex[aminatur].

Item unum sconsorum argenteum de novo factum cum una hansa argentea, ponderis de Troye xxvj unciarum, videlicet, lx s. vj d. monetæ.

Item iij Morsus<sup>a</sup> argentei deaurati ornati cum diversis lapidibus et margaritis impressi et diversis ymaginibus impositis.

Item ij sudaria de panno lineo ornata cum serico et filis sericis.

Item vj sudaria bona antiqua de serico stragulata et operata cum auro et serico diversi coloris.

Item v sudaria de serico minoris precii.

Item x alia sudaria parva de serico et ij<sup>o</sup> manutergia parva et bona.

Item j Mitra bona et preciosa de dono bonæ memoriae domini Simonis de Sudberya impressa cum margaritis et lapidibus preciosis, et cum duobus labellis ejusdem sectæ

Item j Mitra antiqua de panno albo serico enbroudato cum ij stellis magnis aureis ex utraque parte et impressa in diversis locis cum margaritis et aliquibus lapidibus preciosis cum ij labellis.

Item j alia Mitra quasi consimilis sed minoris precii cum ij labellis.

Item j alia Mitra antiqua de panno serico albo impressa cum diversis margaritis rubeis et aliis paucis albis cum magnis lapidibus aqualiter preciosis cum ij labellis ejusdem sectæ.

Item iij antiquæ Mitrae competentes de antiqua factura impressæ cum (p. 28.) margaritis et lapidibus diversis cum labellis et aliis pertinentiis suis.

Item una parva Mitra pro puero Episcopo in festo Sanctorum Innocencium.

Item iij paria Citrothecarum episcopalium aurifrisiata cum margaritis et monilibus argenteis deauratis.

Item ij paria Citrothecarum antiquarum episcopalium frisiata cum ymaginibus enbroudatis de serico.

Item iij peciæ diversæ impressæ cum perulis et aliis lapidibus.

Item iij anuli aurei sive iij pontificalia cum iij lapidibus preciosis.

Item j pontificale magnum gemmatum diversimode positum in uno hamperio.

Item j Baculus pastoralis de Mazero sive Cipresso, cum capite argenteo deaurato artificialiter composito.

Et Memorandum, quod dominus Episcopus<sup>b</sup> habet in sua custodia ij baculos pastores pertinentes ad ecclesiam.

Item iij<sup>or</sup> magni Quissini de panno aureo antiquo frisiati cum viridi serico.

<sup>a</sup> In the margin, Deficiant.

<sup>b</sup> Robert de Braybrooke was then, 1402, bishop of London. He died in 1404.

Item ij minores Quissini de eadem secta.

Item ij<sup>o</sup> magni Quissini de panno serico blavii coloris, cum Cruce alba magna per totum, et in quolibet quarterio Crucis est operatum capud unius leonis aureum.

Item ij<sup>o</sup> Quissini, unus major et alter minor, de rubeo velveto et viridi.

Item ij<sup>o</sup> Quissini, unus major et alter minor, de serico rubeo.

Item ij<sup>o</sup> Quissini, de panno aureo viridis coloris pulverizati cum diversis leonibus aureis, videlicet, duobus simul sedentibus locis suis.

(p. 29.)

Item j Quissinus de panno serico viridis coloris pro majori parte operatus cum multis et diversis scutis sive armis.

Item j Quissinus magnus de panno serico rubei coloris.

Item vij pulvinaria unius sectae de serico viridi pulverizata cum draconibus rubeis.

Item j pulvinar antiquum de serico nigro acupicta cum diversis bestiis, quod vocatur pulvinar Sanctae Edithae.<sup>a</sup>

Item ij pulvinaria de serico operata cum diversis magnis scutis diversi coloris.

Item ij pulvinaria de rubeo velveto cum j magno leone argenteo operato.

Item j pulvinar de blavio serico, cum una magna aquila aurea.

Item j pulvinar de panno serico cum diversis armis aureis.

Item j pulvinar de serico cum uno magno Tripode de nigro serico operato.<sup>b</sup>

Item iiiij<sup>or</sup> Quissini de Worstede<sup>c</sup> de blavio et albo scaccato.<sup>d</sup>

Item ix pectines eburnei, quorum tres sunt boni, et ij<sup>o</sup> eorum inclusi in capsis coreis.

Item iiiij<sup>or</sup> paria sandalia bona de panno aureo operata diversi coloris.

Item unum aliud par sandalium de rubeo serico antiquo operato cum ymaginibus aureis.

Item diversae frengiae de serico diversi coloris involutae in uno panno pro vexillis frisiandis.

Item unum vexillum de serico viridis coloris pro magna Cruce tempore pascale cum ymaginibus Petri et Pauli auripictis in eodem.

Item unus Baculus de ebore pro officio Precentoris in diebus festivis quando instruit, cum capite cristallino.

<sup>a</sup> Sanctae Edithae: see above.

<sup>b</sup> In the margin, *Inserantur ibidem ij.*

<sup>c</sup> Worstead: a woollen cloth, so called from its being first manufactured at Worstead in Norfolk about the reign of Henry I. See also Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 65.

<sup>d</sup> Scaccato = checked.

Item ij parvi Baculi pro Episcopo puerorum modici precii.

Item in prima Cista sunt xxxviiij<sup>o</sup> panni aurei novi de Rakemaskē coloris (p. 30.) rubei.

Item in eadem Cista sunt panni aurei novi xxxij de blavio colore de opere de Rakemaskē.

Unde Summa novorum pannorum in prima Cista lxx.

Item in eadem Cista sunt duae magnae peciae de panno aureo antiquo consuti et facti de ij pannis integris de opere antiquo, tendentes in majori parte ad colorem rubeum.

Item ij peciae panni aurei antiqui modici precii.

Item iij panni aurei novi de Rakemaskē viridis coloris.

Unde Summa totalis pannorum in una et eadem Cista lxxvij, praeter ij pecias parvas praedictas.

Item in secunda Cista sunt xxxviiij<sup>o</sup> panni aurei de Rakemaskē, quorum xviiij<sup>o</sup> sunt rubei coloris, et xvij sunt blavii coloris.

§ Item j pannus aureus antiquus rubei coloris auripictus cum Regibus equitantibus in equis aureis.

Item unus pannus aureus antiquus purpurei coloris auripictus cum leonibus et magnis servis <sup>a</sup> aureis.

Item j pannus aureus antiquus purpurei coloris cum magnis leopardis aureis.

Item j pannus aureus antiquus purpurei coloris auripictus segregatim cum ij leopardis aureis in circulis aureis.

Item unus pannus aureus antiquus rubei coloris auripictus cum magnis Griffonibus volantibus.

Item vij panni aurei antiqui quasi unius sectae de rubeo colore.

Item j pannus aureus antiquus rubei coloris cum ymaginibus diversis Sancti Petri cum clavibus pendentibus ad zonam suam.

Item xvij panni aurei antiqui debiliores diversi coloris et diversae sectae.

§ Memorandum, quod xxiiij<sup>o</sup> die Februarii Anno M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>mo</sup> quarto liberati fuerunt quinque Residenciarii, videlicet, Stowe Decano,<sup>b</sup> Allerthorp,<sup>c</sup> Cookes,

<sup>a</sup> Servis, i.e. cervis, ut *supra*.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Stowe, dean, Walter Cooke, and W. Storteford, have been already named at the beginning of this Inventory.

<sup>c</sup> Laurence de Allerthorp was prebendary of Cadington Minor in 1388. He was a Baron of the Exchequer. See *Report of Hist. MSS. Com.* ix. 56. b.

(p. 31.)

Storteford', et Kentewode,<sup>a</sup> xv panni de Rakemask<sup>c</sup> ad dividendum inter eos, videlicet, cuilibet eorum iij panni.

Item liberati fuerunt x panni aurei de Rakemask<sup>c</sup> ad faciendum inde novas casulas pro diversis altaribus in ecclesia. Unde summa pannorum hujusmodi xxv.

Item postea fuerunt dati et oblati per Johannam Reginam post bellum juxta Salopiam,<sup>b</sup> in quo fuit interfectus dominus Henricus Percy, ij panni ad aurum sufficientes et boni valoris campo albo.

Item postea fuerunt oblati per dominum Henricum Regem Angliae<sup>e</sup> in exequiis patris sui diversis vicibus vj panni aurei campo rubeo dame ad aurum cum coronis aureis.

# SHORT INVENTORY DATED FEBRUARY 18th, 1445,

(written on blank leaves of the Inventory of 1402).

(p. 5.)

xviii<sup>o</sup> Feb. a<sup>o</sup> 1445.

Ad Cantariam Thome Stowe<sup>d</sup> pondus calicis vix xx. unciae.

Ad altare Sancti Dunstani<sup>e</sup> sub custodia domini Willielmi Barnabe pondus calicis xiiij unciae et dimidia.

Ad altare Sancti Johannis,<sup>f</sup> Cantaria Beatricis de Roos, pondus calicis xij unciae.

Ad Cantariam Johannis Beauchamp<sup>g</sup> in Navi ecclesiae pondus calicis xx unciae j quarterium.

Ad altare Crucifixi apud Northdore<sup>h</sup> pondus calicis xv unciae.

<sup>a</sup> Reginald Kentwode was collated to the archdeaconry of London in 1400, and was dean of St. Paul's from 1421-2 to 1441.

<sup>b</sup> The battle of Shrewsbury, in which Henry Percy was killed, was fought on July 23, 1403. Queen Joan is, of course, Joan of Navarre, second queen of Henry IV.

<sup>c</sup> Henry V., son of Henry IV. (who died 20th March, 1412-3). A chantry was founded in the chapel of St. Thomas, by the executors of John of Gaunt, "for the good estate of the said King Henry IV. during his life in this world, and for his soul after his departure hence." Dugdale, 28. This foundation took effect in 13 Henry IV., the king died in the 14th year of his reign.

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Stowe, dean of St. Paul's, 1400-1405. For particulars of his chantry see Dugdale's *St. Paul's* 28, 381.

<sup>e</sup> St. Dunstan's altar: see account of its consecration in my *Documents illustrating the History of Old St. Paul's*, 45.

<sup>f</sup> St. John Baptist "ad ostium boreale." The foundation deed of this chantry is printed in Dugdale 354-356

<sup>g</sup> Sir John de Beauchamp. See Dugdale, 26, 386.

<sup>h</sup> The Rood at the North Door, see my *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, 83.



Ad altare sub fferetro Sancti Erkenwaldi pondus calicis

Ad altare Sancti Dunstani pro Cantaria Hyltofte<sup>a</sup> pondus calicis xvijj unciae j quarterium.

Ad altare Sancti Johannis pro Cantaria Johannis Lovett<sup>b</sup> et Pulteney<sup>b</sup> pondus calicis

Ad Cantariam de Holme<sup>c</sup> et Bery in capella de Holme pondus calicis 8 unciae j quarterium et dimidium.

Ad Cantariam Stephani Graveshende<sup>d</sup> pondus [calicis] xvij unciae.

Item ad Cantariam de Holme et Bery<sup>e</sup> alius calix ponderis xix unciarum, alius viij unciarum, j quarterii, dimidii quarterii.

Ad altare Sancti Georgii

Magna Crux capellae Domini Ducis Lancastriae<sup>f</sup> habet unum magnum pedem rotundum de argento ad modum Castelli formatum cum xvj turribus majoribus et minoribus per circuitum muri exterioris et xiiij turribus infra murum interiorem ponderis cum tabula lignea sub base ejusdem xv marcarum et v. unciarum.

Item in una bursa continetur de pecunia deaurata iij s. iiij d.

Item in alia bursa continetur de argento fracto<sup>g</sup> ponderis vij unciarum.

Item in una pixide quadrato continetur de anulis monilibus et argento fracto ponderis xvij unciarum et j quarterii.

Item in una alia pixide cum anulis pontificalibus continentur xiiij anuli de auro puro et duo monilia etiam de auro puro et unus dens de auro puro et unum coclear de jaspide<sup>h</sup> cum hasta ornato cum argento deaurato.

[Pp. 6, 7, and 8 are blank.]

<sup>a</sup> Hyltofte. See Dugdale, 25, 382.

<sup>b</sup> John Lovel, ib. 20, 27. Sir John Pulteney, ib. 22.

<sup>c</sup> Roger Holme, ib. 382.

<sup>d</sup> Bishop of London, ib. 388, &c.

<sup>e</sup> For deeds effecting the consolidation of some of the smaller chantries, see my *Registrum*.

<sup>f</sup> John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, see Dugdale, 27, 384, 388. This cross appears to have been given to the chantry by cardinal Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt. A very detailed account of it will be found in Mr. Maxwell Lyte's *Calendar. Hist. MSS. Commis. Report ix. 54b*. This account is printed at the end of the present Inventory.

<sup>g</sup> Argentum fractum, see a valuable note by Archdeacon Hale in Milman's *Annals*, second edition, 518. The pound and solidus were moneys of account, "the only coin being the penny, which broken supplied the half penny and the quadrans or farthing. The frequent mention of *argentum fractum*, not carried to account as pence or half pence, would lead to the supposition that very small fragments of the penny were frequently amongst the offerings." I have one or two specimens of *argentum fractum* found in London.

<sup>h</sup> An interesting account of the jasper may be found in Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, part ii. pp. 83-86.

Detailed account of the cross presented by cardinal Beaufort to the chantry of John of Gaunt.

Una Crux preclare pulcritudinis curiosi operis de argento undique deaurato cum ymaginibus Crucifixi, Marie et Johannis et *iiij<sup>or</sup>* Evangelistarum ad *iiij<sup>or</sup>* cornua predictae crucis et sacre Majestatis in medio post caput Crucifixi, foliisque de lateribus crucis et sub ymaginibus supradictis copiose egredientibus, quorum *ij* sub ymagine Marie, duo sub ymagine Johannis, et *ij* in capite Crucis, duo in cornu sinistro, unumque in cornu dextro reperiuntur abesse. Erigitur autem predicta Crux super basem perpulcram ramis, vitisque foliis cum splendidis Enamulaturis decenter ornatum *iiij<sup>or</sup>* etiam leonum ymaginibus supportata habet autem predicta basis hastam in medio ad modum turris elevatum cum pinnaculis, fenestris, et turriculis curiosis cum ymagine Pauli in medio anteriori et ymagine Petri in opposita parte posteriori. Appendit autem predicta Crux cum sua base de pondere Troiano *xix* marcas *vij* uncias. Ex dono reverende memorie domini Henrici Sancti Eusebii presbiteri Cardinalis, Episcopi Wyntoniensis, filii prepotentis Principis Johannis Ducis Lancastrie qui fuit filius Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Anglie. Habet autem predicta crux in altitudine sua *xxvj* pollices mensurabiles.

Item *ij* precise ymages Angelorum notabilis quantitatis candelabra ferentes in manibus de argento undique deaurato cum alis post terga expansis, stantes super duas altas bases quadratas cum armis predicti reverendissimi patris Henrici Cardinalis ex ejusdem magnificencie dono *xxvij<sup>o</sup>* die Decembris anno domini millesimo *cccc<sup>o</sup>xlviij<sup>o</sup>*, anno vero Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum *xxvj<sup>o</sup>*. Altitudo quidem predictorum Angelorum super bases stantium quasi *xv* digitorum. Pondus autem predictorum Angelorum de pondere Troie *xxx* marce *iiij* uncie.

The original of this document is preserved amongst the cathedral archives. Press A, Box 74, No. 1946.

#### SHORT INVENTORY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE LADY CHAPEL, 7 JULY, 1445.<sup>a</sup>

(p. 1.)

Tempore T. Lyceus, decani.<sup>b</sup>

In capella beatae Mariae in custodia Johannis Pembroke a<sup>o</sup> 1445, 7 Julii.

<sup>a</sup> This Inventory is added on blank leaves of the Inventory of 1402.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Lisieux, dean of St. Paul's, 1441-1456.

In primis duo Candelabra cum pomellis et hastis de cristallo ornata cum argento plano cum pedibus et ciphis superius rotundis et stilis cupris superius ponderis quasi vij marcarum de Troy.

Item duae parvae pelves planae operis<sup>a</sup> cum circumferenciis et circulis in medio deauratae, quarum una habet rostrum ad aquam effundendam, ponderis iiij marcarum iiij unciarum et dimidia de Troy.

Item una columpna rotunda cristalina continens reliquias diversas cum basa et coopertorio rotundis de argento deaurato, et habet in capite crucem cum ymagine crucifixi, cum ij lapidibus corallinis ex utraque parte, ponderis vij unciarum et j quarterium de Troy.

Item una parva ymago Crucifixi sine Cruce de argento ponderis quasi dimidia uncia de Troy.

Item una pulchra tabula pro osculo pacis ornata cum argento deaurato operis elmatae per totum cum ymagine beatae Mariae puerum tenentis in sinistra et pomum in dextra in medio praedictae tabulae constituto et habet in planissae tabulae v pulcros lapiedes<sup>b</sup> virides iiij rubios ⁊ j blodiam in claves argenteos infixos non ponderata quia habet tabulam ligniam in dorso.

Item una parva ymago beatae Mariae de ebore in tabernaculo eburneo sedentis cum ij lapidibus rubeis ad pedem tabernaculi affixis cum una capsula de correo.

Item duo candelabra rotunda de auricalco parva.

Item unum candelabrum cum ij tenaculis superius cum stilo in medio.

Item unum aliud plate kandilstikk cum cuspidē egrediente de latere.

Item una antiqua tabula pro osculo pacis de stanno deaurato cum ymagine crucifixi beatae Mariae et Johannis.

Item una alia antiqua tabula pro osculo pacis de cupro deaurato cum cruce sine ymagine in medio.

Item iiij tapeta antiqua rubii coloris quorum tria sunt cum scutis et armis et tertium cum circumferencia viridi et rosis albis.

Item tria alia tapeta blavii coloris cum popyniayes et rosis rubiis.

Item ij quissini de veluto rubeo<sup>c</sup> enbroudato cum cerenis et meremaide<sup>d</sup>, arma (p. 2.) tenentibus ex una parte et scutis in tribus dentricibus ex altera parte.

<sup>a</sup> Here and elsewhere the scribe is pleased to treat *operis* as feminine.

<sup>b</sup> Sic.

<sup>c</sup> Quissini de veluto, or velvet: cushions of velvet. Richard II., in his will, directed his body to be clothed "in velvet," 1399. The inventory of 1295 makes mention of *velvet*, with its kindred web *fustian*, for chasubles. "The name of velvet, *velluto*, seems to point out Italy as the market through which we got it from the East, for the word in Italian indicates something which is hairy or shaggy, like an animal's skin." Rock, *Textile Fabrics*, 31.

<sup>d</sup> Syrens and mermaids.

Item unus alius quissinus de veluto rubeo enbroudato cum armis et galea ex una parte et nigris avibus ex altera.

Item ij quissinae unius sectae de rubeo cerico enbroudato cum rosis albis diversis armis et volucris ex una parte planae ex altera.

Item quissinus antiquus longus cum ij angelis arma tenentibus in medio et iiij evangelistas ad quatuor angulos.

Item alius quissinus de cerico cum agno Dei ex utraque parte.

Item ij parvae quissinae unius sectae cum leonibus albis ex una parte et rubeis crucibus ex altera.

Item iiij pannae lineae depictae de albo et nigro quorum tres pendunt circa pulpitu[m] exterius.

Item unus alius pannus lineus de albo et blodio palido in pulpito.

Item vj pannae lineae operis elaboratae ad cooperiendum altare quorum unus est debilis et laceratus.

Item unus alius pannus planus ad idem opus.

Vestimenta.

Unum vestimentum de albo damasco cum casula alba amicta stola et fanone cum leonibus et falconibus in aurificiis casulae.

Item una alia casula antiqua de albo panno argenteo cum aurificiis auriis et cruce argentea in medio cum leonibus ex una parte et flor[um]delice ex altera parte cum alba amicta stola et fanone de panno albo aureo.

Item una alia casula antiqua de albo damasco cum aurificiis rectis medio avibus et aliis operibus contextis in eisdem cum alba stola amicta et fanone de panno albo enbroudato cum animalibus monstruosis et foliis ederosi<sup>a</sup> de argento.

Item una bona stola de panno aureo cum scitis<sup>b</sup> diversorum armorum et ramunculis de viridi cerico.

Item una parura pro amictu de blodio Satyn cum coronis auriis.

(p. 3.)

Item j fanoñ de albo damasco aureo.

Item unum corporale de viridi veluto posterius et salutacione angelica interius.

Item unum frontale de panno Damasceno aureo cum marginibus de cerico rubeo lionibus argenteis contextis cum quinque paginibus de rubeo Damasceno diversis ymaginibus et leonibus argenteis desuper contextis cum uno frontello sibi annexo cum popynjayes et draconibus de viridi cerico.

Item unum aliud frontale de panno aureo Damasceno cum frontello sibi annexo cum diversis ymaginibus volucris et animalibus aureis in eodem constitutis.

<sup>a</sup> Ederosis, i.e. hederosis.

<sup>b</sup> Sic, for scutis.

Item unum aliud frontale de panno aureo operis stragulati cum frontello sibi conjuncto de panno aureo viridi rubeo et purpurei coloris.

Item unus pannus niger ad cooperiendum pallium altaris.

Item unus antiquus pannus aureus rubei coloris cum extraniis animalibus de blodio cerico cum capiciis auriis.

Item duo vetustissimae<sup>a</sup> panni aurei pro altari cooperiendo.

Item unus alius pannus laneus niger antiquus ad cooperiendum formulare.

Item unus pannus cilicinus pro magno altari beatae Mariae Virginis.

Item una magna pulcra Rotula cum diversis canticis notatis incipiens *Alma concio*.

Item unum Missale in parva volumine cum kalendario ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Ab omni*.

Item unus pulcher liber de organico<sup>b</sup> cantu incipiens *Salus salvandorum*.

Item unus alius liber pulcher de plano cantu ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Dedicatum est*.

Item unus alius liber de plano cantu ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Ave Maria*.

Item alius liber de plano cantu ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Cellens omnibus*.

Item alius liber de cantu organico ligatus in tabulis ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Eleyson*.

Item unus quaternus de cantu organico ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Vergente soli*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Kirie eleyson*.

Item unus alius minor quaternus pro organis ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Sapientia*.

(p. 4.)

Item unus alius quaternus de plano cantu incipiens *Flos de spina*.

Item unus alius quaternus de plano cantu incipiens *Ad cenam Agni providi*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Et in terra*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Kirie eleyson*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico incipiens *Patrem omnipotentem*.

Item unus liber cum Epistolis et Evangeliiis beatae Marie Virginis per totum annum in tabulis ligatus ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Consummati*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij<sup>o</sup> fo. *Deus creator*.

Item unus alius quaternus de cantu organico ij<sup>o</sup> fo.

Item una magna cista juxta magnum altare beatae Mariae pro quiscinis imponendis cum cera.<sup>c</sup>

Item ij candelabra lignia deaurata curta pro cereis super ea stantibus.

Item una cista parva longa et stricta pro ceriis<sup>d</sup> imponendis.

<sup>a</sup> Sic.

<sup>b</sup> The word *plano* here has been erased.

<sup>c</sup> Cera, i.e. *sera*, a bolt or lock.

<sup>d</sup> Ceriis, wax candles or tapers.



Item unus pannus lineus in vestibulo predictae capellae palidus cum blodio et albo cum litera de M. et Rosis rubii coloris in eodem contextis. Habet etiam in medio ymaginem crucifixi beatae Mariae [et] Johannis.

Item una longa cista in praedicto vestibulo pro vestimentis inponendis.

Item unus antiquus pannus aureus rubei coloris cum floribus albi et viridis coloris in eodem operatis.

NOTE on certain precious stones mentioned in the above Inventories.

Enichmus: p. 33.

Possibly enichmus may be connected with the Greek *ενικμος*, "having moisture in it." Can the word have regard to the "water" of the stone, or can the enichmus be the enydros that "exudat ut clausam in eo putes fontaneam scaturiginem"? Marbodaens *de Gemmis*, 100.

Compare *Onichinus*, p. 40. Possibly both may be variations of the same word = onyx.

Turquoise: p. 33.

"It hath its name Turcius," says Baccius, "either because of its excellent beauty, or because it is brought from the Turks." According to old writers, the turquoise was found in their day in the remote parts of India, and was conveyed to Turkey to be cut; whence, probably, it derived its name. Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, 2nd ed. part ii. pp. 44, 45.

Alamandinae: p. 33.

The precious garnet is sometimes called almandine from the city of Alabanda in Caria. Its colour is blood red, cherry, or brownish red. In the mountains below the river Enns in Austria large transparent crystals of almandine are found in serpentine. The crystals which come from Siria in Pegu, which are called Sirian Almandine, are more prized. *Ibid.* part ii. pp. 79, 80.

Peridot: p. 35.

The Peridot was "at one time considered of more value than the diamond. It is translucent and transparent. It is found in the Levant, in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Australia, and other countries." Well defined crystals have been found in Vesuvius. It is of a yellowish green colour. *Ibid.* part ii. pp. 101, 102.

Presme: p. 38.

"Presme d'Esmeraude. A base or course Emerald; whereof there be diuers kinds; some transparent as the green Jasper; others of a thick or troubled mallow colour." "Presme," itself is defined to be "a near or next kinsman by father or mother, or in a direct line." Probably "presme d'Esmeraude" is "next of kin to an emerald." Cotgrave's *Dictionary*, 1660.

## APPENDIX.



SILVER-GILT STANDING CUP OF THE  
CITY OF WESTMINSTER.  
( $\frac{1}{2}$  linear.)

## APPENDIX.

### *The Standing Cup of the city of Westminster.*

December 17th, 1885. The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster exhibited the Standing Cup belonging to the city of Westminster, which was thus described by W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., Assistant-Secretary:—

The Standing Cup belonging to the city of Westminster is one of the finest, as well as the largest, of its class and date, in existence. With its cover it stands 28 inches high. It is of silver, and wholly gilt within and without.

The cup is 16½ inches high, with a hemispherical bowl, 11 inches in diameter and 4½ inches deep. This is joined by a most elaborate baluster stem, 7½ inches long, to a wide-spreading foot, 7 inches in diameter. The general form of the cup is roughly that of a large chalice. (Plate XXVI).

The foot has on its lower edge a bold egg-and-tongue moulding, surmounted by a series of beaded circles. Then comes the main spread of the foot, which is covered with a fine repoussé scroll-pattern of double roses and daisies, with a lower border of the egg-and-tongue pattern. The foot is joined to the stem by a bold roll with small stamped pattern.

The stem itself is difficult to describe. It consists of a series of richly-ornamented rings of various thicknesses and diameters—one of which has three bold lions' faces projecting. Just below the bowl, and again lower down, are three scroll cutlets like those seen on medals—in which probably to secure a linen napkin when the cup is in use.

The bowl is completely covered by a truly splendid scroll of great double roses and daisies, similar to but larger than that on the foot, with a smaller series of the same flowers above and below. On one side is a small shield with the arms of the city of Westminster.

Around the rim is the following inscription:

✽ THE QUEEN TO HIS BRETHREN WISHETH  
PEACE ✽ W<sup>th</sup> PEACE HE WISHETH BROTHERS LOVE  
ON EARTH ✽ W<sup>th</sup> LOVE TO SEALE I AM A PLEDGE  
AM GIVEN ✽ A STANDING BOWLE TO BE USED IN  
MIRTH ✽ THE GIVTE OF MAVRICE PICKERING  
AND ISABE HIS WIFE. 1568.

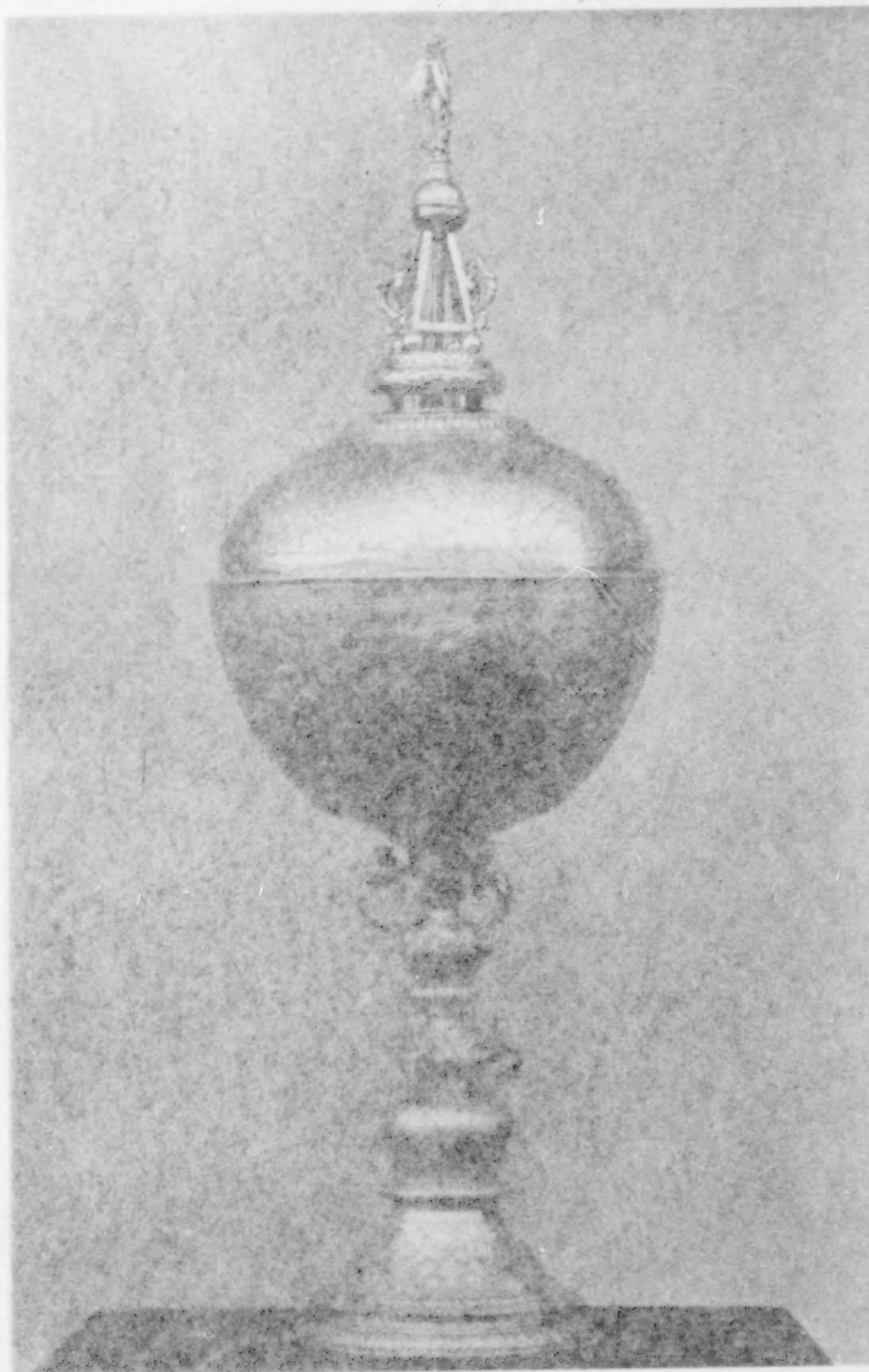
Under the foot is engraved the weight:

112 oz. 10 dw.\*

The following hall-marks are stamped on the bowl:

1. A Lombardic capital G, the London date-letter for 1604-5;
2. The lion passant guardant;
3. The leopard's head crowned;
4. The maker's, JX in a shaped shield.

\* With the cover it now weighs 8 lb. 6 oz. Avoir. or 122 oz. 8 dwss. Troy.



THE GLOBE OF THE CITY OF THE  
CITY OF WESTMINSTER.  
[1800]



## APPENDIX.

### *The Standing Cup of the city of Westminster.*

December 17th, 1885. The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster exhibited the Standing Cup belonging to the city of Westminster, which was thus described by W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., Assistant-Secretary:—

The Standing Cup belonging to the city of Westminster is one of the finest, as well as the largest, of its class and date, in existence. With its cover it stands 28 inches high. It is of silver, and wholly gilt within and without.

The cup is 16½ inches high, with a hemispherical bowl, 10 inches in diameter and 5¾ inches deep. This is joined by a most elaborate baluster stem, 7½ inches long, to a wide-spreading foot, 7 inches in diameter. The general form of the cup is roughly that of a huge chalice. (Plate XXVI.).

The foot has on its lowest edge a bold egg-and-tongue molding, surmounted by a series of beaded circles. Then comes the main spread of the foot, which is covered with a fine repoussé scroll-pattern of double roses and daisies, with a lower border of the egg-and-tongue pattern. The foot is joined to the stem by a bold roll with small stamped pattern.

The stem itself is difficult to describe. It consists of a series of richly-ornamented rings of various thicknesses and diameters—one of which has three bold lions' faces projecting. Just below the bowl, and again lower down, are three scroll corbels like those seen on maces—to which probably to secure a linen napkin when the cup is in use.

The bowl is completely covered by a truly splendid scroll of great double roses and daisies, similar to but larger than that on the foot, with a smaller series of the same flowers above and below. On one side is a small shield with the arms of the city of Westminster.

Round the rim is the following inscription:

✱ THE GEVER TO HIS BRETHREN WISHETH  
PEACE ✱ W<sup>th</sup> PEACE HE WISHETH BROTHERS LOVE  
ON EARTH ✱ W<sup>th</sup> LOVE TO SEALE I AS A PLEDGE  
AM GEVEN ✱ A STANDING BOWLE TO BE VSED IN  
MIRTHE ✱ THE GVIFTE OF MAVRICE PICKERING  
AND IOANE HIS WIFE. 1588.

Under the foot is engraved the weight:

113 oz. 10 dw.\*

The following hall-marks are stamped on the bowl:

1. A Lombardic capital G, the London date-letter for 1604-5;
2. The lion passant guardant;
3. The leopard's head crowned;
4. The maker's, **IA** in a shaped shield.

\* With the cover it now weighs 8 lb. 6 oz. Avoir. or 122 oz. 8 dwts. Troy.

So that either the cup given in 1588 was re-made in 1604, or Maurice and Joan Pickering gave the money with which to buy it.

The cover is hemispherical in shape, with a pyramidal top. The surface is covered with a good pattern of double roses and daisies, with flowers between. One of these is partly replaced by a shield with the city arms. On the top of the cover is a bold gadrooned circle, surmounted by a smaller one. Above these rises a broad flat boss, ornamented with leaf-work, on which is a tall four-legged frame carrying a ball surmounted by a winged female figure holding a palm branch—representing Peace.

A very brief inspection of this standing cup will suffice to show that the cover is of very much inferior workmanship to the cup itself. Further examination reveals a different maker's mark on the top, and the following complete set inside:

1. An old-English capital **A** in a plain shield, being the London date letter for 1677-8
2. The leopard's head crowned;
3. The lion passant guardant;
4. The maker's mark, **I H** with a fleur-de-lis between two pellets in base, in a shaped shield.

So that between cup and cover there is a difference of seventy-three years.

With respect to the donor of the silver of this cup, I have been favoured with a few notes by Mr. W. M. Trollope, the town clerk of Westminster:

“Maurice Pickering was keeper of the gatehouse (in Westminster) in the time of queen Elizabeth, a post which it is supposed his father held before him. The office was in the gift of the dean and chapter, and was considered one of some importance. It cannot be ascertained when he was appointed, but in a paper addressed to lord treasurer Burleigh in 1580, he said, ‘My predecessor and my wief and I have kept this office of the gatehouse this xxiii yeres and upwards.’ He was considered a great man in Westminster, and in official documents he was styled Morris Pickering, gentleman. At one time he and his wife are mentioned as dining at a marriage-feast at the bishop of Rochester's in Westminster Close, and another as supping with Sir George Peckham, justice of the peace.

On one occasion he got sadly into trouble, for when supping with Sir George he foolishly let out some of the secrets of his office in chatting with lady Peckham (the gatehouse was at that time full of poor needy prisoners for religion's sake whose poverty had become notorious). He told her ladyship in answer to a question she asked him, ‘Yea, I have maneye poore people for that cause (meaning religion) and for restraunte (poverty) of their friends. I fear they will starve as I have no allowance for them.’ For this Pickering fell sadly into trouble, was summoned before the lord chancellor, examined by the judges and severely reprimanded, upon which he sent a most humble and sorrowful petition to lord Burleigh, praying the comfort of his good lord's mercy in the matter, and protesting that he had ever prayed for the prosperous reign of the queene, ‘who hath defended us from the tearing of the Deville, the Poope, and all his ravening wolvess.’ It is supposed the Privy Council took no further notice of the matter, as no mention is made to that effect, only that occasionally he made a return of the prisoners in the gatehouse to the justices of the peace assembled at quarter sessions. At times he had some celebrated

characters under his care—Dr. Kysby, for religion's sake, and at another time that 'arrant scold,' Long Meg of Westminster. The beautiful silver-gilt standing-cup which he gave to the burgesses of Westminster is supposed to be all that is left as a memorial of Pickering.

The great Standing-Cup is a fine piece of Elizabethan metal-work, and the cover held over the heads of those who drank the pledge is surmounted with what was called in the old art language 'an antique'—properly speaking, it is a grace cup, not a 'bowle.' The quaint inscription should be read as follows :

The giver to his brethren wisheth peace,  
With peace he wisheth brothers love on earth,  
Which love to seal I as a pledge am given  
A standing bowl to be used in mirth.

The Gift of Maurice Pickering and Joan his wife, 1588.

These few particulars are gathered from State Papers."

*On an iron sword of Scandinavian type found in London, now in the British Museum;  
and a bronze stirrup of the same period found near Romsey, in Hampshire, in  
the possession of Philip B. Davis Cook, Esq.*

November 25th, 1886. C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A. exhibited a sword of Scandinavian type found in London, and a bronze stirrup of the same period found near Romsey, in Hampshire, on which he communicated the following remarks:—

The sword exhibited this evening by the Rev. J. C. Jackson was bought from a dealer in the north of London by the late Mr. Henry Dunbar Baines. The story told was that it had been found in the tomb of the Earl of Pembroke in the Temple church about forty years ago; and with this history it was left by Mr. Baines at his death, with a desire that it should be presented to the British Museum. A very slight examination of the sword, however, suffices to show that it can have no connection with the Earl of Pembroke; and the probability is that the whole story is an invention, and that the sword was found in the bed of the Thames, a conjecture which its condition would fully justify.



Sword of Scandinavian type found in London (one-eighth linear).

This type of sword is of very common occurrence in Scandinavia; and a certain number of examples, differing slightly in details, have also been discovered in this country. For an English specimen, however, it is an unusually fine one, from the elaborate decoration of the handle, which, though now much rusted and oxidised, still bears signs of having been executed with much care and skill. The pommel is modelled in the form of two conventional heads of animals, once plated with silver, and the details are indicated by an inlay of copper. The grip is formed, in the usual way, of the tang of the blade, which was originally thickened, probably with strips of wood, now entirely decayed. There still remains, however, the binding of plain silver wire, which entirely covered the grip, and is finished at the top and bottom with a plaited band of similar wire. The present condition of this part of the sword is somewhat deceptive, for the wire, which, when the sword was first found, probably encircled the grip very loosely, has been bound tightly round it, and thus gives it an unduly slender appearance. The guard is straight, with convex faces, and has been entirely plated with silver, and enriched with ornament composed of the serpentine animals so common in northern art. Of this silver plating a great part still remains upon the faces of the guard, but the upper and lower edges are now without any indica-

tion of plating or of ornament. The blade is 2 feet  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, straight and double-edged, with a broad channel down the middle. I have carefully examined the surface in the hope of finding



Hilt of sword of Scandinavian type found in London (one-half linear).

some trace upon it either of damascening, or of a maker's stamp, or possibly the remains of one of those curious but unintelligible inscriptions which are sometimes found upon these weapons. The state of decay into which the blade has fallen will, however, be sufficient to account for the disappearance of any marks that it may once have borne.

The decoration of the hilt has been very skilfully and laboriously executed; and the method is the same as that now practised by the Indian and Persian smiths in inlaying gold or silver over a large surface of iron or steel, viz.: by cross-hatching the whole space to be covered, and then hammering the silver plate upon it, the slight roughing being quite sufficient to give it a firm hold. In this sword, however, the details seem to have been first engraved through this silver coating, and the lines then filled with copper wire. The animals' heads which form the pommel are bound with twisted and plaited wires so as to resemble the heads of horses, but the design is purely conventional; it is not easy to say what animal, if any, is intended.

In the second part of Dr. O. Rygh's excellent work on Norwegian antiquities (*Norske Oldsager*, No. 504), is engraved a sword almost identical with our specimen, but found in Norway; and another very similar is figured in the English translation of Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, p. 49. Though the general type is not uncommon in this country, I have not been able to find any English specimen which tallies with this one in all points of form. Thus, in the swords of which the base of the pommel and the guard are both straight, the pommel itself is triangular, and without the three bosses usually found (and here elaborated into animals' heads), while, in those having the bossy pommel, the plate at the base is curved upwards and the guard downwards. Of this latter form is the sword found at Santon, Norfolk, with a pair of convex oval brooches of bronze, one of which, with the sword, is now in the British Museum. A finer example of the same type, found in the river Witham, and also in the Museum series, illustrates the sword we have here; the decoration of the hilt consists of rows of lozenges of gold



bordered with lines of copper; the gold plating is fixed in the same manner, but that in the Witham specimen the hatching is formed by perfectly regular vertical lines. The blade is inscribed with large inlaid letters, perhaps indicating a somewhat more recent date.

There can be, however, but a slight difference in age between the swords of the Santon type and of that now under consideration, though the rigid angular form of the latter was gradually superseded by the curved guard seen in the Santon sword; and this form continued to be used, with slight variations, for some centuries later. On one occasion, at least, the two types have been found together. The discovery is recorded in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. VIII. p. 424, and the objects are figured on the following page. They consist of a sword with straight guard and triangular pommel, another pommel with three knobs and the base curved upwards (*i.e.* the Santon type), and a large iron spearhead, with two wings on the socket. These were found, with two human skulls, in a field outside the town of Nottingham. Assuming, therefore, that the objects were in the same grave, we must conclude that both the swords were in use at the same period. Dr. Sven Söderberg, of Lund, informs me, however, that in all the Swedish graves excavated by Dr. Stolpe the Santon type of sword is invariably associated with relics of a later date than the year 1000, while the straight guard and triangular pommel accompany interments of the three centuries preceding this date. The evidence thus seems to point to the conclusion that the sword before us was made at the time of transition to the later form of hilt, for while the guard remains straight as before, the pommel has already assumed the triple knob form which afterwards became its characteristic feature.

The stirrup which Mr. Davis Cook has been good enough to bring to our notice is a very interesting object, and from its affinity to the sword, as well in period as in style, it is fortunate that they have come before us at the same time. This specimen was found in a peat bog at Mot-tisfont, near Romsey, in Hampshire; it is of bronze, 6 inches in length, and, with slight differences, is almost of the shape now in use. At the top, where in the modern stirrup is the loop for the strap, there is a quadrangular plate, pierced with four holes, by means of which there was probably attached to it either the strap itself, or possibly a second plate, now wanting, to which the strap was fixed. The only decoration on the stirrup is on the front of this plate, and consists of two serpentine monsters facing each other and twisted upon themselves. The silver wire with which the design was traced has now almost entirely disappeared, and only the empty lines remain. It is purely Scandinavian in style, and strongly resembles the ornament engraved in the bottom of a silver bowl from Gotland, figured in Dr. Hildebrand's charming little *Handbook of Scandinavian Arts*, at p. 138. This figure shows also the peculiarity, seen in the animals on the stirrup, that the tails of the monsters divide into two, and each half forms curves independently of the other. In Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager* (1859), p. 116, fig. 481, is a stirrup, said to be of iron, of the same form, and with similar ornament on the upper plate. The plate itself is, however, not a simple square, but has the upper edge extended into a trefoil-headed point. In this respect it resembles the preceding figure, No. 480, on the same page, in which the plate for the strap is hooked through an oblong opening in the top of the stirrup. This stirrup is much longer in proportion and is triangular in form, not round like our specimen and Worsaae's

No. 481, and is evidently, moreover, made in a different fashion. So different is it in make, that it seems almost impossible that both are of hammered iron. The connection that there seems to be between these two forms, the round and the elongated triangle, induced me to bring this



2

Bronze stirrup found near Romsey, Hants (one-half linear).

evening rough drawings of two stirrups of the triangular form preserved in the Museum, one of which was found in the Thames and the other in the Witham, at Lincoln. They are of iron, and the hoop at each side widens at the base into a broad square plate, ornamented with spiral patterns inlaid in brass on a roughly hatched ground. This design is so peculiar that we have had some hesitation in assigning the stirrups to any precise period or country. It seems probable, however, from their strong likeness to the specimen in the Copenhagen Museum, that they are, like it, of Scandinavian make, and doubtless of about the same period of manufacture.

Ornament of the same kind as that upon Mr. Cook's stirrup is frequently met with on antiquities of northern origin found in this country. A spearhead preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle has a silver-plated socket with serpentine animals, and another, found in the county of Durham, with other iron weapons, is similarly ornamented. This latter specimen remains in private hands. Though of a somewhat later date, the ornament upon the pastoral staff found in the tomb of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham (1099-1128), is precisely of this character. A representation of it is given in *Archaeologia*, xlv. p. 388, pl. xxxi.

The antiquaries of Sweden and Norway are now giving considerable attention to the antiquities of this interesting period in the history of their country and our own, and it is to be hoped that before long we may see a comprehensive account of the ample material at their disposal, which has been brought to light in great measure by the energy of Dr. Stolpe.

*Notes on a Danish sword-hilt found near Wallingford.*

---

November 25th, 1886. John Evans, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President, exhibited and communicated the following notes on a Danish sword-hilt found near Wallingford :

The fragment of a sword which I exhibit this evening was found some ten or twelve years ago at or near Wallingford, and was added to my collection by my son, Mr. Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A. Unfortunately the greater part of the blade had disappeared when he obtained the relic, and what remained of the iron or steel portion of the weapon was much oxidized, so that the silver plates with which the upper and lower guards of the hilt were decorated had become detached. Of the pommel, which was likewise in silver, only some fragments had been preserved. Enough, however, remained to show the shape and character ; so that the restoration, which has been skilfully effected by Mr. W. Talbot Ready, may, I think, be trusted as showing the original form of the whole hilt. What remains of the blade is about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by about 2 in. broad.

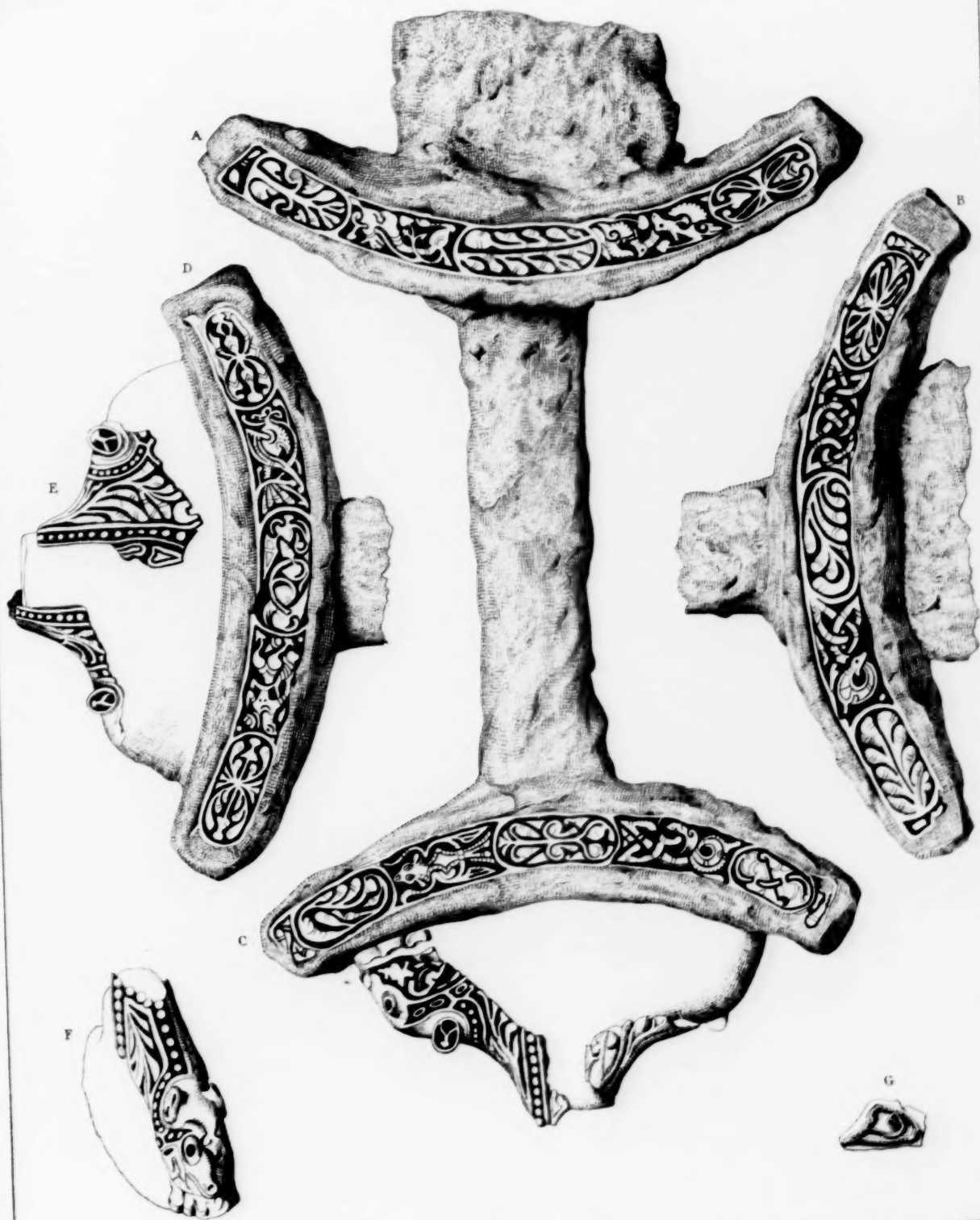
The guards above and below the actual grip for the hand curve upwards and downwards respectively, the upper being about five inches in extreme length and the lower about four and a-half. On the sides of the guards are highly-ornamented silver plates, each of which differs from the others in the details of its design, though in general features they resemble each other. The design is in each case divided into five nearly equal lengths, and in the centre and at both ends of every plate is a round-ended or quasi-oval compartment, the intermediate spaces being filled in with highly artistic devices.

It will perhaps be well briefly to describe these plates, the engraving of which was apparently heightened by niello, of which traces remain.

Upper guard No. 1. (A in plate.) The three oval compartments are filled with designs differing from each other and from those on No. 2, but bearing the same general character. The spaces between them are filled with zoomorphic patterns, difficult of description. That on the left shows a quadruped with a branched and leafy tail, some portions of which pass over its back and through its neck. Its position on the guard is with the back of the animal towards the hand. The other figure appears to be that of a dragon twisted into an S-like form, and with a head and wings at each end.

Upper guard No. 2. (B.) The compartments are filled with scroll and leaf patterns, and the intermediate spaces are filled, the one with an interlaced band with a central fret, and the other with a dragon having its tail in a triangular interlacing knot, and the head turned back.

Lower guard No. 1. (C) The three compartments are again filled with different designs, that on the right being possibly zoomorphic. In the space on the left is a curious animal with a dog-like head lying between its two fore paws ; over the back is a semicircular ring connecting the fore legs ; behind appear to be two wings with a bird's tail between them. In the right-hand space is an interlaced figure, apparently that of a dragon.



DANISH SWORD-HILT FOUND AT WALLINGFORD.  
(Full size)





Lower guard No 2 (D.) The three compartments are again differently ornamented. That in the centre has a peculiar design, possibly zoomorphic. The space on the left is filled with a pattern in which can be traced the outlines of a bird. On the right is a human figure holding a branch in his right hand. The body is turned to the right and the head to the left. There is some appearance of a wing over the left shoulder.

The pommel (E, F), which is broad and flattened, is unfortunately very imperfect. The outline of each side has formed an ogee curve. The ends next the guard are in the shape of animals' heads, like those of squirrels, the ears of which are oval, with three sunk triangular spaces upon them. Behind the ears is a beaded band, which is continued up the side of the pommel. Two similar bands have run down each of the faces of the pommel; outside them it has been ornamented with a foliated pattern. Too little remains of the pommel between the bands to determine the character of its ornamentation.

Judging from the form of the hilt and the style of its decoration, there can be little doubt that it is of Scandinavian rather than Saxon manufacture. At the same time I am unable to find an exactly analogous example. The sword from the river Witham near Lincoln, engraved in *Horæ Ferales* (Plate xxvi. 5), has the guards and pommel of nearly the same form as mine, but the lower guard is shorter in proportion, and the ornamentation is of a quite different character. The pommel of a Viking<sup>a</sup> sword found in the island of Eigg is similar to mine in outline, but differs from it entirely in details.

The curved guards find somewhat of a parallel in a sword from Scania<sup>b</sup> in the Stockholm Museum, but the decoration is quite different.

Another sword in the Stockholm Museum<sup>c</sup> has the curved guards and pommel ending in animals' heads, so as in general character much to resemble that from Wallingford. It is, however, ornamented with silver, inlaid in the iron in fine lines and points, and not by means of silver plates.

With the sword there was a small fragment of a thin gold plate (G), which adheres to a piece of rusted iron. It is only  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch long and  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch broad, and comes to an acute angle at one end, as if it had, when perfect, fitted in a triangular recess. The surface is ornamented with a roughly triangular compartment enclosing a spiral, the ornament being formed of flat wire with a cable pattern on one edge, which has been burnt on to the plate. It is hard to say to what part of the sword this plate belonged. It may, moreover, have been a decoration of the scabbard. On a somewhat similar pommel, however, also terminating in animals' heads, preserved in the British Museum, is a central plate of gold ornamented with filagree work. This pommel, which is probably Danish, was found in the Seine at Paris.

As already observed, this sword is Scandinavian or Danish rather than Saxon in character, and from its style of ornament it must be assigned to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the

<sup>a</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. xii. Pl. xxx.

<sup>b</sup> *Aarbög. for Oldkynd.* 1880, p. 347.

<sup>c</sup> *Montelius Antiquités Suédoises*, fig. 506.

eleventh century. It becomes, therefore, a question of interest whether we can in any way connect the occurrence of such a relic at Wallingford with any of the Danish invasions recorded in history; and it is satisfactory to find, that so far as the presence of the Danes at that inland town is concerned, there is not the slightest difficulty.

In July 1006 it is recorded that an innumerable fleet of Danish ships landed at Sandwich, and the warriors it brought ravaged parts of Kent and Sussex, and when attacked by Æthelred retreated to their ships, from time to time renewing their plundering expeditions. In the autumn they brought great booty to the Isle of Wight, and thence made an incursion at Christmas through Hants into Berks, burning the towns of Reading, Wallingford, and Cholsey.<sup>a</sup>

Again, in the year 1013, king Sweyn and his army, when unsuccessful in their siege of London, retreated to Wallingford,<sup>b</sup> and so over the Thames westward to Bath, burning and harrying by the way in their accustomed manner.

Of one or other of these expeditions it seems most probable that the sword before us is a relic; and it is satisfactory to find that a date, assigned on purely archaeological grounds, so accurately accords with that which must be attributed to it upon historical evidence.

<sup>a</sup> *Flor. Wig.—Hen. Huntend.—Ang. Sax. Chron. s. a. 1006.*

<sup>b</sup> *Opp. citt. s. a. 1013.*

# INDEX.

## A.

- Abbey churches, *see* "Battle," "Cleeve," "Glastonbury," "Meaux," "Sawtre," "Tyrone," "Waltham"
- Account books of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, 22
- Acre, definition of, at Malmesbury, 434-435
- Adam, resurrection of, ornamentation subject on cross at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471
- Addubatum, use of word, 470
- Ægil, the sun-archer of Teutonic myth, place named from, 81
- Affuratores of Aylesbury, 94, 103
- Agriculture, common field system at Bottesford, 374, 382; at Malmesbury, 427, 437  
— *see* "Meadow," "Pasture"
- Alamandinae, garnet sometimes so called, 524
- Albigenses, sect of the, 306
- Aldeborne manor, burgesses in Cricklade belonging to, 208
- Aldeburgh (Margery de) will of (1391), 183
- Alderman, chief officer of Malmesbury, 428, 434
- Aldhelm, work of at Malmesbury, 425
- Ale-tasters of Aylesbury, 103
- Alexander III., Pope, charters by to Wells, 315, 316, 353; confirmation of the possessions of the church at Bath by, 353-355
- Alford (Theophilus), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street (1660), 32-33
- Alfred (laws of), pre-emption in, 209
- Alien monasteries in Somersetshire, 360  
— priories, seizure of by Edward III. 254
- Alienation of lands at Malmesbury, 436-438
- Alleys, in the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, 17, 33
- Allington, possession of Hamble priory in, 253
- Altar, dedications of, to be recorded, 70
- Amber beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- Ambresbury, religious foundation at, by Henry II. 302
- Ambrose (St.), representation of, on seal, 126
- American Indians, common rights of food amongst, 197
- Amphitheatre, Roman, at Silchester, 266
- Ampullae, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 467
- Ancestral shares of village community, 207
- Ancholme, river, old channel of the, 361, 368-369
- Andrew (St.), relics of belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453  
— representations of, 119, 165
- Angelo (Michael), arrangement of Fasti Capitolini by, 236, 245
- Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 383-406  
— church at Deerhurst, 66-71  
— villeins, holdings of, 207
- Anglo-Saxons, growth of new communities amongst the, 200  
— method of settlement in Britain, 214  
— conquest of Malmesbury district by, 423, 424
- Animal bones discovered in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 388

- Animal tooth used as pendant, discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves, 391
- Anney (Richard de), grants of to Hamblepriory, 253
- Aquae Solis, road from Silchester to, 266
- Archer (Dr.), Archdeacon of Taunton and of Wells, 295
- Archery butts at Bottesford, 377
- Architecture, fifteenth century, 283
- , Norman, in Italy, 409-419
- , Roman, near Lake of Nemi, 64-65
- , Saxon, at Deerhurst, 66-71
- of Lichfield cathedral, 14
- of the Regia at Rome, 247-250
- of Wells cathedral, 339-344
- of Westminster Hall, 5-8
- Ardleigh Manor belonging to St. Paul's, 487
- Areste, cloth of, 480
- Argentum fractum, 519
- Aricina (Diana), temple of, 58-65
- Armillæ, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- Armour of Sir Philip Hinckaert, fifteenth century, 79-80
- *see* "Helmet"
- Armourers' and Braziers' Company, mazer belonging to, 137, 171-172
- Arms of Thomas Ballard, 151, 152
- Beauchamp, 141
- Cotes family, 137, 174
- Hinckaert, 73
- Ironmongers' Company, London, 161
- unknown, on mazer, 172
- Arras cloth, 480
- Arrow-head mark used by masons, 2-3
- Art, fifteenth century, 283, 284, 286
- Artemisium (the), excavations on supposed site of, 58-65
- Arthurian legend, publication of, 310
- Arundel (Richard, earl of), will of (1392), 183
- Arval records, inscribed on walls of temple at Rome, 236
- Ascension, representation of at Friskney, 281-283
- Asia Minor, masons' mark in, 3
- Assault, actions for, in manor court, 100, 101, 372, 375
- Assembly, the, at Malmesbury, 432
- Assistants of Malmesbury, 430, 431, 434
- Athelstan (King), grants to Malmesbury by, 427, 433, 437
- ATKINSON (ALFRED), Notes on an ancient boat found at Brigg, 361-370
- Atrium, use of the word, 243-244
- Atrium Vestæ, meaning of, 243-245
- Augustine (St.), representation of, on seal, 124
- Augustinian canons, monasteries of in Somersetshire, 360
- Aulescomb, church of granted to Wells cathedral church, 357
- Australian tribes, common rights of food amongst, 197
- Axe, representation of on sepulchral stones, 202
- Axe, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403
- Aylesbury, manor of, 81-103

## B.

- Badge, party, seventh century, 293
- of Plantagenets, 503
- Bakers, licensed by manor court of Aylesbury, 96
- Baldwyn (Sir John), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 87
- Ballard (Thomas), arms of, 151, 152
- Banewel, villa of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Barbers, wills of (1392), 183
- Baret (John), will of (1463), 189
- Bari, town of in Italy, 409-413, 417, 419
- Barletta, town of in Italy, 416
- Barns, repair of, presentment of owners for, 372
- Barrow (North), church of, granted to Wells, 327, 328, 359

- Barrow (South), grants at, to Wells cathedral, 359
- Bartholomew (St.), dedications to, 294
- Barton, home farm of, granted to Wells, 326
- Basilica, Roman, excavated at Silchester, 267
- Basket-work figures of men on sculptured stones, 286-294
- Basons, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, (1245), 443-444, 469
- Bassock, a thick peat used for fuel, 375, 379, 382
- Bath, site of Aquae Solis, 266  
 — Reginald Fitzjocelin, bishop of (1174-1191), 295-360  
 — church of, grants to, *see* "Banewel," "Cedre," "Cherleton," "Chyn," "Dorkemfeld," "Evercrez," "Gatinton," "Hiwis," "Kingsbere," "Lidiard"
- Baths, Roman, excavation of at Silchester, 272-280
- Battle of Wakefield, 22
- Battle Abbey, mazers at, 130; plate in the frater, 186
- "Battle-stones," stones so-called at Checkley, 286, 292
- Baudekins, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 450-451, 491
- Bavaria, succession custom in, 204
- Bay trees, sacred, in the Regia at Rome, 240
- Bead-necklets, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- Beads, amber, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404  
 — bone, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403  
 — glass, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404  
 — porcelain, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396  
 — seed capsules used for, in Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 387
- Beates, digging of, presentment against in manor court, 372
- Beauchamp arms, on mazer, 141
- Beaukaire (William), payments to at funeral of Edward II. 217, 220
- Becket (Thomas à), attestation of to charter of Henry II. 252, 259  
 — incidents relating to, 297, 298, 299, 300  
 "Becket's shoe-buckle," stone so-called, 142
- Beehive houses in Italy, 407
- Beer, fines for selling contrary to assize, 372
- Beket (Nicholas), agreement with, by Hamble priory, *temp.* Henry III. 253, 259.
- Belchamp manor belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 489
- Bell (Richard), episcopus Karliolensem (1478), 189
- Benedict (St.), representation of, 168
- Benedictine abbey at Hamble, 251  
 — monasteries in Somersetshire, 360
- Benedictionale, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 498, 499
- Benetson (William), will of (1392), 183
- Berkeley (Thomas de), custody of Edward II. by, 216, 218, 221
- Berkeley Castle, death of Edward II. at, 215-226
- Berkshire, *see* "Newbury," "Wallingford," "Windsor"
- Berling Manor, belonging to St. Paul's, 486
- Bertram (St.), residence of at Ilam, 294
- Bibles belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 496
- Bid-ales, archaic origin of, 197
- Bigberry Hill, triangular bricks discovered at, 422
- Binding, *see* "Book Covers"
- Birch rod, mark used by masons, 4
- Bird-dragons, sculptured on stones at Checkley and Ilam, 289, 290
- Bishop (William), testimony of to murder of Edward II. 219
- Bishops, foreign, holding the See of Somerset, 297



- Bitonto, town of in Italy, 413, 419  
 Blackburn (Margaret), will of (1433), 186  
 Bladen, Caer, British fortress of, 422-424  
 Blaise (St.), relics of belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453  
 Blenkinsop (Alexander), will of (1442), 187  
 Blythe (Henry de), citizen and painter of York (1365), 182  
 Boat, ancient, found at Brigg, 361-370  
 Bodleian library, MS. of Pirrho Ligorio at, 250  
 Bohemond, prince of Antioch, tomb of, 416  
 Bohun (de), family of, 297  
 Bolton (Richard le Scrop, Lord), will of (1400), 185  
 Bone beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403  
 Bonneville (Richard de), grant of to Wells cathedral church, 358  
 Bone spindle-whorl, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392  
 Book-covers, fifteenth century, 75  
 ——— hairy, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 497  
 Books given to priory of Bath, twelfth century, 307  
 ——— belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 457, 496-500, 523  
 ——— church, inventory of (1466), 36-37; (1542), 46; selling of, *temp.* Henry VIII. 20  
 ——— see "Defoe," "Dugdale," "Lingard," "Music," "Rapin"  
 Borough of Aylesbury, parliamentary representation of, 88  
 ——— of Malmesbury, history of as a village community, 421-438  
 Borough-English, custom of, 195, 211-214  
 Boston, gild of St. Mary, 191  
 Bottesford, manor records of, 371-382  
 Boundaries, fixing of, in Ireland, 212  
 ——— of manors intermixed, 378  
 ——— of township and manor, 371  
 Bovey, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358  
 Bowls, drinking, or mazers, 129-193  
 Bowls, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 395  
 Bowyer (Margaret), lady of Bottesford manor (1591), 381  
 Boy-bishop, ceremonial of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 446-447, 448, 472-473, 480  
 Bozun (Simon), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 358  
 Bracelets, amber and glass, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 392  
 ——— leathern, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 387  
 ——— wire, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392  
 Brackens used for bedding for cattle, 377  
 Bradenstoke priory, rights of, in church of Cheddar, 358  
 Brahminism, influence of, on property, 204  
 Braikenridge (W. Jerdone), mazer belonging to, 169, 170  
 Brasiatores, in manor of Aylesbury, 103  
 Braunston manor, custom of, 208  
 Brereton (Richard), will of (1557), 193  
 Brette (Johan), will of (1496), 190  
 Breviarium, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 452, 499  
 Brewers, in manor of Aylesbury, 103  
 Bricks, triangular, discovered at Malmesbury, 422  
 Bride-ales, archaic origin of, 197  
 Brigg, ancient boat found at, 361-370  
 Brindisi, churches of, 418-419  
 Bristol, wills and inventories of inhabitants, 182  
 British camp at South Kyme, 383  
 ——— earthworks at Silchester, 265, 266  
 ——— remains discovered at Sleaford, 383  
 British Museum, book in, 496; book in, once belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 452  
 ——— sword, Scandinavian, in, 530, 531, 535  
 Brito (Simon), grant of, to church, for murder of Becket. 317  
 Britons, evidence as to clothing of, 292  
 Brixedone, grant of a hide of land at, 252

- Brocas (Sir Bernard), farmer of Hamble priory (1394), 254, 258
- Brodie, sculptured stone at, 292
- Brokenburgh, near Malmesbury, 423
- Bromfield, church of, granted to Wells cathedral, 357
- Bronze, armillae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- bowl, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 395
- buckle, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 396, 403
- buttons, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392
- clasps, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400
- doors to church at Trani, 414; to tomb at Canosa, 416
- earring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
- fibulae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 398
- girdle-hanger, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 399, 406
- objects (Roman), found near Lake of Nemi, 65
- pendant, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 397
- pins, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 394, 397, 399, 404, 406
- rings, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 393, 394, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406
- stirrup, Scandinavian, found at Mottesfont, 532-533
- tweezers, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 393, 395, 397, 401, 403
- Bronze-gilt fibula, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
- Brooches, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 388
- BROWNE (Rev. G. F., B.D.), on basket-work figures of men represented on sculptured stones, 286-294
- Brugge (Walter de), canon of York (1396), 184
- Brussels, castle of Tervueren near, 74
- Buchan (David, earl of), signet belonging to, 105, 106, 108
- Bucket, framework of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 395, 402, 406
- portions of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393
- Buckingham, the "Three Cups," inn sign in, 85
- Buckingham (George, marquis of), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 88
- Buckinghamshire, *see* "Aylesbury"
- Buckland, Durham, grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 356
- Buckle, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 396, 403
- iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404
- Buclermaker, will of (1400), 185
- Building agreement, earliest example of, 253, 259
- Bull of Innocent II. relative to priory at Hamble, 252
- Bullen (Sir William), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 87
- Burcelles, a manor roll word, 374, 380
- Burgesses belonging to manors, 208
- Burgh (Bernard de), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
- Burial in churchyards in London (1665), 33
- Burial-ground of Wells cathedral, statute concerning, 338-339
- Burial-place, *see* "Cemetery"
- Burmah, land inalienable in, 204
- Bury, wills of inhabitants of, 186, 190, 191, 193
- Buticlarus, definition of, 348
- Butler (Theobald le), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 83, 92
- Butlers (Earls of Ormond), pedigree of, 92
- Buttons, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392
- Byzantine influence on northern architecture, 408-420

## C.

- Caen, hall of the exchequer at, 3
- Caer Bladon, near Malmesbury, 422-424
- Caer Dur, near Malmesbury, 422-424
- Caer Segonte, British name of Silchester, 265
- Cæsar (Julius), as Pontifex Maximus, 240-241  
— remains of villa built by, 60
- Cairns, Anglo-Saxon, *see* "Stone Cists"
- Caistor, Roman station of, 370
- Calefactoria belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
- Calendar, Roman, materials for kept at the Regia, 236
- Calendar, preserved at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, *temp.* Henry VIII. 19
- Caligula, incident in life of, 60; villa of near Civita la Vigna, 61
- Calleva Atrebatum, site of at Silchester, 265
- Calvely (Antony), will of (1562-3), 193
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, mazer at, 136, 144-146, 157-158, 161, 165  
— Pembroke College, foundation of, 512; mazers at, 133, 136, 152-153  
— St. John's College, Irish MS. Psalter at, 292
- Cambridgeshire, *see* "Ely"
- Came (William), will of (1496), 190
- Camp, British, at South Kyme, 383
- Camville family, grant by, 336, 337
- Camville (Richard de), gift of to Wells cathedral church, 356
- Canal, Roman, near Sleaford, 384
- Candelabra belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 468; (1445), 457, 521
- Candlestick, Egyptian alabaster, at Canosa, 416
- Canosa, town of, in Italy, 415-416, 419
- Canterbury, triangular bricks discovered near, 422  
— archbishops of, disputes with Baldwin, 319, 320; election of Reginald, 321  
— cathedral, crypt altars in, 71; burning of the choir at (1174), 303
- Canterbury, mazers at, 129, 132, 133, 143-144  
— Christchurch priory, mazers belonging to, 176-181  
— St. John's hospital, mazers at, 143-144, 146, 171
- Canvas, use of, fifteenth century, 507
- Capital burgesses of Malmesbury, 430, 434
- Cardinals' seals, sixteenth century, 118-128
- Carlele (John, of York), will of (1390), 182
- Carnarvonshire, *see* "Clynnog"
- Carpenter, will of (1441), 187
- Carthampton, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Carthusian Order, first house of, in England, 302; monastery in Somersetshire, 360
- Castle near Bari, in Italy, 417, 418  
— near Brussels, 74  
— *see* "Windsor"
- Castor, *see* "Durobrivæ"
- Cataldus (St.), buried at Taranto, 417
- Cathari, sect of the, 306
- Cathedral church funds, Wells, 315
- Catherine (St.), representation of, on seal, 119
- Cattle, rights of property in, Ireland, 211
- Cattle, diseased, selling of, presented in Aylesbury manor court, 101; orders of manor court against, 372, 379, 380, 382
- Cedre, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Cellini (Benvenuto), seals ascribed to, 118, 122, 123, 126-127
- Celtic church in Wilts, 424  
— strongholds in Wilts, 421-425
- Celtic, *see* "British"
- Cemetery, Anglo-Saxon, at Sleaford, 383-406
- Cenae Pontificum, probable scene of the, at Rome, 240
- Cenis, Mont, fortresses on to be ceded to Henry II. 301, 302
- Censers, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
- Centuries, corporation of Malmesbury divided into, 427

- Cerde, church and manor of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Ceylon, custom of inheritance in, 208
- Chairs, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447-448, 474
- Chalices belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 442, 464-466; (1402) 455, 512
- Chancellors' roll, Edward III. entry of moneys for expenses of Edward II. on, 216, 217, 223-226
- Chandler (Thomas), chancellor of Wells (1454), 296
- Chandos (Maude de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 359
- Charcoal discovered in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 387; among Roman remains at Silchester, 274
- Charles I. diamond of, 112-115, 117  
— events of his reign in London, 23-24
- Charles II. events of his reign in London, 29-32  
— letters of, 113-115
- Charters at Wells, 315-316  
— Anglo-Saxon, pre-emption in, 210  
— municipal, of Wells, 312, 350
- Chasubles belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 449, 454, 457, 482-484
- Chatelaines, discovered at Sleaford, *see* "Girdle-hangers"
- CHEALES (REV. HENRY JOHN, M.A.), on the mural paintings in All Saints church, Friskney, Lincolnshire, 281-286
- Checkley, sculptured stones at, 286-294
- Cheddar, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Cherleton, land at, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Cheshire, *see* "Sandbach"
- Chieftainship, succession to, 211
- Childcompton, church of, granted to Wells cathedral, 357
- Chillenden (Adam de), prior of Canterbury 1263-1274, 178
- Christ, representations of, at Friskney, 281, 282, 284
- Christianity, influence of, on property, 204
- CHURCH (REV. C. M., M.A., F.S.A.), on Reginald, bishop of Bath 1174-1191; his episcopate and his share in the building of the church of Wells, 295-359
- Church, growth of town round the, at Wells, 311
- Church-building, twelfth century, by Reginald, bishop of Bath, 307; fifteenth century, 283
- Church goods, inventories of, at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 19-20, 34-48
- Church-plate, mazers included amongst, 134, *see* "Plate"
- Church of England, importance of parochial institutions to, 24
- Churches, *see* "Aulescomb," "Barrow," "Bath," "Bovey," "Brindisi," "Bromfield," "Canterbury," "Carthampton," "Ceddre," "Childcompton," "Chyu," "Clynnog," "Colchester," "Cudworth," "Deerhurst," "Dorkemefield," "Dowliswake," "Ely," "Epworth," "Evercrez," "Exeter," "Fairford," "Friskney," "Henstridge," "Hiwis," "Holcombe," "Hornchurch," "Hound," "Kingsbere," "Lameia," "Lichfield," "Lideford," "Lincoln," "London," "Lovinton," "Pilton," "Shalford," "South Brent," "Stowey," "Taon," "Timberscombe," "Walenton," "Warminster," "Wells," "Winchester," "Wivelscumb," "World-ham," "Wynesford," "York"
- Churches, Italian (eastern coast), 407-420
- Churchwardens, ordinances of, at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 20, 48
- Chyu, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 353
- Ciphi de mazerio, 129
- Cirencester, survival of ancient constitution at, 438  
— site of Corinium, 266
- Cistercian monastery in Somersetshire, 360
- Clare (Lady Elizabeth de Burgh), will of (1355), 182
- CLARKE (SOMERS, F.S.A.), on the west side of Westminster Hall, 9-16

- Clasps, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400  
 ——— bronze gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 402  
 ——— gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 400, 403, 404, 405  
 Cleeve Abbey, founding of, 317  
 Clement III. Pope, charter by to Wells, 316  
 Clerk, duties of, at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 21, 49  
 Clerk-ales, archaic origin of, 197  
 Cloth, church vestments of (1466), 38, 39  
 ——— *see* "Arras," "Canvas," "Fustian," "Rains," "Worsted"  
 Clothing, early British, evidence as to, 292  
 Cluniac monastery in Somersetshire, 360  
 Clyde, the, prehistoric boats found in, 370  
 Clyfford (John de), will of (1392), 183  
 Clynnog church, mazer belonging to, 155  
 Coinage, argentum fractum, 519; *see* "Sterling"  
 Coins (Roman), found near Lake of Nemi, 65;  
     at Silchester, 274; near Sleaford, 384, 387,  
     390, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403, 404  
 Colchester, Holy Trinity church, mazer belonging to, 156  
 Cologne, the master of, paintings by, 79  
 Comb, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443  
 Common field system at Bottesford, 374, 382; at Malmesbury, 427, 437  
 Common Pleas, court of, at Westminster, 15  
 Commoners of Malmesbury, 430, 431, 434  
 Communal rights in food, 197; property, 198; worship, 197-198  
 Conesby (William), will of (1441), 187  
 Congresbury, legendary bishop of, 296  
 Constables of Aylesbury, 91, 97  
 Constantine, coins of discovered at Sleaford, 387  
 Constantinople, masons' mark in, 3  
 Conveyance of alien priories, deeds necessary for, 256-257  
 Cook, will of a (1501), 191  
 Cooke (Charles), lord of manor of Little Carlton (1603), 382  
 Cooke (Sir Robert), will of (1537), 193  
 Co-parceny tenancy in Domesday, 205  
 Copenhagen museum, stirrup, Scandinavian, in 533  
 Copes, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 448, 449, 454, 475-480  
 Corato, town of, in Italy, 418  
 Corbeil, abbot of St. Exuperius at, 348  
 Cordwayner, fine for keeping a, at Bottesford, 376  
 Corinium, road from Silchester to, 266  
 Cornwall, succession custom in, 204  
 ———, *see* "Totnes"  
 Coronation of Henry, son of Henry II. 329; of Richard I. 318, 329-330  
 Corrody of monks of Hamble, 253-255, 260-262  
 Cotes family, arms of, 137, 174  
 Coventry, gild of Holy Trinity, 187  
 Crace collection, plan of Westminster Hall in, 11  
 Crania, Anglo-Saxon, at Sleaford, 388  
 Cremation, Anglo-Saxon, at Sleaford, 386  
 Crich, SS. Nicholas and Katherine church, mazers belonging to, 135  
 Crichelade, burgesses of, belonging to Aldeborne manor, 208  
 Criminal jurisdiction at Wells, 312  
 Crismatoria, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 468  
 Cromwell (Oliver), opposition to, in London, 28  
 Crosses, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 455, 456, 457, 471, 514, 519, 520  
 Crown of Robert Guiscard preserved at Bari, 412  
 Crown-property and rights, selling of by Richard I. 318  
 Croydon, Whitgift's Hospital, mazer belonging to, 164  
 Crucifixion, fifteenth century, picture of, 78  
 Cruciform fibula, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405  
 Cruets, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443



Crystal, known as Becket's shoe-buckle, 142  
 Cucking-stool in Aylesbury manor, 99  
 ——— order for making at Bottesford,  
 375, 378  
 Cudworth, church of, granted to Wells cathedral  
 church, 357  
 Cumberland, manor customs in, 206  
 Cuming (Mr. H. Syer), mazer belonging to, 137,  
 174  
 Cumton, *villa* of, in possession of Bath cathedral  
 (1179), 354  
 Cuppa de mazer, 129  
 Curry, North, grant of manor of, to Wells cathe-  
 dral, 319  
 Curry (Dr.), purchase of signet of Queen Mary  
 by, 110

D.

Dale, a division or baulk between common field  
 lands, 377  
 Dalton (Richard de), barber of York (1392), 183  
 Damask, church vestments of (1466), 37, 38, 39,  
 41, 43, 44; (1542), 46, 47  
 Danes, Wallingford burnt by, 536  
 ——— influence of at Malmesbury, 435  
 ——— sword-hilt found near Wallingford, 534-  
 536  
 Dantre (John), will of (1459), 188  
 Darcy (Sir John), payments to, for funeral of  
 Edward II. 221-222  
 Davenport (John), vicar of St. Stephen's, Cole-  
 man Street, London (1624), 18, 23  
 Debt, actions for in manor court of Aylesbury,  
 95, 96  
 Dedication feast of Wells, 335  
 Dedications, church, near Ilam, in Staffordshire,  
 294  
 Deerhurst, Saxon chapel at, 66-71  
 Defoe's *History of the Plague*, 33  
 Derbyshire, *see* "Crich," "Hope"

Devonshire, *see* "Aulescomb," "Bovey," "Exe-  
 ter," "Holcombe Regis," "Lideford"  
 Diamond signet of Henrietta Maria, 104-115  
 Diana Aricina, shrine of, 58-65  
 Dinan (Goce de), grant of to Hamble priory, 253  
 Dionysius (St.), relics of, belonging to St. Paul's  
 cathedral (1245), 453  
 Diptych, fifteenth century, of Chevalier Philip  
 Hinckaert, 72-80  
 Dish, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral  
 (1245), 443  
 Divus Julius, temple of, at Rome, 235  
 Dogs, fines for keeping unlawful, 376  
 Domesday, burgesses belonging to manors in,  
 208  
 ——— right of pre-emption mentioned in, 210  
 ——— co-parceny tenancy in, 205  
 ——— record of Malmesbury, 429, 438; of Slea-  
 ford, 383  
 Domestic worship, 198  
 Doncaster, wills of citizens of, 191  
 Dorkemefeld, church and manor of, in possession  
 of Bath cathedral, 354  
 Dorsetshire, *see* "Stockwood"  
 Douce (Francis), letters of, to Thomas Kerrick,  
 104-105, 107  
 Dover, maison de Dieu, 192  
 Dowlishwake, church of, granted to Wells cathe-  
 dral church, 358  
 Dragons, sculptured on stones at Checkley, 289  
 Drainage, manor court orders for, *see* "Sanitary"  
 Drapenyng, action for, in manor court of Ayles-  
 bury, 97  
 Drinking bowls or mazers, 129-193  
 Duffield (William), canon of York (1452), 188  
 Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, corrections of,  
 460-464  
 Dur, Caer, British fortress of, 422-424  
 Durham, mazers at, 130, 133, 134  
 Durham priory, plate in the frater, 187  
 Durham, *see* "Buckland," "Finchale"  
 Durobrivae, road from to Lincoln, 384  
 Dynham (Oliver de), gift of to Wells cathedral  
 church, 356

## E.

- Eagles, bronze and steel, found at Silchester, 267
- Earring-beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 392, 394, 397
- Earrings, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389
- silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 402
- Earthworms, work of, at Silchester, 271
- Eastwick (John de), painter, *temp.* Edward III. 221
- Ebro, buildings on the, 2, 3
- Edith (St.), pillow belonging to, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471
- Edward the Confessor, buildings of, at Westminster, 5
- Edward I., wardrobe accounts of, quoted, 176
- Edward II., death and burial of, 215-226
- Edward III., seizure of alien priories by, 254, 256
- Eels, basket used for catching, 374
- Egidio of Viterbo, cardinal, seal of, 124, 127
- Eigg (island of), Viking sword found in, 535
- Elding, small sticks for fuel, 378, 380
- Elephant, sculptured on stones in Scotland, 292
- pillar supports in Italian churches, 410
- Elizabeth (Queen), bedchamber of, at Westminster, 15
- Ely, mason's mark in cathedral, 3
- Embroidery on church vestments (1402), 454-455; (1466) 37, 38, 41; (1542), 47
- Carolingian period, ornamentation on, 289
- Enfield (John de), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
- Engraving, early examples of, preserved at Bari, 413
- Enichmus, a precious stone, 524
- Episcopal revenue, 326
- Epworth church, mazer belonging to, 165
- Erkenwald (St.), shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 444, 456, 469
- Ermine Street, course of, in Lincolnshire, 369
- Essex, junior right in, 214
- Essex, *see* "Ardleigh," "Berling," "Colchester," "Hornchurch," "Prittlewell," "Saffron Walden," "Shalford," "Tillingham," "Waltham"
- Essex (Geoffrey Fitz Piers, earl of), 82, 85
- Essex (Henry Bouchier, earl of), possession of Aylesbury by, 86
- Este (Hippolito d'), cardinal, seal of, 126-127
- Esyngwald (Robert), will of (1443), 187
- Ethelbert (king), shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Ethelbert of Kent, superstition of, as to house, 198
- EVANS (JOHN, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., President), on a Danish sword-hilt found near Wallingford, 534-536
- Evercrez, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Excavations in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 383-406
- Exchequer, court of, at Westminster, 13
- Exeter, All Hallows church, mazer at, 162-163
- St. Petrock's church, mazer belonging to, 154
- Exuperius (St.), 348
- Eyes, diseases of, sapphire used for, 444, 469

## F.

- Fairford church, mazer belonging to, 156
- Fairs, grant of, to Wells, 311
- Family, house inalienable from, 198
- lands, sacredness of, 204
- property and status, 198-199
- Fan, peacock's feathers, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 452
- Farnese (Cardinal Alexander), preservation of monuments at Rome by, 236
- Fasti capitolini at Rome, 235-239
- Father, retirement of, in favour of son, 203

- Fayrfax (John), will of (1393), 183
- Feast, the seeking, a municipal custom at Malmesbury, 434
- Feasts, rural, archaic origin of, 197
- Female, kinship reckoned through, 213
- Festivals, church, in London, 22
- Fibulae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 388-406
- bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 398
- Fieschi (Mannel), letter from, on escape of Edward II. 216
- Fighting, presentments for, in manor of Bottesford, 373
- Finchale priory, mazer belonging to in (1311), 176
- Finger-rings, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 399, 403
- silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- Fire at Canterbury cathedral (1174), 303
- Fishing, manor presentments against, 374, 380; *see* "Eels"
- Fitz Geoffrey (John), lord of Aylesbury (1275), 83, 92
- Fitzherbert (Herbert), grant of to Hamble priory, 253
- Fitzjocelin (Reginald, bishop of Bath, 1174-1191), his episcopate and his share in building the church at Wells, 295
- Fitz John (Richard), lord of Aylesbury (1297), 83, 92
- Fitz Piers (Geoffrey), grant of Aylesbury to, 82, 92
- Fitz Piers (John), lord of Aylesbury (1227), 83, 90, 92
- Fitznurse (Robert), grant of to church for murder of Becket, 317
- Fitzwilliam (Lady Isabella), will of, 1348, 182
- Foliage scroll, on sculptured stones, 293
- Folk-lore, *see* "Hearth Worship," "Medicine," "Myth"
- Font, church, in Ilam, 294
- Fontaine collection, mazer from the, 168
- Food, common rights of, 197
- Fools, feast of, staff for the at St. Paul's cathedral, 446, 448, 472-473, 480
- Fordwich, right of pre-emption at, 210
- Forests submerged, found in Lincolnshire, 369
- Forfeiture of lands to the lord, in Bottesford manor, 373
- Fornellis (Alan de), grant of to Wells cathedral church, 357
- FORTNUM (C. DRURY E., V.P.S.A.), on some further notice of the diamond signet of Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I.; of the king's diamond; and of the sapphire signet believed to be that of Mary, queen of William III. 104-117
- on the seal of Andrea de Valle, A.D. 1517, with remarks on some other cardinals' seals of that period, ascribed to Lautizio of Perugia and to Cellini, 118-128
- Forty-eights, a section of Malmesbury corporation, 427, 430, 431
- Forum, Roman, excavated at Silchester, 267
- Founce of a mazer, 131
- France, Henry II.'s relations with, 298
- Franchises, municipal, at Wells, 312, 350-352
- Franks (Mr. A. W.), mazers belonging to, 137, 158, 164, 167, 168
- Frederick II. Emperor, castle built by, near Bari, 417-418
- Freedom, municipal, succession to by kinship, 206
- Freehold tenants, presentment of, at manor courts, 372; orders against in Bottesford manor court, 380
- Frere (Everard), of London (1460-1483), 172
- FRESHFIELD (EDWIN, LL.D., V.P.), on masons' marks at Westminster Hall, 1-4
- on some remarks upon the Book of Records and History of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, in the city of London, 17-57
- on certain churches on the eastern coast of Italy, 407-420
- Friskney, All Saints church, mural paintings in, 281-286

Frounce of a mazer, 131  
 Fuel, manor court orders for gathering at Bottesford, 378, 379  
 Funeral oblations, rights of, in India, 211  
 Fastian, church vestments of (1466), 38, 41; (1542), 46, 47; at St. Paul's cathedral, 521  
 Fylfot ornamentation on Anglo-Saxon fibula, 386

## G.

- Gannogiatore in manor of Aylesbury, 103  
 Gardener (John), will of (1506), 191  
 Garnet ornaments, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403  
 ——— ring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 400  
 Garrard (Robert), will of (1533), 191  
 Gatehouse, keeper of, at Westminster, 528-529  
 Gates, Roman, at Silchester, 266  
 Gatinton, land at, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354  
 Gaulish tombs, inscriptions on, 202  
 Gavelkind, custom of, 195, 211, 212  
 Geese, keeping of, regulations for at Bottesford, 376  
 Gems, *see* "Diamond," "Enichmus," "Garnet," "Jacinth," "Monile," "Peridot," "Sapphire," "Turquoise"  
 Geology of the Ancholme Valley, 368  
 George, the, worn by Charles I. on the scaffold, 114  
 George (St.) and Dragon, representation of, 171  
 German law of inheritance, archaic, 205  
 German (Samuel), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1622), 22  
 Germany, Henry II.'s relations with, 298  
 Gerrelin alias Hinckaert (Chevalier), miraculous incident in life of, 77  
 Giffard (William, bishop of Winchester, 1098-1128), grant by, 251  
 Gild of St. Mary, Boston, 191  
 ——— of Holy Trinity, Coventry, 187  
 Gild of St. Francis at Lynn, 188  
 ——— of Prittlewell, 193  
 ——— *see* "Guilds"  
 Gilt clasps, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405  
 ——— pin, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 402  
 Girdle-hangers, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 399, 405  
 ——— ivory, discovered at Sleaford, 386, 387, 393, 398, 402  
 Gist, taking to, fines for, at Bottesford, 375  
 Glasgow, prehistoric boats found near, 370  
 Glass beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404  
 ——— window, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 273  
 Glastonbury, abbey of, 308-310  
 ——— bishopric of, in connection with Bath, 305  
 Glaunvill (Hugh de), expenditure of, respecting Edward II. 217, 218, 221  
 Glenferness, sculptured stone at, 292  
 Gloucestershire, *see* "Bristol," "Cirencester," "Deerhurst," "Fairford"  
 Gloves belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447, 456, 474  
 Godwin (Francis), canon of Wells, bishop of Landaff, 296  
 Gold cloth belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 456  
 ——— leaf, use of, *temp.* Edward III. 221  
 Goldsmiths' work, *temp.* Edward III. 444  
 ——— sixteenth century, 122  
 GOMME (G. LAURENCE, F.S.A.), on archaic conceptions of property in relation to the laws of succession, and their survival in England, 195-214  
 ——— on the history of Malmesbury as a village community, 421-438  
 Gonzaga of Mantua (cardinal), seal of, 126  
 Goodwin (John), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1633), 19, 23, 24, 26-27, 32

Grammar school at Wells, 326  
 Graveyard on north side of church at Hamble, 251  
 GREEN (EVERARD, F.S.A.), remarks on the fifteenth century diptych of the Chevalier Philip Hinckaert, chastelain de Tervueren in Brabant, 72-80  
 Grey Friars, monastery founded at Aylesbury, 84  
 Grocer, will of (1437), 185  
 Guienne (Robert de), merchant of Bristol (1352), 182  
 Guilds, archaic nature of, 206; workmen's, twelfth century, 3; *see* "Gilds"  
 Gurney (Thomas), murder of Edward II. by, 219  
 Guy of Warwick, representation of, on mazer, 140-142

## H.

Hairy book-covers, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 497  
 Hamble, alien priory of St. Andrew at, 251-262  
 Hamerton (Sir Richard), will of (1480), 189  
 Hamey (Dr. Baldwin), presentation of ring to Charles II. by, 113  
 Hammer, use of, for killing the aged and infirm, 201  
 Hampshire, *see* "Allington," "Hamble," "Hound," "Itchen," "Mottisfont," "Silchester," "Soberton," "Southampton," "Winchester"  
 Hampton Court, Wren's drawings of, 9  
 Hanaps de mazer, 129  
 Harbledown hospital, mazers belonging to, 137, 138-143, 175  
 Harpetre (East), church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357  
 Harris, island of, joint ownership in, 205  
 Harvy (Alice), will of (1538), 193  
 Haselbury, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357  
 Hastang (Robert de), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217  
 Hawking, love of, by ecclesiastics, twelfth century, 298  
 Hawkins (Rev. W. Bentinck), signet-ring belonging to, 110  
 Hayward of Aylesbury, 102  
 Hearth worship, 198  
 Hebbels, a wooden bridge, 375  
 Hedge (John), will of (1504), 191  
 Helmets, fifteenth century, 285  
 Hemp, drying of, in chimneys, fined at Bottesford, 376, 378  
 Hemp dykes at Bottesford, 374-375  
 Henrietta Maria (Queen), signet-ring of, 104-112  
 Henry II. charters of, relative to monks of Hamble, 252; confirming pensions to monks of Tyrone, 252, 259; to Wells, 315  
 ——— relations of, with the Continent, 298, 301-302  
 ——— and Becket, 297-300, 302  
 Henry, son of Henry II. 314; coronation of, 329  
 Henry IV. royal treasury of, mazers in the (1399), 184  
 Henry V. alien priories dissolved by, 256  
 ——— plate belonging to, 132; in the royal treasury, 186  
 Henry VI. regalia, &c. of, 186  
 Henry VII. manor rolls of Aylesbury *temp.* 89  
 Henstridge, church of, belonging to Wells cathedral church, 356  
 Heraldic ornaments at St. Paul's cathedral, 455, 502  
 Hereford and Essex (Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of), mazer belonging to, 176  
 Herefordshire, *see* "Orleton"  
 Hide, acreage of the, twelfth century, 327  
 Hide of land granted, twelfth century, 251, 259  
 Hildersley (Mr. Alderman), actions of, against Charles I. 27, 31-32  
 Hinckaert (Chevalier Philip), diptych of, 72-80  
 Hindu law parallel to English custom, 432, 434  
 Hippolytus, foundation of the Artemisium by, 60



- Hiwis, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354  
 Holcombe Regis, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358  
 Holme (Henry), will of (1471), 189  
 Homestead, sacredness of, 204-209, 212  
 ——— primitive, survival of 'at Malmesbury, 434  
 Homilies, books of, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 497  
 HOPE (W. H. ST. JOHN), on the English medieval drinking bowls called mazers, 129-193  
 Hope, sculptured stone at, 294  
 Horace, description of journey from Rome to Brindisi by, 408, 420  
 Horn ring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391  
 Hornchurch, mazer belonging to parish church, 135, 193  
 Horns, ivory, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1295), 452  
 Horse-shoe pattern figured on Anglo-Saxon fibula, 390  
 Hottentots, custom of killing aged and infirm amongst, 201  
 Hound, chapel of, grant of to Hamble priory 252  
 Hounds, right of keeping, granted to bishop of Wells, 316  
 House, primitive land rights attached to, 207  
 ——— repairs, orders for, at Bottesford manor court, 379, 380  
 ——— sacredness of the, 198  
 ——— warming, archaic origin of, 197  
 House-mother, archaic position of, 208  
 Houses, beehive, in Italy, 407  
 ——— half-timbered, at Deerhurst, 67  
 ——— (Roman), excavations of, at Silchester, 266-272  
 Hugh of Avalon, appointment of, as prior at Witham, 301-302, 308  
 Hull, wills of inhabitants of, 189  
 Human sacrifices, offered in the Artemisium, 60  
 Humber, prehistoric condition of the, 569  
 Hundreds, corporation of Malmesbury divided into, 427, 434, 435  
 Hunting, right of, granted to bishop of Wells, *temp.* Richard I. 316  
 Hyrsell, a footpath, 376  
  
 I.  
 Iam, sculptured stones at, 286-294  
 Illuminated MSS., representation of Ascension in, 283  
 Images, inventory of, in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1466), 40-41  
 Imperial stuffs, 485  
 Incense-boats, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 467  
 India, joint rights of food in, 197  
 ——— position of house-mother in, 208  
 ——— primogeniture in, 213  
 Inc (laws of), pre-emption in, 209  
 Ingelbourne Castle, near Malmesbury, 423, 424  
 Inheritance, laws of, *see* "Succession"  
 Inn sign, the "Three Cups," in Buckingham, 85  
 Innholders, sanctioned by manor court of Aylesbury, 96, 103  
 Innocent II. bull of, relative to priory at Hamble, 252  
 Inscriptions on mazers, 131, 133  
 ——— (Roman), found near Lake of Nemi, 62-63  
 ——— (Saxon), discovered at Deerhurst, 69, 70  
 Insowlynge, outfall of a ditch or drain, 374  
 Inventories, early, mazers mentioned in, 176, 185, 188, 189, 191  
 ——— of St. Paul's cathedral, London, 439-524  
 ——— of church goods of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 19-20, 34-48  
 Ipswich (college of), plate belonging to, 191  
 Ireland, children called by mother's name in, 213

- Ireland, right of pre-emption in, 210  
 ——— division of property in, 211-212  
 ——— succession customs in, 204, 205  
 Irish MS. Psalter, at St. John's College, Cambridge, 292  
 Irish saint, Cataldus, buried at Taranto, 417  
 Iron axe, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 403  
 ——— buckle, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404  
 ——— key, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 397, 399, 400, 404, 406  
 ——— knives, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404  
 ——— rings, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 395, 396, 397, 402  
 ——— spear-heads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406  
 ——— stirrup, Scandinavian, found in Thames, 533; in Witham, 533  
 ——— sword, Danish, found near Wallingford, 534-536; Scandinavian, found in London, 530-532  
 ——— tweezers, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 405  
 Ironmongers' Company, London, mazers belonging to, 160-161  
 Isabella (Queen of Edward II.), burial of, 221  
 Italy, Henry II.'s relation with, 298  
 ——— eastern coast, churches on the, 407-420  
 Itchen, navigation of the, 254  
 Ivory chatelaines discovered at Sleaford, 386-387, 402  
 Ixworth, will of inhabitant of, 191
- J.
- Jacinth, a variety of the garnet, 490  
 Jewels at the shrine of St. Erkenwald, St. Paul's cathedral, 444  
 ——— of Charles I. 114  
 Joanna, representation of, at Friskney church, 285  
 Jocelin, bishop of Bath and Wells, 313; buildings by, 332-345  
 John (king), proposed marriage of when prince, 302  
 ——— charters of, to Malmesbury, 438  
 John (St.), painting of, fifteenth century, 78  
 John (St.) Baptist, representations of, 126, 165  
 Joseph, representation of, on seal, 123  
 Junior right, custom of, 195, 211-214
- K.
- Kafirs of Natal, common rights of food amongst, 197  
 ——— succession of youngest son amongst, 213  
 Kari (Robert de), grant by, to Wells cathedral church, 327  
 Kensington palace, Wren's drawings of, 9  
 Kent, junior right in, 214  
 ——— see "Bigberry Hill," "Canterbury," "Dover," "Fordwich," "Harbledown," "Rochester"  
 Kerrick (Thomas), letters from Francis Douce, 104-105  
 Kettell (Sir Richard), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1563), 18  
 Kexby (William de), precentor of York (1410), 185  
 Keys, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 396, 397, 399, 400, 404  
 ——— fragment of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391  
 King, duty of entertaining, in Ireland, 211

Kingsbere, church of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354  
 Kinross, succession custom in, 204  
 Kinship, the basis of archaic society, 195-214  
 ——— basis of, for membership of Malmesbury municipality, 431-432, 433  
 KIRBY (THOMAS F., M.A.), on the alien priory of St. Andrew Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester college in 1391, 251-262  
 Knives, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404  
 Kysby (Dr.), imprisonment of at Westminster, *temp.* Eliz. 529

## L.

Labour, travelling gangs of workmen in twelfth century, 3  
 Lace, church vestments of (1542), 47  
 Lagoon, pre-historic, in Lincolnshire, 369  
 Lake dwellings at Mörigen, ornaments from, 386  
 Lambert family, mazer belonging to, 175  
 Lambeth library, books in once belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 452  
 Lameia, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358  
 Lancashire, manor customs in, 206  
 ——— *see* "Bury," "Preston," "Salford"  
 Land, acre of, at Malmesbury, 434-435  
 ——— hide of, granted, twelfth century, 251  
 ——— use of the term at Malmesbury, 435-436  
 Landholders of Malmesbury, 430, 431, 434  
 Landholding at Malmesbury, 433-434  
 Langton (Eufemia, lady), will of (1463), 188  
 Latham (John), canon of Beverley (1476), 189  
 Laurence (St.), ribs preserved at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470  
 Lantizio of Perugia, seals ascribed to, 118, 122, 125, 127  
 Laws, Anglo-Saxon, of pre-emption, 209

Lead mining, grant of, to bishop of Wells, *temp.* Ric. I. 316  
 Leap, a long wicker basket, 374  
 Leather fragments, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 394  
 Lee (Roger de la), prior of Canterbury (1234-1244), 177  
 Leeke (William), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1459), 18  
 Leet (court), of Aylesbury, representatives to Parliament returned by, 88  
 Leet-ales, archaic origin of, 197  
 Legal actions in manor court of Aylesbury, 94  
 Letters of Charles I. 112-113; of Charles II. 113-115  
 Leycester (Richard), grant of rent-charge by, 253  
 Lichfield cathedral, architecture of the tower, 14  
 Lideford, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358  
 Lidiard, church and *villa* of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354  
 Ligorio (Pirrho), MSS. of, 248, 250  
 Lincoln, right of pre-emption in, 210  
 ——— stirrup, Scandinavian, found at, 533  
 ——— Roman road to, from Castor, 384  
 ——— cathedral, architecture of the tower, 14; inventory of, 441  
 Lincolnshire, *see* "Ancholme," "Boston," "Bottesford," "Brigg," "Ermine Street," "Epworth," "Friskney," "Lindsey," "Sleaford," "South Kyme"  
 Lindsey, lands called Warnott rents in, 371  
 Lingard (Dr.), history of, on death of Edward II. 216  
 Linnen, church vestments of (1466), 40, 43, 44  
 Little Carlton, manor court of, lord fined in, 382  
 Liturgy of St. Paul's, 452  
 Lombardy, influence of, in twelfth century, 298  
 Londinium, road from Silchester to, 266  
 London, armourers' and braziers' company, 137  
 ——— British Museum, *see* "British"  
 ——— craft of founders, mazers belonging to, 190  
 ——— early watching duties at, 91

London, House of Lords and Commons, Wren's drawings of, 9  
 — Ironmongers' company, mazers belonging to, 160-161  
 — Kensington palace, Wren's drawings of, 9  
 — Lambeth Palace Library, 452  
 — Merchant Taylors' company, mazers belonging to (1491), 189, 191  
 — St. Gregory's church, inventory of, 463-464  
 — St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, mazer belonging to, 167; verger's staff in, 73  
 — St. James's palace, Wren's drawings of, 9  
 — St. Margaret Pattens church, mazers belonging to, 134  
 — St. Paul's cathedral, inventories of, 439-524; mazers belonging to (1295), 176; (1402), 185; Wren's drawings of, 9  
 — St. Stephen, Coleman Street, parish books of, 17-57  
 — South Kensington museum, mazer at, 162  
 — Thames at, iron sword, Scandinavian, found in, 530-532  
 — Westminster, standing cup of the city of, 527-529  
 — Westminster Hall, 1-16  
 "Long Meg" of Westminster, 529  
 Lord, fining of, 381-382; forfeiture of lands to the, in Bottesford manor, 373; position of, at Aylesbury, 89, 98  
 Lorenzo (St.), representation of, on seal, 120  
 Louis VII. king of France, charter by, 348  
 Lovels of Cary, grants by to Wells cathedral church, 327, 357, 359  
 Lovinton, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 327  
 Low (Robert), will of (1454), 188  
 Lumley (Sir John Savile), excavations by, on supposed site of Artemisium, 58-65  
 Lynn, gild of St. Francis at, 188

## M.

Magdalene, painting of, fifteenth century, 78; representation of, at Friskney church, 285  
 Magi, representation of, on seal, 123  
 Malmesbury as a village community, 421-438  
 Maltravers (John), custody of Edward II. by, 216, 217, 218, 221  
 Manor of Aylesbury, 81-103; of Hamble, descent of, from the hide, 252  
 — customs showing joint ownership, 206  
 — records of Bottesford, 371-382  
 — rolls of Aylesbury, 89  
 Manors, burgesses belonging to, 208  
 Manuscripts, Carolingian period, ornamentation on, 289; Irish ornamentation on, 292  
 — illuminated, representation of Ascension in, 283; preserved at Bari, 413  
 — at St. Paul's cathedral, London, 441  
 — of Pirrho Ligorio, 248, 250  
 Maple, use of for mazers, 129  
 Marble, use of, in ancient Rome, 228-231, 235  
 Mare (Thomas de la), canon of York (1358), 182  
 Mark or boundary, at Bottesford manor, 373  
 Markets at Wells, 311, 350  
 Marks used for signatures, 373-374  
 — masons', at Westminster Hall, 1-4  
 — merchant's, on mazer at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, 167  
 — sheep, at Bottesford manor, 373  
 Mars, sacarium of, at Rome, 240  
 Mary, wife of Cleophas, painting of, fifteenth century, 78; representation of, at Friskney church, 285  
 Mary Magdalene (St.), painting of, fifteenth century, 78; representation of, at Friskney church, 285  
 Mary Queen of Scots, signets of, 105-109  
 Mary II. (Queen), sapphire signet of, 104-112  
 Masonry, examples of, in ancient Rome, 231  
 Masons' marks at Westminster Hall, 1-4  
 Mawle, the holy, custom, 201-202  
 Maxentius, coins of, discovered at Sleaford, 387

- Mayor (Lord) of London, interference in election of, *temp.* Charles I. 24
- Mazers, medieval English, 129-193; belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 455, 514
- Meadow, common, at Bottesford manor, 374  
— at Malmesbury, 428
- Measures of Land, *see* "Acre," "Hide"
- Meaux abbey, mazers belonging to (1396), 184
- Medici (Giulio de), cardinal, seal of, 120-121, 125, 127
- Medici (Hippolito de'), cardinal, seal of, 121, 127
- Medicine (folk-), sapphire used for diseases of the eye, 444, 469
- Meg (Long), of Westminster, 529
- Meildulf, settlement of, at Malmesbury, 423, 424
- Mellitus (St.), arm of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470, 471  
— shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 444, 470
- Merchants' mark on mazer at St. Giles' church, Cripplegate, 167
- MICKLETHWAITE (J. T., F.S.A.), a note on the Hall of William Rufus at Westminster, 5-8
- Middlesex, junior right in, 214  
— *see* "Hampton Court," "London"
- MIDDLETON (JOHN HENRY, M.A., F.S.A.), on a Saxon chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, 66-71
- Mill, *see* "Molendinum"
- Minerva, representation of, on Roman intaglio, 404
- Mining, lead, grant of, to Bishop of Wells, *temp.* Richard I. 316
- Mir (Russian), members of, in towns, 208
- Missale, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 451, 452, 499  
— *see* "Salisbury"
- Mitres, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 446, 456, 473, 515
- Molendinum, manor court presentments concerning, 94-95
- Molfetta, town of in Italy, 414-415, 419
- Monasteries, *see* "Alien," "Augustinian," "Benedictine," "Carthusian," "Cistercian," "Clunian," "Grey Friars"
- Monasticon of Somerset, *temp.* bishop Reginald, 360
- Monile, a jewelled ornament, 514
- MOORE (STUART ARCHIBALD, F.S.A.), documents relating to the death of king Edward II. 215-226
- More (Bertrand de la), payments to at funeral of Edward II. 217, 220
- More (Thomas de la), history of on death of Edward II. 215, 219-220
- Morses belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 449, 481
- Morton (Robert), inventory of (1448), 188
- Morton (Thomas), canon of York (1448), 187
- Moss, forming the caulking of prehistoric ship, 365
- Mother-right, influence of on laws of succession, 213
- Mottisfont, bronze stirrup, Scandinavian, found at, 532-533
- Mountford (Katherine), will of (1498), 191
- Mount Sorel (James of), grant of to Wells cathedral church, 357
- Municipal boroughs, right of pre-emption in, 210  
— freedoms, succession to, by kinship, 206  
— history of Wells, 311  
— organization of Malmesbury, 427-438
- MUNK (DR.), letter from on signet belonging to Cardinal Wiseman, 106-107
- Mural paintings at Friskney church, 281-286
- Murimuth (Adam), chronicle of, 215, 220
- Murrae, 129
- Music-books belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 457-458, 523
- Myths, *see* "Ægil," "Arthurian"



## N.

- "Naked Fields," place so called at Checkley, 286  
 Names, twelfth century, 313  
 — giving of, to mazers, 133  
 Naviculae, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 467  
 Nawton (John), will of (1436), 186  
 Necklets, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 387  
 — bead, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403  
 Nemi (Lake), excavations near, 58-65  
 Nemorensis, rex, office of at Rome, 60  
 New Zealanders, house-life amongst the, 198  
 Newark, wills of inhabitants of, 190  
 Newbury, site of Spinae near, 266  
 Newcastle Society of Antiquaries museum, spear-head in, 533  
 Newport (William de), rector of Wearmouth (1366), 182  
 Newton (John de), treasurer of York (1414), 185  
 Nicholas (St.), feast of celebrated at St. Paul's cathedral, 447  
 Nicholas of Myra (St.), shrine of at Bari, 411-412  
 Nicholaus (St.), representation of, on seal, 124  
 NICHOLS (F. M., F.S.A.), on some remarks upon the Regia, the Atrium Vestae, and the original locality of the Fasti Capitolini, 227-250  
 Norfolk, junior right in, 214  
 — see "Lynn," "Norwich," "Santon"  
 Norham, land at, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359  
 Norman architecture in Italy, 409-419  
 — occupation of Italy, 408  
 Normandy, masons' marks on buildings in, 3  
 North Curry, manor of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359  
 North side of church, graveyard on the, 251  
 Northamptonshire, see "Braunston," "Sawtre"  
 Northumberland, see "Newcastle," "Norham"

- Norway, prehistoric boat found in, 370  
 Norwich, wills of inhabitants of, 191  
 Nottingham, right of pre-emption at, 210  
 — Scandinavian swords found near, 532  
 Nottinghamshire, see "Newark," "Southwell"  
 Notyngnam (John), will of (1437), 186  
 Numa, buildings of in the Regia at Rome, 241  
 Nunneries in Somersetshire, 360  
 Nuremberg, masons' mark in St. Sibald's church, 3

## O.

- Oak trees, size of, in England, 367  
 Obits kept at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 22  
 Ocle (William de), murder of Edward II. by, 219  
 Officers, village, payment to by land, 438  
 — see "Affurtores," "Ale-tasters," "Constables," "Hayward"  
 Old-people, custom of killing in primitive society, 201  
 Open-field system, archaic mode of succession to the strips, 207  
 Ops Consiva, sacrum of at Rome, 240  
 Orleton, manor custom of, 208  
 Ormond (Earls of), possession of Aylesbury manor by, 83-87, 92  
 Ornamentation on sculptured stones at Checkley, 286-294  
 — see "Fylfot," "Horsehoe," "Swastika," "Triquetrae"  
 Osier wattle-work in Saxon architecture, 68  
 Ostrich feather, badge of Plantagenets, 503  
 Oswald (St.), arm and finger bone of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470, 471  
 Osyth (St.), arm of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471  
 Oxford, All Souls college, mazers at, 136, 137, 150-152, 155, 161, 166  
 — Bodleian library, MS. at, 250

Oxford, Oriel college, mazer belonging to, 158-159  
 Oyster shells, discovered at Silchester, 272  
 Oysters, payment of, by monks of Hamble priory, 254

## P.

- Painted chamber at Westminster, 5  
 Painter, will of (1365), 182  
 Painting, fifteenth century, in diptych, 72-80  
 ——— *temp.* Edward III. 221  
 ——— mural, at Friskney church, 281-286  
 Pakington (Robert), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 87  
 Palatine Apollo, temple of, at Rome, 235  
 Parish books of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 17-37  
 PARKER (JOHN, F.S.A.), on the manor of Aylesbury, 81-103  
 Parliament, return of members to, by Aylesbury 88  
 Parochial institutions, importance of, 24  
 Party badge, seventh century, 293  
 Pastoral staff of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, 533  
 Pasture, common, at Bottesford manor, 372, 373, 375, 379, 382; at Malmesbury, 427, 428  
 Paul (St.), representation of, on seal, 119, 120  
 Pavements, tessellated, discovered at Silchester, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274, 276  
 Pawle (William), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1457), 18  
 PEACOCK (EDWARD, F.S.A.), notes from the records of the manor of Bottesford, Lincolnshire, 371-382  
 Peas, gathering of, orders of manor courts concerning, 378  
 Peckham (Robert), monk of Rochester, 168  
 Pedigree of Butlers, Earls of Ormond, 92  
 Pendants, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 393, 397  
 Pendants, bronze gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389  
 ——— Roman coins used as, by Anglo-Saxons, 387, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403  
 ——— silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 405  
 Pennington (Mr. Alderman), action of, against Charles I. 23-30  
 Pepys (S.), visit of, to Saffron Walden, 163  
 Perci (Gilbert de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 357  
 Pereson (Thomas), sub-dean of York (1490), 189  
 Peridot, a precious stone, 524  
 Peru, ornamentation of men and animals in, 294  
 Peter (St.), representation of, on seal, 119, 120; at Friskney, 282  
 Peter of Blois, as the deacon of Bath (1175-1190), 314, 320  
 Peters (Hugh), trial of, as a regicide, 31-32  
 Pews, antiquity of, in London, 22  
 Phialae, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 466  
 Philip (St.), the apostle, figure of, fifteenth century, 74, 76  
 ——— relics of, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 453  
 Photographs of Westminster hall, 2, 3, 9  
 Pickering (Maurice), keeper of gatehouse, Westminster, sixteenth century, 528-529  
 Pig, scapula of, in Anglo-Saxon grave at Sleaford, 395  
 Pigs, orders concerning in manor court, 373, 377  
 Pillory, in Aylesbury manor, 99  
 Pilton, church of, 309; belonging to the church at Wells, 356  
 Pin, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 394, 397, 399, 404, 406  
 ——— gilt, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 402  
 Pix, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443, 468  
 Place names, different methods of spelling Aylesbury, 81  
 Plague, evidences of, in London (1665), 33

- Plans of Westminster hall, 9-11  
 Plate belonging to Henry V. 132  
 — (church), inventory of (1466), 34-35;  
 (1542), 45-46  
 — see "Censers," "Chalices," "Comb,"  
 "Cismatoria," "Crosses," "Desk," "Ma-  
 zers," "Mitres," "Phialae," "Pix," "Salt,"  
 "Thuribula"  
 Plampton (Robert), will of (1506), 191  
 Poisoning, practice of, in England, *temp.* Edward  
 III. 220  
 Poma, silver, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral,  
 (1245), 443, 467-468  
 Pommerium, position of the, at Silchester, 280  
 Pontes, road from Silchester to, 266  
 Pontifex Maximus, house of, at Rome, 241-243  
 Porcelain beads, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at  
 Sleaford, 396  
 Postumus, coins of, discovered at Sleaford, 403  
 Potesgrave (Richard de), payments to, at funeral  
 of Edward II. 217  
 Pottery, Roman, discovered near Sleaford, 384  
 — see "Urns"  
 Pre-emption, right of, 209-210  
 Prehistoric remains, see "Boat"  
 Presme, a term used of precious stones, 524  
 Preston (John), bucler-maker, of York (1400),  
 185  
 Preston, right of pre-emption at, 210  
 PRICE (F. G. HILTON, F.S.A.), further notes upon  
 excavations at Silchester, 263-280  
 Priest's dress, sculptured on stone at Sandbach,  
 293  
 Primogeniture, custom of, 195, 210, 212  
 Priors of Hamble, list of, 258  
 Priory, alien, of St. Andrew at Hamble, 251-262  
 Prisca (St.), representation of, on seal, 119  
 Prittlewell, gild or fraternity of, 193  
 Privy, common, in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street,  
 London (1486-1507), 22  
 Processions at St. Paul's cathedral, 459  
 — in London (1243), 492  
 Property, archaic conceptions of, 195-214  
 — insecurity of, *temp.* Henry II. 315
- PULLAN (R. P., F.S.A.), Notes on recent excava-  
 tions on the supposed site of the Artemisium  
 near the Lake of Nemi, made by Sir John  
 Savile Lumley, G.C.B. 58-65  
 Punjab, right of pre-emption in, 209  
 Punson (Alured de), grant of, to Wells cathedral,  
 328, 359
- R.
- Race influences on constitution of Malmesbury  
 Corporation, 435  
 Radcliffe, borough and market granted to, *temp.*  
 Richard I. 316  
 Rains cloth, 506  
 Rapin, history of, on death of Edward II. 215  
 Ravenna sculpture, ornamentation on, 289  
 READ (C. H., F.S.A.) on a sword of Scandinavian  
 make found in London and bronze stirrup  
 of the same period found near Romsey,  
 530-533  
 Rebus, device formed from, on name of Hinck-  
 aert, 73-74  
 Reeds used in church ceremonial, 442  
 Refuge, temple of at Rome, 60  
 Regalia, &c. of Henry VI. 186  
 — of Scotland, 111  
 Regia at Rome, rebuilding of the, 233, 235;  
 uses and character of, 236, 240-242, 245-250  
 Regicides, trial of, 29-32  
 Registers, parish, of St. Stephen, Coleman Street,  
 London, 18  
 Relics, at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 453, 470  
 Requests, Court of, at Westminster, 5  
 Resurrection, representation of at Friskney, 283  
 Revenue, episcopal, 326  
 Rex nemorensis, office of, at Rome, 60  
 Rex, use of the title in ancient Rome, 241  
 Reynes, see "Rains"  
 Rhyming formula used at Malmesbury, 433  
 Richard I. captivity of, 358  
 — charter by, to Wells, 315, 316 356-359

- Richard I. coronation of, 318, 329-330
- Richard II. alteration of Westminster hall by, 12, 13-14
- Richard de Ely, shrine of at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Richard (Thomas), will of (1488), 189
- Rings, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 393, 394, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406
- iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 395, 396, 397, 402
- horn, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391
- silver, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- pontifical, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 456
- of Queen Mary II. 104-115
- River navigation in Hants, 254
- ordinances concerning the, in Aylesbury manor, 99
- Rivers, *see* "Ancholme," "Clyde," "Ebro," "Humber," "Itchen," "Thames," "Wittham"
- Roads, Roman, in Lincolnshire, 369-370, 384
- *see* "Ermine Street"
- Roadways at Bottesford, orders concerning, 379, 380
- Robert Guiscard, crown of, preserved at Bari, 412
- Rochester, mazer belonging to monks at, 134
- Benedictine priory, mazer belonging to, 168
- wills of inhabitants of, 187
- Roges (Lady Alicia de), grant of, to bishop of Wells, 317
- Romanus (St.), day of, 334-335
- Romara (William de, Earl of Lincoln), grant of, to bishop of Wells, 317
- Rome, Artemisium (the), excavations on supposed site of, 58-65
- Regia, Atrium Vestæ, and Fasti Capitolini, 227-250
- wall of Servius Tullus, masons' mark on, 3
- Roman basilica excavated at Silchester, 267
- canal near Sleaford, 384
- coins discovered near Sleaford, 384, 387, 390, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403, 404
- fibula discovered in Anglo-Saxon grave, 403
- forum excavated at Silchester, 267
- intaglio discovered in Anglo-Saxon grave, 404
- pavements, ornamentation on, 289
- pottery discovered near Sleaford, 384
- remains at Caer Dur, 422; at Silchester, 263-280
- road to Lincoln, 384; in Lincolnshire, 369-370
- Romulus, inscription of the triumph of, discovered at Rome, 246
- Rowe (Colonel Owen), one of Charles I.'s judges, 26-31
- Russia, joint rights of the community in, 197
- nomad family groups in, 200
- town population of, belong to the mir, 208
- Ruvo, town of, in Italy, 418
- S.
- Sacrament, administering of, in London, *temp.* Charles I. 25
- Sacrifices, human, offered in the Artemisium, 60
- Sacrificial rites, evidence of, in Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, 387-388
- Saffron Walden, Edward VI.'s almshouses at mazer belonging to, 163-164
- St. John (Rev. H. F.), mazer belonging to, 137, 173-174
- St. John of Jerusalem, knights of, possessions of, 371
- St. Lo, consecration of church at, to St. Thomas, 303
- St. Paul (Mary de), benefaction of, to St. Paul's cathedral, 512

- Saints, images of, in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London (1466), 40-41
- Salerno, Norman cathedral at, 419
- Salford, right of pre-emption at, 210
- Salisbury missal, evidence as to establishing general use of, 20
- Salome, representation of, at Friskney church, 285
- Salt, vessel for, used in baptism, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 443
- Samite stuff, 482
- Samoans, house life amongst the, 197
- Samson, figured on silver bason, St. Paul's cathedral, 444
- Sandals, episcopal, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447, 474
- Sandbach, sculptured stone at, 291-292, 293
- Sandwich (A. de), prior of Canterbury (1244-1258), 178
- Sanitary condition of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, *temp.* Edward IV. 21
- orders at Bottesford manor court, 373, 374, 376, 377, 380
- presentments in Aylesbury manor, 99
- Santon, Scandinavian sword found at, 531, 532
- Sapphire used for disease of the eyes, 444, 469
- signet of Queen Mary II. 104-115
- Sarsanet, church vestments of (1466), 39
- Sarum, road from Silchester to, 266
- Satin, church vestments of (1466), 38, 41
- Savage (Robert), will of (1391), 183
- Sawtre abbey, 192
- Saxon, *see* "Anglo-Saxon"
- Scanderford, *see* "Shalford"
- Scandinavian boat-building, 370
- stirrap, found near Romsey, 532-533
- sword, found in London, 530-532
- succession custom, 203
- *see* "Danish"
- Scardeburgh (John de), will of (1395), 183
- School, grammar, at Wells, 326
- Scolds, orders against at Bottesford manor court, 378
- Scotland, children called by mothers' name in, 213
- joint tenancies in, 205
- *see* "Brodie," "Glasgow," "Glenferness" "Harris"
- Scrope of Masham (Henry, Lord), will of (1415), 185
- Sculptured stones at Hope, 294; at Sandbach, 291-292; in Scotland, 292
- basket-work figures of men on, 286-294
- Senta, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1245), 443
- Seals, abbots, of the abbey of Tyrone, 255, 256
- cardinals', sixteenth century, 118-128
- of Charles I. Henrietta Maria, and Mary II. 104-115
- of Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1180), 352
- of the prior of Hamble, 255-256
- to charter of Henry II. 252
- of the convent of St. Swithun at Winchester, 255; at Tyrone, 255, 256, 257
- on grant by William Giffard, bishop of Winchester (1098-1128), 251-252
- of bishop Wykeham, 254
- Sebastian (St.), representation of, on seal, 119
- Sects, *see* "Albigenses," "Cathari"
- Seed capsules, used for beads, in Anglo-Saxon cemetery, 387
- Seeking-feast, custom of, at Malmesbury, 434
- Segonte (Caer), British name of Silchester, 265
- Selby (Agnes de), will of (1359), 182
- Separation of primitive groups, 200
- Serapeum, excavation of, at Silchester, 267
- Serpent-dragon, sculptured on stone pillar at Checkley, 289, 291
- Servants, swearing of, in Aylesbury manor courts, 102
- Sexton, duties of, at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, 21, 49
- Shalford, church of, granted to Wells cathedral, 357
- Shardlowe (Lady Ella), will of (1457), 188



- Shaw (William), lord of Bottesford manor (1595), 381
- Sheep-marks at Bottesford manor, 373
- Sheppey, priory of Minster in, 192
- Shield, boss of, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406
- Shirley (S. E.), mazer belonging to, 159-160
- Shrines at St. Paul's cathedral, 444-445, 452-453, 469
- Sibald (St.), church dedicated to, at Nuremberg, 3
- Signatures, marks used for, 373-374
- Signets of Charles I. Henrietta Maria, and Mary II. 104-115
- Silchester, excavations at, 263-280
- Silk, church vestments of (1466), 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44; (1542), 46, 48
- Silk, marble, used for vestments at St. Paul's cathedral, 450
- Silken stuffs, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 450-451, 455
- Silver armillae, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 398
- bulla, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 398
- discs, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 394, 398
- earring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 402
- ornament, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 397
- pendant, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 405
- plate, *see* "Plate"
- ring, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 391, 402
- Silversmiths' work, sixteenth century, 122
- SIMPSON (W. SPARROW, D.D., F.S.A.), the inventories of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, dated respectively 1245 and 1402, 439-524
- Six-fold division of Malmesbury corporation, 435
- Skeleton, human, discovered in Roman bath at Silchester, 274
- Skirlaw (Walter de), bishop of Durham (1407), 185; will of, 132
- Sleaford, Anglo-Saxon cemetery at, 383-406
- British remains near, 383
- Roman remains near, 384
- Smirke (Sidney), drawings of Westminster hall by, 6
- Smith (Mrs. J. W.), mazer belonging to, 150
- Soberton, possession of Hamble priory in, 253
- Sokborn (Richard), fellow of Pembroke college, Cambridge, 153
- Solemn league and covenant, signing of in London, 23
- Somersetshire, monasticon of, 360
- *see* "Banewell," "Barrow (North)," "Barrow (South)," "Bath," "Carthampton," "Ceddre," "Childcompton," "Congresbury," "Curry (North)," "Dowlishwake," "Glastonbury," "Harpetre (East)," "Haselbury," "Henstridge," "Lovinton," "Pilton," "Taunton Deane," "Timberscombe," "Wedmore," "Wells," "White Lackington," "Witham," "Wivelscombe," "Yatton"
- Sonship among the New Zealanders, 203
- South Brent, church of, belonging to the church at Wells, 356
- South Kensington museum, mazer at, 162
- South Kyme, British camp at, 383
- Southampton, land in, belonging to Hamble priory, 253
- Southwark, St. Saviour's, mazer belonging to, 135
- Southwell, manor custom of, 208
- Spade-shaped fibula discovered at Sleaford, 389, 391, 392, 394, 396, 397, 400, 403
- Spears, iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406
- Spears of Mars, mysterious moving of, at Rome, 240
- Spinae, road from Silchester to, 266
- Spiti, succession custom of, 203
- Spindle-whorl, bone, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 392

- Staffordshire, *see* "Checkley," "Ilam," "Lichfield"
- Staffs, verger's, surmounted by symbolic figure, 73
- Staines, site of Pontes, 266
- Staithes, children called by mother's name at, 213
- Stanton Fitzwarren, church of, granted to Hamble priory, 253
- Stanza dei Fasti, marble wall of, 237, 245
- Staves, episcopal, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 445-446, 456, 472
- Sterling, common name of English penny, 512
- Stirrup, Scandinavian, found at Mottisfont, 532-533
- Stockholm museum, sword in, 535
- Stockings, episcopal, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 447
- Stocks, punishment by, at Aylesbury, 101
- Stockwood, manor custom of, 208
- Stone cists, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 401, 403
- Stones, sculptured, basket-work figures of men on, 286-294
- Stook, ten sheaves of corn set for stacking, 379
- Stowey, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359
- Stubbard de Bury (Agnes de), will of (1418), 185
- Stubbs (Dr. W. bishop of Chester), on death of Edward II. 216
- Stucco plastering, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 278
- Succession to property, archaic laws of, 195-214; evidence for, at Malmesbury, 431, 432
- Suffolk, *see* "Ipswich," "Ixworth"
- Superstition, *see* "Eyes," "North"
- Surnames, example of early modes of acquiring, 83, 92
- Surrey, *see* "Croydon," "Lambeth," "Southwark"
- Sussex, junior right in, 214
- *see* "Battle"
- Sutton (Charles), purchase of Bottesford manor by, *temp.* Henry VIII. 371
- Swastika ornamentation on Anglo-Saxon fibula, 386, 394, 398, 401
- Sweden, prehistoric boat found in, 370
- Sword, iron, Danish, found near Wallingford, 534-536; Scandinavian, found in London, 530-532

## T.

- Talbot (Galfred), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 359
- Tamil, custom of inheritance in, 208
- Taon, church at, 3
- Taranto, town of, in Italy, 416-417
- Taunton Deane, manor custom of, 208
- Taylor (William), vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 25, 32
- Temple of Diana Aricina, near Lake of Nemi, excavations, 58-65
- Roman, excavated at Silchester, 267-268
- Terra-cotta, female figures, found near Lake of Nemi, 63
- votive figures, on site of temple to Diana Aricina, 61-62, 64
- Tervueren, castle of, near Brussels, 74
- Tesselated pavements discovered at Silchester, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 274
- Thames, stirrup, Scandinavian, found in, 533
- sword, Scandinavian, found in, 530-532
- Thanksgiving procession to St. Paul's cathedral (1536), 459
- Theft, presentments for, in manor of Bottesford, 373, 377
- Theodosius, bronze statue of, at Barletta, 416
- Thesawaleme code of Ceylon law, 208
- Thirteens, a section of Malmesbury corporation, 427, 430-431

- THOMAS (GEORGE WILLIAM), on excavations in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, 383-406
- Thomas (St.), canonisation of, 300; first church consecrated to, 303
- relics of, preserved in St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 471
- Thomas (St.), de Cantelupo, feast of, 502
- Thor, the hammer of 201
- "Three Cups," inn sign in Buckingham, 85
- "Three Kings" cups, examples of, 156, 157
- Thuribula, belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 467, 468, 513
- Tideman de Winchcomb, bishop of Worcester, 254, 257
- Tillingham (manor of), belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Timberscombe, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Tindal (Mr. Acton), acquisition of Aylesbury by, 88
- Tirwhitt (Marmaduke), lord of Bottesford manor (1591), 381
- Tooth, animal's, used as pendant in Anglo-Saxon grave, 391, 401, 406
- Totnes, guild organisation of, 206
- Towells, church vestments (1466), 39; (1542), 48
- Town, growth of, round the church at Wells, 311
- Township and manor, boundaries of, 371
- Traci (Oliver de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Trades, *see* "Barber," "Bucler-maker," "Carpenter," "Cook," "Grocer," "Painter"
- Trani, town of, in Italy, 413-414, 419
- Transvaal, land inalienable in, 204
- Travelling to York, *temp.* Edward III. 218
- dangers of, *temp.* Henry VII. 89
- Treasury (Royal), mazers in the (1337-1340), 182, 184
- Tree, mark used by masons, 4
- Trees, size of, in England, 367
- sacrificial rite connected with, at the Artemesium, 60
- bay, sacred, in the Regia at Rome, 240
- Treminet (Jocelin de), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 357
- Trial of regicides, 29-32
- Tribal communities, Welsh, constitution of, 428
- Tribes, corporation of Malmesbury divided into, 427
- Triquetrae, ornamentation on stones at Checkley, 291
- Tunics belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 454, 501-506
- Turf, regulations for cutting at Bottesford, 377
- Turquoise, found in India, 524
- Tweezers, bronze, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 390, 393, 395, 397, 401, 403
- iron, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 405
- "Twelve" (the), of Aylesbury manor, 90
- "Twenty-fours," a section of Malmesbury corporation, 427, 430
- "Twenty-two" (the), of Aylesbury manor, 90
- Twig, transference of, as symbol of landholding, 433
- Tyrone, Benedictine abbey of, 251, 252, 255
- U.
- Ughtred (Sir Thomas), will of (1400), 184
- Uist, North, joint ownership in, 205
- Urn, Anglo-Saxon, discovered at Sleaford, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396, 397, 398, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 406
- Urrie (Thomas), lord of Bottesford manor (1595), 381
- Useflet (Thomas de), accounts of, for funeral of Edward II. 221
- V.
- Valence (Mary de), founder of Pembroke college, Cambridge, 153
- Valhalla, custom of the, 201
- Valle (Andrea de), seal of (1517), 118-120, 125, 127

- Velvet, church vestments of (1466), 38, 39, 41, 42; (1542), 46, 47; at St. Paul's cathedral, 521
- Venta Belgaram, road from Silchester to, 263
- Venus Genetrix, temple of, at Rome, 235
- Vesta, temple of, at Rome, 227, 231-232, 235, 243
- worship of, at Silchester, 267
- Vestal virgins, ceremonies at the appointment of, 244-245
- Vestments, church, inventory of (1466), 37-45; (1542), 46-48
- belonging to St. Paul's cathedral, 450, 485-490
- Vich (Guglielmo Raimondo de), cardinal, seal of, 123-124, 125, 127
- Vienna, imperial cabinet of antiquities at, 116-117
- masons' mark on St. Stephen's at, 3
- Viking ship discovered in Norway, 370
- Villa of Caesar (remains of), 60; of Caligula, 61
- Village, composition of the archaic, 198
- Village-community at Malmesbury, 421-438
- Villeins, Anglo-Saxon, holdings of, 207
- Vincent (St.), tooth of, preserved at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Vineyard antiquities in Italy, 407
- Virgin (the Blessed), titles of, 76
- hair of, preserved at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470
- Virgin and Child, representation of, 144, 163, 175; on seals, 119, 120, 123, 124, 126
- Votive figures, terra-cotta, on site of temple of Diana Aricina, 61-62, 64
- Vyner (Captain), mazer belonging to, 154
- Wales, children called by mother's name in, 213
- joint rights of food in, 197
- law of succession in, 205
- tribal communities of, 428
- Wallingford, Danish sword-hilt found near, 534-536
- Walls, external, inscriptions on, at Rome, 236
- (Roman), of Silchester, 265
- Waltham Holy Cross, religious foundation at, by Henry II. 302
- mazers at abbey, 130, 193
- Walwyn (Francis), artist employed by Charles I. 112
- Wardrobe accounts, 1299, mazers mentioned in, 176
- belonging to St. Paul's cathedral (1402), 453
- Warenot rents [Warnott, Warnutt], lands so called, 371
- Warminster, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 359
- Warwickshire, *see* "Coventry"
- Wasteney (Edmund), payments to, at funeral of Edward II. 217
- Watching, duty of, at Aylesbury, 91; at London, 91, 100
- Water pipes, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 274
- Water supply, system of, in castle near Bari, 418
- Waterlot, drains so called, 373
- Wattle-work, ozier, in Saxon architecture, 68
- Wedmor, lands in, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354
- Wells, history of, 311; MS. history of, by Dr. Archer, 295
- bishopric of, 304, 305, 307, 311
- cathedral church of, 323-346; grants to, 356-359
- Vicars' College, mazer belonging to (1333-1361), 181-182
- Wenchepe (Richard de), prior of Dover (1268-1272), 177
- Westminster, mazers at, 130
- standing cup of the city of, 527-529

## W.

- Wac (Radulf), grant of, to Wells cathedral church, 358
- Wakefield, battle of, anniversary of, kept in London, 22
- Walenton, church and manor of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 354

- Westminster Abbey, possessions of, at Deerhurst, 66-67  
 ——— Hall, architecture of, 5-8; masons' marks at, 1-4; west side of, 9-16  
 White Lackington, church of, granted to Wells cathedral church, 357  
 Whitehead (Jeffrey), mazer belonging to, 149-150, 175  
 Wicker-work, *see* "Basket-work"  
 Widow, origin of manorial rights of, 208  
 William II. hall of, at Westminster, 5-8  
 William (Bishop of London), shrine of, at St. Paul's cathedral, 445, 470  
 Willoughby (Isabella de), will of (1415), 185  
 Willoughby (Sir Hugh), will of (1443), 187  
 Willows, orders for planting, at Bottesford manor, 380  
 Wilton (Isabel), will of (1486), 189  
 Wiltshire, *see* "Aldeborne," "Bradenstoke," "Crickelade," "Malmesbury," "Stanton Fitzwarren," "Warminster"  
 Winchester, right of pre-emption at, 210  
 ——— site of Venta Belgarum, 266  
 ——— cathedral, Wykeham's chantry at, 254-255; masons' mark in, 3  
 ——— convent of St. Swithin at, 253-255  
 ——— college, alien priory at Hamble transferred to, 251-262  
 Window-glass, Roman, discovered at Silchester, 273  
 Windsor Castle, representation of on cope at St. Paul's cathedral, 448; Wren's drawings of, 9  
 Witham, religious foundation at, *temp.* Henry II. 302, 307, 308  
 Witham, river, Scandinavian, stirrup, found in, 533  
 ——— Scandinavian sword found in, 531, 535  
 Wiseman (Cardinal), signet belonging to, 106, 107  
 Wivelescumb, church and villa of, in possession of Bath cathedral, 354  
 Wokyndon family, interest of in St. Paul's cathedral, 511  
 Wolsey (Cardinal), plate of, 191  
 Wood, fine for cutting at Bottesford manor, 375  
 Wooderove (Robert), will of (1501), 191  
 Wool, dragged off by bushes, a manorial perquisite, 382  
 Worldham, West, chapel of, grant of to Hamble priory, 253  
 Worms, earth, work of at Silchester, 271  
 Worship, joint rights of, 197-198  
 Worsted, cloth, 516; church vestments of (1466), 42; (1542) 46  
 Wren (Sir C.), drawings of Westminster hall by, 9-10  
 Wulfrie (the hermit), scene of life and miracles of, 357  
 Württemberg, succession custom in, 204  
 Wyclyff (Robert de), rector of Rudby (*temp.* 1423), 186  
 Wykeham (bishop of Winchester), decree by, 254; chantry of, at Winchester cathedral, 254-255  
 Wyman (Henry), goldsmith of York, 147  
 Wymbyasch (Thomas), will of (1447), 187  
 Wynesford, church of, granted to bishop of Wells, 317
- Y.
- Yatton, villa of, in possession of Bath cathedral (1179), 353  
 York, gild of Corpus Christi, 148  
 ——— cathedral, inventory of, 440; mazer at, 131, 133, 146-149  
 ——— mazers belonging to inhabitants of, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 191  
 Yorke (Thomas), lord of manor of Bottesford (1547), 372  
 Yorkshire, East Riding, lands called "Warnutt," rents in, 372  
 ——— *see* "Doncaster," "Hull," "Staithes," "Wakefield"

65



Rec: 5 Oct/87